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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF GERMANY, FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR OF LIBERATION IN 1814 TO THE GREAT CONVULSIONS OF 1848.

1814.

1. Peace necessary to Germany after the efforts of the war.

So great had been the efforts, so decisive the success of the German nations in the last years of the war with Napoleon, that a long period of tranquillity and repose had been in a manner forced upon them. It was physically impossible that the herculean efforts of 1813, 1814, and 1815, when the whole male inhabitants capable of bearing arms had, either in the regular armies, the landwehr, or the landsturm, been found in the ranks of war, could much longer continue; and the spirit which had animated them was not, like that of the French or Scythians, the mere passion for conquest, which grows with every gratification it receives, but the sober determination of a peaceful race to defend their temples, their hearths, their families. War is the natural passion of the Gauls, the Poles, the Russians, but it is far from being so either with the Germans or the English. The two latter nations are essentially *inhabitative;* their ruling passion is comfort, their prevailing desires are centred in home. Even when the passion for emigration seizes them, as it did so strongly in the days of the Romans, and is doing again in

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these times, it is by the influence of the same desires that their conduct, apparently contradictory, is influenced. They leave their own country, not because they are indifferent to the comforts of home, but because they desire them; they seek in foreign lands or Transatlantic climes that secure resting-place which they can no longer find in their own. "When the Roman conquers," says Pliny, "*he inhabits*;" and that is the characteristic of the Teutonic race in every part of the world. They fight desperately in defence of their homes, and are often impelled in stupendous multitudes to gain settlements abroad; but it is to gain or secure such *settlements* that their efforts in both cases are made. They do not aspire, like the Arabs, the Tartars, or the Scythians, to sweep over the world with the fierce tempest of savage conquest; hence all the great and lasting transpositions of mankind have been made by the Teutonic race. Their descendants are to be found in France, Italy, Spain, and the British Isles; and of half a million of Europeans who now annually settle on the shores of America, at least nine-tenths have, directly or indirectly, come from the woods of Germany.*

2. Extreme moderation of the German demands on the peace.

From this peculiarity in the German character it was that, after the transcendant and decisive successes which attended the close of the war, the whole empire so immediately relapsed into pacific habits and pursuits. Moderation, unparalleled after so many triumphs, regulated their demands in the hour of victory. They neither imitated the example of Louis XIV., who in many successful campaigns bespoiled them of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine; nor of the Russians, who have never made peace for a century and a half without an accession

* EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA FROM GERMANY AND THE BRITISH ISLES, FROM 1852 TO 1854.

	From Germany.	From British Isles.	Total.
1852,	103,000	368,764	471,764
1853,	148,000	329,937	477,937
1854,	206,000	323,429	529,429

—*Results of Census*, p. 56; and *Emigration Report*, July 16, 1855.

of territory ; nor of Napoleon, who, by the treaty of Tilsit, robbed Prussia of half its dominions after a single campaign. Scarcely a village was taken from France after the double capture of its capital by the arms of the German nations. "France as in 1789" was the basis of the treaties of Paris alike in 1814 and 1815. To this singular moderation in the hour of victory, the solid foundation and long continuance of the peace concluded within the French capital is mainly to be ascribed. Had provinces been reft from old France after the battles of Leipsic and Waterloo, as they had been from Prussia and Austria after those of Jena and Wagram, the same heartburnings and animosities would have been excited, national jealousies would have been perpetuated, and five-and-thirty years of subsequent peace would not have blessed the inhabitants and developed the resources of the Fatherland.

3. Dangers to German independence on the dissolution of the Empire.

Much of this long-continued and felicitous pacification is to be ascribed to the strong and wise organisation of the German Confederation, which took place at and after the Congress of Vienna. The weakness of the old Empire had been sufficiently proved by the wars of the Revolution ; the crown of the Kaisars had crumbled at the stroke of Napoleon's sword. A separate empire had been created and acknowledged in Austria ; separate kingdoms in Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony ; duchies and electorates in the lesser states ; but the ancient and venerable bond of the Empire, coeval with the days of Charlemagne, had been dissolved. The danger was great that out of this circumstance a fresh peril, of a more serious and lasting kind than any which had been escaped by the war of liberation, might be incurred. Placed midway between France and Russia, each of which was under a single head, and actuated by the strongest spirit of conquest, there was the greatest risk that Germany, broken into separate principalities, and actuated by separate interests, might be unable to resist either taken singly, and beyond all question would be crushed by the two acting in con-

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cert. The fate of Poland, with its democratic passions and discordant government, might yet await the centre of European civilisation, and out of the very triumphs of the arms of freedom might arise more serious peril to the cause of European independence than any it had yet incurred.

4. Sage constitution and immense strength of the German Confederacy.

Impressed with these dangers, it was the first care of the wise statesmen to whom, on the conclusion of the war, the interests of Europe were committed, to frame a *federal constitution* for all the States of German origin, which should secure them against the danger of foreign attack, and the risk of internal discord. By the Act of Confederacy, which was signed at Vienna on June 8th, 1815, it was provided, by the consent of all parties concerned—including the Emperor of Austria and King of Prussia, the King of Denmark for Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the grand-duchy of Luxembourg—that the affairs of the Confederacy should be managed by a general Assembly or Diet, in which all the members were to be represented by their plenipotentiaries, either singly possessing a vote, or concurring with others to form one. The presidency was given to Austria; the whole number of votes was seventeen, arranged after such a manner as gave a preponderating influence to the great military powers; and Frankfort-on-the-Maine was fixed on as the place of meeting, probably to impress the Confederation at all times with the peril of French invasion, the great danger which was then apprehended.* Each member

June 8, 1815.

* The votes in the Diet were as follows:—

	Votes.		Votes.
Austria,	1	Brought forward,	9
Prussia,	1	Denmark, for Holstein,	1
Bavaria,	1	Netherlands, for Luxembourg,	1
Saxony,	1	Duchies of Saxony,	1
Hanover,	1	Brunswick and Nassau,	1
Würtemberg,	1	Mecklenburg Schwerin & Strelitz,	1
Baden,	1	Holstein, Oldenburg, &c.,	1
Hesse, Electoral,	1	Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, &c.,	1
——— Grand-duchy,	1	Lübeck, Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg,	1
Carry forward,	9		17

But if matters came to a deliberation and vote "in matters relating to the Act of Confederacy, the organic institutions, or other arrangements of common in-

of the Confederacy bound himself to assist in defending not only all Germany, but every separate state of the League, against any attack, and reciprocally to guarantee to each other the whole of their possessions included within the Confederation. They also bound themselves to enter into no treaties hostile to the Confederacy; not to make war upon one another under any pretext, and to submit all differences that might arise between them to the decision of the Diet. It was further agreed that in all the States of the Confederacy *a constitutional Assembly or States-General shall be established;** and that diversity of Christian faith shall occasion no difference in respect of civil or political rights. The Diet was to take into its consideration how the condition of the professors of the Jewish religion might be ameliorated. It was provided that the subjects of each state might inherit or acquire landed property in any other state, without being subject to heavier burdens than the natives in them; that free emigration was to be permitted from any one state to any other which might

terest," then the Diet was to form itself into a general assembly, and its members shall have votes according to the following scale, viz.:—

	Votes.		Votes.
Austria,	4	Brought forward,	48
Prussia,	4	Holstein, Oldenburg,	1
Saxony,	4	Anhalt, Dessau,	1
Bavaria,	4	—— Bernburg,	1
Hanover,	4	—— Köthen,	1
Würtemberg,	4	Schwartz Sondershausen,	1
Baden,	3	—— Rudolstädt,	1
Hesse, Electoral,	3	Hohenzollern,	1
Holstein,	3	Lichtenstein,	1
Luxembourg,	3	Hohenzollern-Hechingen,	1
Brunswick,	2	Waldeck,	1
Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	2	Reuss, Ainée,	1
Nassau,	2	—— Cadette,	1
Saxe Weimar,	1	Schaumburg-Lippe,	1
—— Gotha,	1	Lippe,	1
—— Coburg,	1	Lübeck,	1
—— Meiningen,	1	Frankfort,	1
——Hildburghausen,	1	Bremen,	1
Mecklenburg-Strelitz,	1	Hamburg,	1
Carry forward,	48		66

—*Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. 10,.12.

* "Il y aura des Assemblées des Etats dans tous les pays de la Confédération."—*Loi Fondamentale*, Art. 13; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. 17.

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1815.

be willing to receive the emigrants; and that the subjects of each might enlist in the service of any other, if not already subject to military service in their own country. Finally, the Diet was at its first meeting to occupy itself with framing uniform regulations to secure the freedom of the press, and the security of authors and publishers from oppression.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1815, 103; and Archives Diplomatiques, iv. 2, 24.

5. Military forces of the Confederacy.

The preparations alike for protection from external enemies, and for the crushing of internal discord in this great Confederacy, were of proportional magnitude. The troops which the different states were bound to furnish for the common defence, were minutely specified, arranged according to the population and revenue of each state; and they constituted, upon the whole, an immense military force. The quota was taken at an hundredth part of the entire population of each state; and as the population of the different states composing the Confederacy was 30,163,483, the whole force was 301,637 men. Of this body 222,000 were infantry of the line, 11,700 light infantry, 43,000 cavalry, 22,000 artillery, and 3000 pioneers. It was all organised, and the arrangements made for its command, its rallying points, &c., with the utmost precision and minuteness. Great as this force was, it constituted not more than two-thirds of what the German powers could bring into the field if acting in concert, for the principal states were put down at a small part only of their whole inhabitants, being those in Germany proper. Thus Austria was set down only at 9,482,000 souls, and 94,822 soldiers, as Hungary, Gallicia, and the Italian States were excluded; whereas in reality she had 32,000,000 souls, and 320,000 men in arms. Prussia was taken at 7,923,000 inhabitants, 79,230 men; whereas, including the Polish provinces, she had even then above 10,000,000, and 150,000 soldiers. If the whole resources of the states which formed part of the Confederacy were taken into consideration, including the Netherlands and Denmark, they presented a mass of

60,000,000 souls, who could bring 600,000 combatants into the field; of whom one-half belonged to Germany proper, and entered into the Confederacy.* It was stipulated that considerable sums (60,000,000 francs, or £2,400,000) should be given from the common stock of

* The following valuable Table was compiled at this time by the different governments, and formed the basis of the military constitution :—

States.	Population, 1815.	Contingents.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Population, 1846.
Austria,	9,482,287	94,822	73,501	13,546	11,893,182
Prussia,	7,923,439	79,234	61,418	11,319	12,749,126
Bavaria,	3,560,000	35,600	27,595	5,036	4,504,874
Würtemberg,	1,395,462	13,955	10,816	1,994	1,742,827
Baden,	1,900,000	10,000	7,751	1,429	1,362,774
Hesse, G. duchy,	619,500	6,195	4,802	855	732,073
Hohenzollern,	145,000	145	113	21	165,574
Lichtenstein,	5,546	55	42	8	6,351
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen,	35,560	356	275	51	65,578
Hesse-Homburg,	20,000	200	155	29	24,203
Frankfort,	47,850	479	372	63	68,240
Saxony,	1,200,000	12,000	9,302	1,714	1,836,483
Hesse, Electoral,	567,868	5,679	4,402	811	732,073
Luxembourg,	255,628	2,556	1,981	365	389,319
Nassau,	302,769	3,028	2,347	433	418,626
Weimar,	201,000	2,010	1,558	287	261,094
Gotha,	185,632	1,857	1,439	265	147,195
Coburg,	80,012	800	620	114	163,328
Meiningen,	54,400	544	422	78	163,323
Hildburghausen,	29,706	297	231	42	48,844
Dessau,	52,947	529	410	76	106,820
Bernburg,	37,046	370	286	53	48,844
Köthen,	32,454	325	253	46	37,213
Sondershausen,	45,117	451	350	64	60,002
Rudolstadt,	53,937	539	418	77	69,650
Reuss, Ainée,	22,255	223	173	32	33,803
—— Cadette,	52,295	522	404	75	77,016
Hanover,	1,305,351	13,054	10,118	1,865	1,758,856
Holstein,	360,000	3,600	2,791	514	526,850
Brunswick,	209,600	2,096	1,625	299	268,943
Mecklenburg,	358,000	3,580	2,775	511	534,394
Strelitz,	71,769	718	556	103	96,292
Oldenburg,	217,769	2,178	1,688	311	278,909
Waldeck,	51,877	519	403	74	58,753
Schaumburg,	24,000	240	187	38	69,650
Lippe,	69,062	691	535	99	108,236
Lübeck,	40,650	407	316	58	47,197
Bremen,	48,500	485	376	69	72,820
Hamburg,	129,800	1,298	1,007	185	188,054
Totals,	30,163,488	301,637	233,813	43,090	41,212,729

—*Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. 270; and *Almanach de Gotha*, 1855, p. 435.

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the allied powers to Prussia and the lesser powers, to put Mayence, Landau, and Luxembourg, and the fortresses on the Rhine, in a respectable state of defence, and that the great stronghold of Mayence should be garrisoned by 13,000 men, of whom one-half should be Prussians and one-half Austrians, and Landau exclusively by Austrians. One-sixth of the infantry, and two-thirds of the subaltern officers, and two-thirds of the cavalry of each state, were to be always under arms, and the whole ready to turn out on four weeks' notice. No provision was made for erecting or strengthening any fortresses on the Vistula or towards Russia, *as no danger was apprehended from that quarter*;—a striking instance of the manner in which men, how able soever, are in their collective capacity governed by the memory of the past, rather than the anticipation of the future.[1]

[1] Traité, Nov. 1815, Paris; Arch. Dip. iv. 190, 194, 241.

6. External and internal peace and great prosperity this has secured to Germany.

Experience has proved that this constitution of the German Confederation was wisely formed with a view to external defence and internal peace. Forty years have now elapsed (1855) since it was established, and during that long period, with the single exception of one year, when the French revolution of 1848 had violently shaken all the European states, Germany has enjoyed, both externally and internally, uninterrupted peace. No foreign power has ventured to assail a Confederacy which had 300,000 men ready to repel insult, and could double the number from the resources of the principal states of the union. No domestic dissension was possible in one so strongly cemented, and in which so overwhelming a force was at all times ready to enforce obedience to the fundamental law, that no one state was on any account to make war on any other state, and that all differences were to be submitted to the decision of the Diet. By this auspicious union Germany has, for the first time in history, become a great power, possessing vast military forces, capable of exercising a preponderating influence in central Europe, and enjoying within itself the

inestimable blessing of domestic peace and tranquillity. Immense have been the effects of this blessed change. From being the battle-field of Europe, in which rival states or hostile religions sought a theatre for mutual slaughter, it has become the abode of peace, tranquillity, and industry. Nearly a whole generation know war only from the traditions of their fathers, or the moving annals of former times. The melancholy traces of the Thirty Years' War, which for nearly two centuries had been visible on the Fatherland, have been nearly obliterated by the *forty years'* peace; and, strange to say, the first long period of unbroken rest which its inhabitants have ever enjoyed, has arisen from the desolating wars of the French Revolution.

7. Great material prosperity of the country: its statistics.

The effects of this long period of repose, and of the entire cessation of domestic war, upon the development of industry and the increase of social prosperity, have been immense. The termination not only of war, but of the dread of war, for so considerable a time, has been sufficient to stimulate activity and rouse effort, and spread happiness to an extraordinary degree. The vigour and energy called forth in the war of liberation has not been lost by its termination; it has only been turned into a different channel. The Germans have realised the vision of the prophet: they have turned their swords into pruning-hooks. In Prussia, in particular, where the excitement was the greatest, and the most extraordinary efforts were made, this effect has been most conspicuous. Its population has advanced since the peace more rapidly than that of any other state in Europe: it is doubling in every fifty-two years.* Its inhabitants, which were ten millions at the battle of Waterloo, are now above sixteen millions; and its wealth and industry have advanced in a similar proportion. The entire inhabitants of the Con-

* Population of Prussia in 1815, . . . 9,923,000
" " 1828, . . . 12,672,000
" " 1854, . . . 16,285,000
—MALTE BRUN, v. 276; and *Almanach de Gotha*, 1855, p. 434.

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federacy have increased twelve millions during the last forty years—from thirty they have advanced to forty-two millions. The industry of the inhabitants has kept pace with this great increase. Not only have the labours of agriculture raised food sufficient to feed the huge and increasing multitude, but large quantities of grain and cattle are annually exported; and England, since the repeal of the Corn Laws, is indebted to Northern Ge any for a considerable part of its immense imports of corn. Manufactures have sprung up in various quarters where they were formerly unknown—the printed cotton goods of Silesia have come to rival the British; the coloured glass of Bohemia, the china of Dresden, are admired throughout the world. The chief commercial cities of the Confederacy, Hamburg, Frankfort, Lübeck, Bremen, have doubled in inhabitants; their bankers number all the kings of Europe among their debtors; and the burgher class in these great emporiums of industry has acquired such wealth and consideration as to come materially to influence the political doctrines and social changes of the country.[1]

[1] Malte Brun, v. 1, 277.

8. Splendour of its capitals and chief cities.

Nor has the wealth and prosperity of the country been less signally evinced in those more refined and imaginative branches of industry which bespeak the elevation of the general mind, and the spread of easy circumstances and improved taste among the more affluent classes. The pleasing duty will fall to the historian, in a succeeding part of this work, of recording the great men who have given to modern Germany immortal celebrity in philosophy, literature, and the fine arts; but, considered as an indication of general prosperity and the efflorescence of an advancing and happy civilisation, they are not less worthy of consideration. The change on the capitals and cities of Germany during the last forty years has been such as to exceed belief, and speaks volumes as to the beneficent effect of the institutions which have shielded it during so long a period alike from foreign

invasion and domestic warfare. This progress is in an especial manner conspicuous in northern and central Germany. The Brandenburg Gate and palace of Berlin, the cathedral of Cologne, the glorious museum and sumptuous palaces of Dresden, the Glyptothek and Valhalla, and magnificent galleries of Munich, attest at once how strongly the national mind of Germany has been turned to the fine arts during the long peace, and how large have been the resources which the increasing wealth of the people has put at the disposal of its governments for their encouragement.[1]

[1] Personal observation.

9. Universal education of the people.

It must be added, to their honour, that the rulers of the Fatherland have been not less assiduous or successful in their endeavours to promote general education, and inculcate universal instruction, not only as a parental duty of individuals, but as a public concern of the state, which is to be enforced by positive law. The persevering efforts of the German governments in this respect have been attended with results hitherto unexampled in the history of mankind. By establishing schools and seminaries of education at the public expense in every quarter, making it part of the duty of subjects to send their children to them, and detaching their direction from the fatal ingredient of *sectarian* jealousy, while the great element of *religious* instruction is sedulously preserved, the governments of Austria and Prussia have succeeded in diffusing elementary education among their subjects to an extent heretofore unknown among mankind. * The proportion of the entire inhabitants at school in Prussia has for the last quarter of a century been 1 in 7, and in Austria 1 in 14; while in England, in 1816, it was only 1 in 16, in Scotland 1 in 11, and in France 1 in 23. There are no less than 21,000 primary

* "Aucun individu en Autriche ne peut se marier s'il ne sait lire, écrire, et compter; nul maître ne peut sous peine d'amende employer un ouvrier qui ne sait ni lire ni écrire; et pour répandre les principes de morale, de petits livres rédigés avec beaucoup de soin sont distribués à très-bas prix parmi le peuple des villes et des campagnes."—MALTE BRUN, v. 646.

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schools in Prussia, and above 1000 academies, where the learned languages, mathematics, and philosophy are taught—a proportion to the population more than double that which obtains in Great Britain, notwithstanding the immense efforts to extend public instruction which have been made of late years. It may safely be affirmed that Germany exhibits a mass of general instruction and educated poverty unparalleled in any other age or country.[1]

[1] Malte Brun, v. 280.

10. Anomalous result of education on crime.

Philanthropists anticipated, from this immense spread of elementary education, a vast diminution of crime, proceeding on the adage, so flattering to the pride of intellect, that ignorance is the parent of vice. Judging from the results which have taken place in Prussia, where instruction has been pushed to so great a length, this is very far indeed from being the case. On the contrary, though one of the most highly educated countries in Europe, it is at the same time one of the most criminal. On an average of three years, from 1st January 1824 to 1st January 1827, the number of convictions in serious cases was 362 against the person, and 20,691 against property annually, which, as compared with the population at that period, was 1 convicted to 587 inhabitants; whereas in France the proportion in the same years was 1 convicted to 7285, of which 1 to 32,411 were crimes against the person, and 1 to 9392 against property. That is, in Prussia, where the proportion of persons at school to the entire population was 1 in 7, the proportion of crime to the inhabitants was *twelve times* greater than in France, where it was 1 in 23.[2]*

[1] Tableau de M. Balbi et Guerry, abridged in Malte Brun, iii. 786; as corrected in Malte Brun, v. 278, note.

* D'après les renseignements qui ont été publiés à ce sujet dans ces dernières années, il y a eu dans toutes les provinces Prussiennes depuis 1824 jusqu' au 1er Janvier 1827, 63,159 condamnations pour crimes et délits, dont 1087 contre les personnes, et 26,672 contre les propriétés. La moyenne de ces trois années est de 362 crimes ou délits contre les personnes, et de 20,691 contre les propriétés. Si l'on compare ces nombres au chiffre de la population en 1826, on a 1 crime ou délit en général sur 587 inhabitants: contre les personnes, 1 sur 34,122 habitans; et contre les propriétés, 1 sur 597 habitans.

Comparée avec les résultats qu' offre la Justice criminelle en France, cette proportion n'est pas tout-à-fait en faveur de la Prusse, puisqu' en France on compte en général 1 crime sur 7285 habitans: contre les personnes, 1 crime

closely with what has been experienced in France itself, where the proportion of conviction to the inhabitants is as 1 to 7285; and it has been found that, without one single exception in the whole eighty-four departments, the amount of crime is in the *inverse ratio* of the number of persons receiving instruction.*

11. Statistics of education and crime in Austria.

In Austria, where primary instruction is in some provinces nearly as generally diffused as in Prussia, the results are not by any means so disheartening.† The proportion of convicted crime to the entire population is there much less considerable: it is not a fourth part of what is found in Prussia. The difference of this result from that which obtains in Prussia, where general instruction is more universally diffused, appears at first sight startling, but in reality it can easily be explained, and is in fact just what experience

contre 32,411 habitans; et contre les propriétés, 1 sur 9392 habitans;—c'est-à dire, qu'en Prusse sur une population égale, on commet contre les personnes et les propriétés plus de 12 fois autant de crimes et de délits qu'en France; que contre la personne on compte à la vérité en Prusse un peu plus de crimes qu'en France à peu près dans la proportion d'un dix-neuvième. Mais que sur les propriétés seules la Prusse est le Théatre de plus de 15 fois autant de crimes et de délits que la France."—MALTE BRUN; *Géographie Universelle*, v. 277, 278.—The Author referred to this singular and startling fact in his first volume of this work, chap. I, § 47, and it was violently assailed in several periodical journals as being incorrect. The authority for the statement is therefore now given from a statistical writer of the first authority. Several other facts of a similar description, and directly adverse to common opinion, are given in the introductory chapter, the proof of which is reserved for those parts of the work which come abreast of them, in order not to overload an introductory sketch with a mass of distracting proofs and illustrations.

* Population en France, 1827, ... 31,847,000
Moyenne des crimes contre la Personne, 1825-6-7, 1 sur 32,411
„ „ „ Propriété, 1 sur . 9,392
Moyenne de tous 1 sur 7,285
—MALTE BRUN, iii. 786.

† INSTRUCTION.

	Inhabitants.	At all Schools.
Bohemia in 1824, . . .	3,895,117	420,788, or 1 in 9½ nearly.
Moravia and Silesia; . . .	2,078,584	154,000, or 1 in 16 nearly.
Upper and Lower Austria, . .	2,118,481	160,000, or 1 in 15 nearly.

CRIMES.

	1821.	1822.	1823.
Bohemia, . .	2,074	2,256	1,617
Moravia and Silesia,	861	867	637
Upper and Lower Austria,	922	2,063	2,018

—MALTE BRUN, v. 726, 737.

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tells us might be expected under the different circumstances of these different states. Austria is an educated, but not an *enlightened* nation; Prussia is both the one and the other. In Austria there is little commerce or manufactures; the capital even only contains 411,000 inhabitants; there are few great towns. The industry of the country is mainly agricultural. Secluded on their little domains, of which they for the most part enjoy the property, the peasants read nothing but the little books prepared for their use by the clergy or government authorities. This is not eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. For good or for evil, its effects will not appear there. In Prussia and Northern Germany, where the great bulk of the inhabitants are Lutheran, the innumerable works which issue annually from the press of the Fatherland are devoured. It is when general instruction coexists with a free press, and not till then, that its effects appear. In Northern Germany the press is far from being generally free in relation to present events, but it is completely so in regard to past or general literature; and thence its powerful influence, both in unfolding genius, stimulating thought, enhancing desires, and multiplying crime.

12. Seeds of discontent arising out of this very prosperity.

One might naturally have been led to imagine that the complete protection, unbroken peace, and general prosperity which Germany has enjoyed from 1815 to 1848, would have had the effect of inducing universal contentment, and that the Fatherland would have exhibited the pleasing spectacle of unanimity and concord springing out of social happiness. It was just the reverse. Peace cast not the olive branch, but a firebrand into its bosom; and the universal protection which was enjoyed, and stillness which prevailed, proved but the harbinger of future strife and desolation. None but the inexperienced can be surprised at this result; for such is the constitution of human nature, and such the provision made by the Almighty for mingling suffering with joy in this scene of probation, that

it is hard to say whether sorrow springs more commonly from prosperity, or felicity from care; and in the attainment of the very objects for which men contend most strenuously at one time, is found the secret spring of adversity at another. Germany was no exception to this universal law; on the contrary, her social situation was such, after the war of liberation terminated, as too surely foreshadowed a war of distractions in future times.

13. Manner in which this was brought about.

That terrible strife was brought to a successful issue by an unparalleled warlike effort—by the universal arming of the people; by exciting in all ranks, to the very uttermost, the ardent and enthusiastic feelings of the heart. In the poems of Körner, as in a mirror, we may see reflected the feelings which then shook to the centre every heart in the Fatherland. Such was the strength of France and the power of Napoleon, that deliverance could be effected in no other way. The effort proved successful; the victory was gained; but it was gained at a cost which cast the seeds of interminable future discord into the bosom of the community. For as much as the power of the great military monarchies forming part of the Confederation was enhanced by the prodigious development of the military spirit in their inhabitants, and augmentation of the military strength in their governments, was the thirst for liberal institutions, and the desire of exercising a sway in the administration of affairs, spread among their people. This effect was universal and inevitable; it was felt even among the distant nobles of Russia, and induced the terrible military revolt of 1825. How much more must it have been felt, therefore, among the educated youth of Northern Germany—among those whose hearts had warmed at the songs of Körner, whose souls had been inspired by the poetry of Schiller, and who had struck for the Fatherland in the belief that they were cementing with their blood not only its external independence, but its internal freedom!

It cannot be said that any *express* promise was made

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by their sovereigns to the German people when the war of liberation broke out, or during its continuance, that they should enjoy representative institutions as the reward of their exertions; but it is undoubtedly true that this was universally understood, and constituted the mainspring of the astonishing efforts made by the people of Germany at that eventful period. It breathes in every page of the soul-inspiring strains of Körner—the expression, as the finest poetry always is, of the general mind when it was written. It was so universally understood that it did not require to be expressly promised: what is firmly relied on between trusting hearts never does. But the Emperor Alexander spoke the language then generally felt alike by sovereigns and the people, when, in the first moment of triumph on the taking of Paris, he said, that the allied powers "wished France to be great, and powerful, *and free*, and that they would respect *any constitution* which it might adopt." [1]

14. Universal expectation of liberal institutions which prevailed in Germany after the peace.

[1] Proclamation of Alexander, 31st March 1814. See History of Europe, c. 89, § 5, note.

But abundant evidence remains in the public announcements and diplomatic acts of the period immediately following the termination of hostilities, that the general establishment of constitutional governments formed part of the understood compact between the sovereigns and people of Germany. Prussia took the lead in the great announcement looked for with breathless anxiety by so many millions of people. By a royal decree, published on May 25, 1815, just three weeks before the battle of Waterloo, and when sovereigns and people in Germany were alike quaking before the spectre of Napoleon's resurrection, their intention was announced in regard to Prussia in the most unequivocal terms. By it it was declared that a "*representation of the people shall be formed.* For this end the provincial assemblies then existing are to be re-established, and remodelled according to the exigencies of the time; and where at present there are no representative assemblies, they were to be introduced. From these the national representation is

15. Evidence from public acts of the promise to give Germany constitutional government. May 25, 1815.

to be formed, which is to sit at Berlin, and the functions of which were to extend its deliberations upon all those objects of legislation which concern the personal right of citizens and their property, including taxation. A committee is to be formed at Berlin of officers of state and inhabitants of the provinces, nominated and presided over by the chancellor, for the purpose of organising the provincial assemblies and the national representation, and framing a constitution according to the principles then laid down, which was to meet on the 1st September next." And this promise was in a fortnight after extended to all the states of the Confederation by the thirteenth article of the Fundamental Act, signed by all the powers on June 8, 1815, *still before the battle of Waterloo;* which provided, as already mentioned, "That there shall be assemblies of the states *in all the countries of the Confederation.*" [1]

[1] Arch. Dip. iv. 17; Ann. Reg. 1815, 108, 109, 388; State Papers.

16. Delay in performing these promises on the part of the German governments.

In nations, as individuals, it too often happens that promises made during a period of danger, or under the influence of extraordinary feelings of terror or gratitude, are forgotten when the peril is over, or the period of excitement is past. The selfishness of libertines has invented the infamous maxim that lovers' vows are made only to be broken, although many a noble heart and heroic deed has proved the falsehood of the assertion; but there are unfortunately fewer instances of unswerving faith in governments, whether monarchical or democratic. The monarchs of Germany broke faith as completely with the people, who had won for them the victory, after it was gained, as the Tiers Etat of France did with the clergy, whose accession had given them the majority over the privileged orders at the commencement of the Revolution. Ten days after the signature of this solemn act of the Confederation, which guaranteed parliaments to all the states of Germany, the battle of Waterloo was fought, the independence of the country was secured, and with the danger all memory of the

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promises passed away. The 1st September came, but no committee met to arrange and settle the organisation of the provincial and the national representation in Prussia; years elapsed, but nothing was done generally toward the formation of estates of the realm in any countries of the Confederation. The utmost dissatisfaction was felt in all the states of Northern Germany, especially in Prussia, at this breach of public faith, and many even came to regret the active part they had taken in supporting their ungrateful rulers against the French domination.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1816, 137; Stein's Lebens Geschichte, v. 124.

17. States established in Hanover, Würtemberg, and Baden, but not in Prussia.

The public voice on the subject was so strong that it could not be withstood in the lesser states, and accordingly "estates," or representative assemblies, were established in this year and the next in Hanover, Würtemberg, and Baden, which met and deliberated on the public concerns. Though far from possessing the power or consideration of the English parliament, they yet enjoyed the right of voting taxes and subsidies to government, and their establishment gave general satisfaction. But it was otherwise in Prussia, which, as the most powerful state in Northern Germany, and the one in which a free constitution was most loudly demanded by the people, fixed universal attention. Great difficulties no doubt existed in that country, chiefly in regard to the constitution of the upper house, in consequence of the impoverished condition of the nobility from the long-continued exactions of the French, and the unparalleled efforts made by all classes during the war of liberation. But these difficulties might have been overcome, had the government really been sincere in their desire to establish representative assemblies. But they were not so, and their whole efforts, after the din of cannon had ceased, were directed to gain time to elude performance of their promises. Still, however, they professed their determination to abide by them; but evidence was soon afforded that they did not intend the public to take part in their

deliberations concerning the constitution, for on January 3, 1816, a cabinet order was issued from Berlin for the suppression of a journal entitled *The Rhenish Mercury*, which had strongly advocated liberal opinions. At the same time a letter was published from Counsellor Sack, president of the Rhenish provinces of the monarchy, to the superior officers of those provinces, in which it was stated that government was occupied with framing a law concerning the freedom of the press which should reconcile all interests; and in the mean time it called on the censors in all the provinces to redouble their vigilance "in examining all gazettes and political journals, so that no passages might appear in which injurious attacks were made on any foreign government, *or incompetent criticisms on the transactions of their own.*" [1]

Jan. 3, 1816.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1816, 137.

18. Tardy promises of the Prussian government.

The public press was in a great degree shackled in Northern Germany by these measures, but the public discontent was only thereby increased, and, deprived of its natural vent in the columns of the press, it sought an issue in the addresses of public bodies, which could not so easily be stifled. The Rhenish provinces, in which local assemblies, by their old constitution, existed, urged the fulfilment in 1817 of the promises contained in the royal proclamation of 25th May 1815; but the government received the address coldly, observing, "Those who admonish the king are guilty of doubting the inviolability of his word." To appease, however, the public mind, which in the course of this year became extremely agitated on the subject, an official Berlin paper announced on 20th August that during the last sittings of the Council of State, the committee charged with framing a constitution had had several meetings, presided over by the Prince Chancellor of State. It was declared by that important functionary, "that the constitution ought to unfold itself, as it were, in an historic manner out of the state of society; that therefore a correct knowledge of existing institutions was necessary, and what was now in existence

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should first be taken into consideration." On these grounds he proposed that commissioners should be sent to the provinces to obtain information on the spot regarding their existing customs, which was accordingly done, and they were to report the result of their inquiries to the next Council of State, which was to meet in autumn.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1817, 155.

19. Important resolution of the Diet regarding the internal affairs of the Confederation.

June 12, 1817.

Before the report of the commissioners, however, could be received, a step had been taken by the Diet which rendered it of comparatively little importance, and has tended more than any other to extinguish all advances towards freedom in Germany. On the 12th June 1817 the Diet agreed to a protocol which defined its exterior *and interior* powers in relation to the affairs of the Confederacy. By the second article of this protocol it was provided: "In like manner as the territories of individual states are under the general guarantee of the Confederacy, so it is also called on to charge itself with the guarantee of the *particular constitutions of the German states*, under the modifications adopted generally in accordance with the imperial Austrian vote on occasion of the motion of the Grand-duke of Saxe-Weimar; that is to say, with the *unanimous consent of the prince and estates*, that the Confederacy is charged with the guarantee of the constitution." And by the fifth article: "If the government of any confederated state should take measures in regard to persons or corporations inconsistent with the fundamental laws and decisions of the Confederation, or which may prove dangerous to the external *or internal security of the latter, the Diet is called upon to intervene to procure the abrogation of that measure.* Should the case arise of a difference between the reigning sovereign and his subjects, as has been justly remarked on the part of Bavaria in the fifth sitting of last year, so that the interior tranquillity of the country is menaced while the general tranquillity is compromised, the Confederation as a body,[2] after having used all the constitutional ways and means, and legal means of conciliation of the countries in ques-

[2] Protocol de June 12, 1817, arts. 4 and 5 (6); Arch. Dip. iv. 73, 75.

tion, is to consider itself *bound to intervene* in order to prevent such an explosion, or to re-establish tranquillity, if it is already compromised. In such a case the confederate state thus agitated is equally entitled to *reclaim the succour of the Confederation, as the latter is bound to accord it.*"

20. Great effect of these provisions.

These clauses in the fundamental statutes of the Confederation rendered it a matter of impossibility to establish in any of the lesser states constitutions not in accordance with the views of the great military powers, whose tendencies towards absolute government were fixed and unalterable; for, the Diet being declared competent to intervene in any internal disputes between a sovereign prince and his subjects, and the former as being entitled to reclaim it, the smallest state in the Confederacy was liable on any internal convulsion to be overwhelmed by the entire forces of the gigantic "*bund*" invoked by the ruling government. This state of things effectually prevented the growth of liberal institutions to any considerable extent in any of the free cities or lesser states of the Confederacy, where they were most likely to arise. If Middlesex, Manchester, Glasgow, and Ireland, had formed part of a huge confederacy, which could bring 300,000 men into the field, and in which the decided majority was in the hands of the military and monarchical powers, the efforts of the Catholic Association, Reform Clubs, and Anti-Corn-Law League, would probably have met with a very different result from that which, in the sea-girt and commercial realm of Britain, actually attended them.

21. Effect of the Spanish and Italian revolutions of 1819 and 1820 on Germany.

The anti-democratic and despotic tendencies of the Diet became every day more conspicuous with the increase of the opposite principles in the Spanish peninsula, France, and England, in the years 1818, 1819, and 1820, of which a full account has already been given. The overthrow of the established government in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, in those eventful years, the open attempts to subvert it in Great Britain, and the

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narrow escape from revolution made by France, excited the utmost alarm in the courts of the northern powers, and it became the chief object of their solicitude to prevent the spread of similar principles in the states of the German Confederacy. To accomplish this object, the congress at Carlsbad agreed on an official letter of the Emperor of Austria to the Diet on 20th September 1819, which set forth in strong terms the apprehensions felt by his Majesty at the alarming spread of democratic principles in the adjoining states, and earnestly counselled the adoption of such measures as might prevent the evil from spreading in the states of the Confederacy.* In this

* "Jamais les fondateurs de la Fédération Allemande n'ont pu supposer que l'on doit donner à l'article 13 des interprétations qui seraient en contradiction avec la teneur littérale et claire de cette disposition, ou que l'on dût en tirer des conséquences qui annuleraient non seulement l'article 13, mais le texte entier de l'acte entier de la confédération dans toutes ses dispositions principales, et qui rendraient l'existence ultérieure de l'union elle-même très problématique. Jamais il n'ont pu supposer que l'on confondrait le principe non équivoque *des Etats organisés d'un pays*, principe à l'affermissement duquel ils mettaient un grand prix, avec des principes et des formes purement démocratiques, et que l'on fonderait sur ce mal-entendu des prétentions, dont on devait apercevoir d'abord ou du moins reconnaître dans très peu de temps l'incompatibilité avec l'existence d'Etats monarchiques, qui, à l'exception peu considérable de villes libres comme dans cette alliance, doivent être les seuls, élemens de la confédération. . . . . Les décisions de la Diète Fédérale, en tant qu'elles ont pour but la sûreté extérieure et intérieure du corps entier, l'indépendance et l'inviolabilité individuelle des membres de la confédération, et le maintien de l'ordre légalement existant, qui est inséparable de l'une et de l'autre, doivent avoir une fois obligation pour tous, et aucune législation particulière et aucune mesure séparée ne peut s'opposer à l'éxecution de telles décisions. . . . . Une grande partie des Professeurs académiques, entrainés par le torrent d'un siècle de bouleversement général, ont méconnu les vraies dispositions des universités, et y ont substitué une éducation arbitraire et souvent pernicieuse. Au lieu de remplir le premier de leurs dévoirs, qui est de former les jeunes gens confiés à leurs soins pour le service de l'Etat auquel ils étaient appelés, et de leur inspirer les principes dont la patrie à laquelle ils appartiennent puisse se promettre d'heureux fruits, ils ont poursuivi le fantôme d'une éducation soi-disant cosmopolite, ils ont répandu un chaos de vaines rêveries dans des âmes également accessibles à la vérité et à l'erreur, et leur ont suggeré, sinon de l'animosité, du moins des idées désavantageuses et de la répugnance pour l'ordre légal existant. . . . Les maux sans nombre que la liberté de la Presse a répandue sur l'Allemagne sont encore beaucoup accrus depuis que la publicité des délibérations des états et l'extension de cette publicité à des objets, qui ne devraient jamais sortir du sanctuaire des sénats pour être livrés à la publicité, que dans les formes régulières et solennelles, mais jamais pour servir de jeu à une vaine curiosité et à une critique superficielle, a donné à l'audace des écrivains un nouvel aliment, et a fourni à chaque gazetier

letter the false interpretation put upon article 13th of the Act of Federal Union,* the incorrect ideas which prevailed regarding the functions of the Federal Assembly, and the means of obviating them, the defective regime of schools and universities, and the abuses of the press, especially such part of it as is composed of journal and periodical writings, were in an especial manner recommended to their attention.[1]

[1] Lettre du l'Empereur d'Autriche, 20 Sep. 1819; Arch. Dip. 117, 120.

22. Resolution of the Diet on the propositions of Austria.

In pursuance of this recommendation, the Diet took the different points brought under their notice into consideration, and framed a resolution on the subject which bore strong evidence to the influence of Austria in the Confederacy, and the disastrous effect which the revolution in the Spanish and Italian peninsulas had had on the progress of real freedom. It was agreed that all the federal states should each at their sittings next year present to the Diet a note containing their ideas on the interpretation to be put on the 13th article of the Fundamental Act; and in the mean time, until a definitive regulation on the subject could be formed, it was agreed *unanimously* that an interim one should be adopted, and for that purpose that provisional regulations should be agreed to, calculated to check the abuses in universities and of the press. For that purpose a central authority was instituted, empowered to take cognisance of the matters, and in particular of the revolutionary attempts which had been brought to light in many states of the Confederacy.[2] A commission was at the same time appointed to carry this resolution into full effect, which was to sit

[2] Arch. Dip. iv. 164, 165.

un prétexte pour élever sa voix sur des affaires qui présentent encore des doutes et des difficultés aux plus grands hommes d'état. Il serait inutile de rappeler à quel point les abus pernicieux sont enfin montés, quel bouleversement dans les idées, quelles fermentations dans les esprits, quel tumulte des passions, quels égaremens fanatiques, quels crimes enfin elle a fait naitre; et l'on ne peut supposer que la partie bien-pensante et vraiment éclairée de la Nation Allemande, puisse être d'une opinion différente, ou être partagée dans son jugement sur un mal aussi notoire."—*Lettre de l'Empereur d'Autriche à la Diète d'Allemagne*, 20 Sept. 1819; *Arch. Dip.* iv. 117, 137.

* That guaranteeing Estates in all the states of the Union.

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permanently, notwithstanding the adjournment of the central Diet.

23. Supreme Austregal Court. Aug. 3, 1820.

To carry these views more fully into effect, a supreme tribunal entitled "Austregal," was appointed, which was empowered to pronounce judgment without appeal in any questions which might arise between members of the Confederation, and to carry into instant execution the decisions of the Diet by military force, the expense of which was to form a charge against and be levied on the state which rendered such extreme measures necessary. The powers of this court were not long of being exercised. On 30th May 1823, the journal entitled *Der Deutsche Beobachter* was suppressed at Mayence by orders of the Federal Diet, and several other journals in the lesser states were stopped in like manner by the same authority. The constitutions of the lesser states, which contained several of the elements of freedom, were sanctioned by the Diet; but as they were all subject to this overruling authority, and without the means of resisting it, they could have no results in establishing the liberties of Germany. Prussia, in particular, took the lead in resisting the demand for the convocation of a general diet or parliament for the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom. On 5th June 1823 the definitive regulations respecting the *provincial* estates of that kingdom were published, but the convocation of a general diet was passed over in silence, and the promise of the government in that respect was never carried into execution till it was forced upon it by the revolution of 1848.[1]

June 5, 1823.

[1] Arch. Dip. iv. 166, 184.

24. Assassination of Kotzebue.

A deplorable event occurred at this period, which demonstrated the strength of the feeling in favour of political freedom which had got possession of the German mind, and the lengths which its impassioned youth were prepared to go to carry out their principles. KOTZEBUE, the dramatist, was suspected of being in correspondence with the Emperor of Russia, by whom he had been made a councillor of state, as to the state of

public opinion in the cities of Germany; and from the manner in which the Czars seek out talent, and allure it into their service wherever it is to be found, it is probable that the suspicion was well founded. On this account he was, despite his great talents and the popularity of his writings, regarded with undisguised aversion by the liberal youth of Germany; and one of them, Charles Frederick Sand, who had distinguished himself by his courage in the war of liberation, undertook to deliver his country from the traitor. With this view he repaired to Manheim, where Kotzebue was residing with his family, and there his murderous intent was too fatally carried into execution. Having obtained entrance into his house under the pretext of business, he delivered to him a paper, on which were written the words, "Sentence of death executed against Augustus Kotzebue, 23d March 1819." He then drew a poniard from his bosom, with which he pierced him to the heart. Alarmed by his cries, Kotzebue's wife arrived in the room only in time to see him expire. The assassin quietly rose, left the room, and descended the stair of the house, exclaiming, "The traitor is dead, the Fatherland is saved! *Vivat Teutonia!*" Then, as a crowd, attracted by the cries of Kotzebue's wife, followed him, he turned calmly round, and, drawing the bloody dagger from his bosom, he said, "Yes! I am the murderer! It is thus that all traitors to their country should perish." Then, kneeling down, and raising his eyes beaming with fervour to heaven, he exclaimed, "I thank thee, O God! for permitting me to do this deed;" and, opening his vest, he plunged the dagger in his bosom, and fell to all appearance lifeless on the pavement.[1]

March 23, 1819.

[1] Ann. Hist. ii. 283, 284; Ann. Reg. 1819, Chron. 211.

25. His execution, and immense sensation it created.

This tragic event, which excited a prodigious sensation in Germany, was sufficiently alarming in itself, the more especially as it occurred only a few weeks after the murder of the Duke de Berri by Louvel, in Paris, the Cato Street conspiracy in London, and the revolution of Riego in Madrid. But it became doubly alarming from what

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afterwards occurred. Though severely, and to all appearance, mortally wounded, Sand did not die, and by the care of the surgeons sent to attend him, he was recovered. He was brought to trial and convicted, but his execution did not take place for fourteen months, in consequence of the German custom not to execute a criminal till he has confessed his guilt. It took place at length on the 20th May 1820, at six in the morning, on the road between Manheim and Heidelberg. Notwithstanding the earliness of the hour and the distance from Manheim, an immense crowd, deeply moved, assembled to witness the execution. Though attenuated by his long confinement and illness, Sand gazed calmly on the scaffold, and ascended it with a firm step. He declined the assistance of a Protestant minister which was offered him, and wished to address the people; but being reminded he had promised not to do so, he contented himself with exclaiming with a loud voice, that he died for his country. Seated in the fatal chair, he received the stroke without shrinking. His head was severed from his body with one blow, and numbers of students who had come up from Heidelberg dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood. Such was the interest excited in Germany by his fate, that, within a few weeks after, his mother had received above four thousand letters of condolence from all parts of the country. The chair in which he sat at his execution was purchased by a society for six louis.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. iii. 269; Ann. Reg. 1820, 211, Chron.

26. Consequences of this event highly injurious to freedom.

No good cause was ever yet advanced by crime; on the contrary, many have been retarded, some ruined by it. The assassination of Kotzebue was as detrimental to the cause of freedom as that of Marat had been; the dagger of Sand was not more an instrument of good than that of Charlotte Corday. The open sympathy evinced for the assassin, and the multitudes who gave proof of having embraced his principles, justly awakened the alarm of all the sovereigns of Europe. It was known that Kotzebue's death had been the work of the secret societies, and

their number was very great in Northern and Central Germany. Along the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Maine, for hundreds of miles, nearly all the young men appeared in the ancient German costume, the chosen symbol of the confederates, and which at once revealed their numbers, and suggested "an ancient ideal system of Teutonic freedom." Meetings of enthusiastic students were held in various parts of Switzerland, particularly the field Rutli and the chapel of Tell, with long beards, and in the old costume, where secret signs were adopted, and the most fervent spirit awakened. In the streets of Jena and Heidelberg, and under the walls of the palace of Darmstadt, the celebrated song was nightly heard, "Princes, arise! ye people, rise!" the author of which, though universally sought after, was never discovered. These symptoms, coexisting with the overthrow of the governments of the Spanish and Italian peninsulas at the same time, excited the utmost alarm in all the courts of the Confederacy; and to this cause, more than any other, is to be ascribed the decisive measures soon after adopted, which checked for a long period the progress of German freedom.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1820, 211; Life of Follen, i. 52, 58; Mart. i. 290.

27. Circular of the cabinet of Berlin. Oct. 19, 1819.

The views entertained at this period on the constitutional question by the German governments, are well expressed in a circular addressed by the cabinet of Berlin to the allied powers, on October 19, 1819. "For long the fermentation of ideas that prevails in Germany has awakened the most serious alarm in all who are attached to social order or public tranquillity. How sound soever the feelings of the great body of the people may be, and howsoever attached to their sovereigns, it is in vain to disguise that there exists in society a *sourde* fermentation, which is sedulously kept alive by the unbridled licence of writings and speeches. That mental fermentation is in part natural, and may be explained by the extraordinary events which, during the war of liberation, drew all classes from their natural sphere, by the sacrifices which the deliverance

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of Germany cost all its inhabitants, and which they felt the more keenly in the calm which succeeded the storm; by the exaggerated hopes, which expected to see an age of gold arise out of that age of iron; and by the violent monetary and commercial crises which arose out of the great efforts of the preceding period, and could not be at once restored to their natural level. But in addition to these natural sources of discontent, there has of late years acted upon society an artificial discontent, springing from the erroneous principles, chimerical and ambitious theories, base and interested passions, engendered and set afloat by the revolutionary spirit, and by the writings and speeches of the democratic party. No one can have for long surveyed the state of Germany, especially in the north and west, without recognising the existence of a party extending its ramifications over all that vast country, drawing its origin from secret societies, and fortified by extensive associations, the object of which is to overturn Germany, and substitute for its actual divisions and governments a republic, one and indivisible.

28. Continued.

"An atrocious crime, recently committed, gives the measure of the frenzy and the audacity of the revolutionary party. That assassination, committed by a single individual, who possibly had no accomplices, was not the less the fruit of a general train of thought, the unmistakable symptom of a diseased state of mind, extended, general, which thus revealed itself to terrified Germany. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to collect the opinions of the most enlightened classes, of professors and students in universities, and of nearly all the writers subjected to their influence, who have all striven to justify or extenuate a deed which has shocked the moral feelings of all the unsophisticated part of mankind: while it inspired horror in some, it awakened only admiration in others. The inquiries which this event has occasioned in Prussia, have led to similar ones in other parts of Germany, and the result has been everywhere the same; universally

have been discovered the existence and activity of a party, which sowed in the shade, for a future more or less remote, the seeds of a revolution. The leaders communicate by letter, but more frequently by personal intercourse or missionaries; linked together by identity of sentiments, they understand each other without being introduced, or having even met. Their object is to remould society, to efface all the political divisions of Germany, to substitute a real unity of that vast country for the union of its members, and to arrive, over the ruins of the existing order, at a new order of things.

29. Concluded.

"Their mode of action is to apply themselves sedulously to the rising generation, by giving them in all the establishments of education, from the schools to the universities, the same spirit, the same sentiments, the same habits. That spirit is one of independence and pride, of subversive principles, based on an abstruse system of metaphysics, and on a mystical theology, in order to strengthen political by religious fanaticism. Those sentiments are, the contempt for all that exists, a hatred against kings and governments, an enthusiasm for the phantom which they call liberty, and a love for all extraordinary things. Those habits are such as increase physical strength, and, above all, a taste for secret and mysterious associations, to be used as so many arms against society. The "Zurnwesen" and "Burschenschaft," tending to make of the whole youth of Germany *a state within the state*, have no other object. It is intended that in a few years hence these young men, formed in this manner, entirely docile to the precepts of their masters, placed in the government, should make use of their power to overturn it. The doctrine of these sectarians, as the crime committed at Manheim, and the numerous apologies made for it, have revealed, is based upon two measures, equally perverse. The first is, that the end justifies the means; the second, that the merit of actions depends entirely on the ideas which have

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suggested them, and that those ideas are always praiseworthy when they have the independence of Germany for their object. Such is the nature of the evil which the inquiries that have been set on foot have revealed. It is evident that they do not point to conspiracies, *but to revolution, and that not in Prussia alone, but in entire Germany; not at the present, but some future time.*" [1]

[1] Circulaire du Roi de Prusse, Oct. 19, 1819; Arch. Dip. iv. 299, 301.

30. Reflections on this picture of Germany.

"Such was the chief part of this celebrated manifesto, which subsequent events have rendered prophetic. Amidst some exaggerations usual in such state papers, it is evident that the able memoir of M. Bernstorff faithfully depicted the condition of the youth of Germany at the period when it was written; and if any one doubts the fidelity of the portrait, he has only to turn to the annals of 1848, for there he will find its realisation. In one particular only it exhibited a fallacious, or rather a one-sided view. It told truly and without exaggeration the existing principles and views of the combined youth of Germany, and the dangers to be apprehended from them; but it did not tell what was equally true, the strength of the conservative feelings in the great bulk of the rural population, and the power of government in every state, arising from the knowledge that it would be supported, if matters came to a crisis, by the whole military strength of the Confederacy. This circumstance rendered any general convulsion at *that* period impossible, or rather hopeless of success; but it postponed the danger rather than removed it, and it was easy to foresee that if a crisis was to arise, so agitating the minds of men as to shake the great military monarchies of Austria and Prussia, Germany would become the theatre of a convulsion more widespread and violent than any which had yet devastated the world.

But these were remote and future effects; in the mean time the reaction against the revolutionary spirit evoked by the Spanish and Italian revolutions was

attended with decisive effects, which for nearly twenty years arrested the progress of constitutional freedom in Germany. The measures of repression recommended by the cabinet of Vienna, and adopted by the Diet, as already mentioned, on 28th September in this year, were immediately and vigorously carried into execution. Repressive measures, especially against the schools, the universities, and the press, were universally adopted, and their effect was thus set forth by Prince Metternich, in a circular to foreign courts, on 18th December 1819: "The resolutions of the Diet of Frankfort of 20th September are in course of execution in every part of Germany, and already their beneficial effects have been experienced. The agitation has sensibly diminished, the revolutionists are coerced, several of them have sought an asylum in foreign lands; the good men and true are daily increasing, and strengthened by the accession of the weak and timid, who always take part with the gaining cause. This first reactionary movement against the revolutionary principle has been powerfully supported by the energetic measures of the British parliament; and if the French ministry has the wisdom to profit by this fortunate conjunction to adopt a more monarchical policy, nothing can hereafter oppose the complete triumph of the friends of order, especially in an epoch when the intimate union which subsists between the great powers renders, so to speak, all political complications impossible." [1]

31. Circular of Metternich detailing the effect of the repressive measures.

Dec. 18, 1819.

[1] Circulaire d'Autriche, Dec. 18, 1819; Arch. Dip. iv. 307, 309.

The outbreak of the Neapolitan revolution in 1820 excited the utmost alarm in the German governments, from its close proximity to the discontented states of central and northern Italy. It drew forth a confidential circular from Prince Metternich to the different courts of the Confederacy, in which he stated: "The recent events in Naples have proved, with stronger evidence than any anterior event of the kind, that even in a state wisely and temperately governed, and among a quiet people, content with their rulers, the venom of the

32. Circular of Metternich on the Neapolitan revolution,

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revolutionary sects may produce the most violent convulsions, and induce a sudden catastrophe. It is completely proved that it was the intrigues of the Carbonari which alone, without any external shock, without any cause even pretended, have produced the seditious movements which have determined, in a moment of distress, his majesty the King of Naples to abdicate the government, to dissolve the existing authorities, and to proclaim a constitution strange to his country, which has not even stood the test of experience among the people where it originated; in other words, to erect anarchy into law. The Emperor is convinced that that unexpected event will make the deepest impression on all the courts of Germany. It teaches, by a memorable example, how dangerous it is to behold with the eye of indifference the movements of the secret societies which work in the dark, and how wisely the princes of Germany have acted in watching with vigilance, and repressing with severity, the first symptoms of similar culpable conspiracies."[1]

[1] Note confidentielle du Prince Metternich, Vienna, July 26, 1820; Arch. Dip. iv. 310, 311.

33. Final Act of Confederation. May 17, 1820.

When such was the terror excited in the courts of Austria and Prussia, who commanded a decided majority of votes in the Diet and wielded three-fourths of the military force of the Confederacy, by the revolutions of Spain and Naples, and the spread of secret societies in Germany, it was not to be expected that the principles of constitutional freedom could make any progress. Accordingly, after years of prolonged discussion, in the form of notes, resolutions, and protocols, in which, with the progress of change in the south of Europe, the influence of the great military powers became daily more conspicuous, the final and fundamental act of the Confederacy was unanimously agreed to. It contained various and minute provisions for securing the Confederacy from external attack and internal disorder, which rendered it impossible for any single state, especially of the lesser order, to resist the general will, as expressed by the great

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military powers who possessed a preponderance of votes.* On the delicate and much-canvassed matter of the formation of constitutions, provided for by the celebrated 13th article of the Federal Act, it was declared: "Seeing that, according to the 13th article of the Federal Act, and the declarations subsequently emitted on that subject, there should be state constitutions in all the countries of the Confederation, the Federal Assembly is charged to take care that that resolution should not remain unexecuted in any confederated state. It is reserved to the *sovereign princes* of the confederated states to regulate the internal affairs, having regard as much to the established rights of the old estates which formerly existed, as to the relations resulting from existing circumstances. The constitution of estates at present in vigour *cannot be changed but in a constitutional way.* The German Confederacy being, with the exception of the free towns, formed of sovereign princes, *all the political powers are to remain vested in the supreme chief of the state,* and the sovereign cannot be bound to admit the co-operation of the estates by a constitution but in the exercise of certain determined rights. The confederated sovereigns cannot be hindered or restrained in the performance of their federal obligations by any constitution of estates. When the publicity of deliberations of the

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* "Si dans un Etat confédéré, par suite d'une résistance des sujets contre l'autorité, la tranquillité intérieure est menacée immédiatement, et qu'il y ait à craindre une propagation de mouvemens séditieux, ou qu'une sédition réelle ait eclaté, et si le gouvernement lui-même, apres avoir épuisé les moyens constitutionnels et légaux, réclame l'assistance de la confédération, la Diète est en devoir de procurer un secours prompt pour rétablir l'ordre. Si dans ce dernier cas le gouvernement étant notoirement hors d'état de réprimer la sédition par ses propres forces, et en même temps empêché par les circonstances de demander l'assistance de la confédération, l'assemblée fédérale n'en est pas moins obligée d'intervenir, même sans y être invitée, pour rétablir l'ordre et la sûreté. Lorsque la tranquillité publique et l'ordre légal sont menacés dans plusieurs états de la confédération par des associations dangereuses, et des complots contre lesquels il ne peut être pris des mesures suffisantes que par la co-opération du corps entier, l'assemblée fédérale est appelée à mettre en délibération et à arrêter de telles mesures après en avoir préalablement traité avec les gouvernemens qui sont menacés de plus près."—Arts. 26, 28, Acte Final; *Archives Diplomatiques,* iv. 45, 46.

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estates has been accorded by the constitution, care must be taken that neither in the deliberations themselves, nor in their publication by the press, the legal limits of the liberty of speech of the press should be passed in a manner dangerous for the public tranquillity. When a member of the Confederation desires the guarantee of the Confederacy for a constitution which has been introduced in it, the federal assembly is authorised to grant it. By so doing, it acquires the right, when the parties concerned require it, to maintain the constitution, and to smooth down the difficulties which may arise in its execution or interpretation, by an amicable mediation or a decree-arbitral, in so far as other means for attaining the same object may not have been prescribed by legislation."[1]

[1] Acte Final, June 8, 1820; Arch. Dip. iv. 58, 60, Arts. 54, 60.

34. Effect of this Final Act on German liberty.

Such was the FINAL ACT which formed the constitution of the German Confederacy, which defined and fixed its form of federal and separate government, but in the inverse ratio of the Reform Bill of England, for it did not confirm but destroyed the influence of the people in the administration of affairs. It is easy to see that in a confederacy thus constituted, and with a preponderating weight enjoyed in the federal government by the great military monarchies, the growth of constitutional freedom in Germany by pacific means was rendered impossible. The free cities, in which the spirit of liberty burned with the greatest intensity, and a few lesser states and large towns by whom it was shared, were completely kept down by the weight of Austria and Prussia, who not only commanded a majority of votes in the Diet, but had the whole military force of the Confederacy at their disposal. The clauses in the Final Act which declared that "no constitution could be changed but in a constitutional way," and that any state might call upon the Confederacy to support it if any other mode of change were attempted, were decisive in a Confederacy constituted as the German was, against any progressive

enlargement of popular rights. The first gave the initiative in any changes that might be contemplated to the constituted authorities alone; the last brought an overwhelming force to crush any attempt to introduce them in any other way.

35. Illusory edict of Prussia regarding provincial diets.

Accordingly, it soon appeared that the extension of constitutional freedom in Germany had been finally stopped, at least in the greater states, by this act. Austria took no steps towards the establishment of a constitution in her dominions; Prussia did nearly as little. By an edict issued on 20th January 1820, the public debt was fixed at 180,091,720 dollars, and the contraction of every fresh debt was rendered dependent upon the will of the future Imperial Diet, but no mention was made of representation or estates. The definitive resolutions regarding these were published at Berlin on June 5, 1823, which laid down regulations for the formation and meeting of *provincial* estates, but passed over the convocation of any parliament or national diet in Silesia. The Prussian minister, in communicating this decree of the cabinet of Berlin to the Federal Diet, said that by this act "were accomplished the resolutions taken in common by the founders of the German Confederacy according to the 13th article of the Federal Act, and afterwards explained by the 56th article of the Final Act." He might as well have said that Charles I. would have redeemed his promise to convoke a parliament by publishing regulations for the election of town-councils, or Scotch county commissioners of supply.[1]

Jan. 20, 1820.

June 5, 1823.

[1] Ann. Hist. vi. 263, 264.

36. Refusal of the Diet to sanction the demand of Holstein for a constitution.

The determination of the ruling powers in Germany to elude all demands from their subjects for performance of the promise given in the Federal Act—that constitutions should be everywhere established, and that the Confederacy would enforce performance of that undertaking—was strikingly evinced in the same year, in the proceeding which took place in regard to a petition from the prelates and equestrian order in Holstein to the Diet, to enforce

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upon their sovereign, the King of Denmark, the formation of a constitution. The Diet eluded this petition in the first instance by a resolution, which appeared reasonable, that they would give the ministers of the king time to prepare a constitution; accompanying that resolution with a report which sufficiently indicated the prevailing influence in its majority, and the manner in which the demand for constitutions would be received by them.* And, finally, when the demand for a constitution could no longer be put off by a request for time, the matter was disposed of *unanimously* by the adoption of the following resolution proposed by Austria: "The Diet having now acquired the certainty that the ancient constitution of Holstein is no longer in activity, the reclamation of the prelates and equestrian order in the duchy of Holstein *is refused as inadmissible*, according to the 56th article of the Final Act. Nevertheless it is intimated to the petitioners for their satisfaction, that the King of Denmark, according to the reiterated assurances given to the Diet by his representatives, has pledged himself to give to the duchy of Holstein a constitution which, according to the 55th article of the Final Act,[1] is

[1] Ann. Hist. vi. 263, 265.

* "Sa Majesté l'Empereur ne trouvera jamais convenable, que cette Assemblée fixe des termes aux princes souverains de la confédération pour donner des constitutions à leurs états. S. M. I. a non seulement à l'égard du Roi de Danemarck, mais encore envers tous les hauts confédérés, sa parfaite confiance qu'ils rempliront fidèlement les devoirs qu'ils ont contractés en cette qualité, et elle sait apprécier la prudence et les soins paternels avec lesquels les affaires ont été preparées dans les états de la confédération. S'il était aussi facile de donner des constitutions, que se le figurent dans leur imagination quelques écrivains modernes, alors les hommes d'état que les princes d'Allemagne ont chargés avec une entière confiance de ce grand ouvrage mériteraient des reproches pour leurs délais, mais les exemples si instructifs que nous offre l'histoire ne doivent assurément pas être perdus pour nous. Tous les jours nous voyons les peuples saisir avidement les constitutions comme l'idéal du plus grand bonheur sur la terre, et nous les voyons ensuite goûter une véritable satisfaction, lorsque par leur propre force ou par un secours étranger ils se sont delivrés de la constitution qu'une main perverse les a contraints d'adopter. L'Allemand réfléchi, ayant égard a la manière prudente dont son souverain père traite tout avec maturité ne se méfiera point de la pureté des intentions du gouvernement, et l'Allemand fidèle reconnaissant de ces soins paternels qui embrassant tous les rapports s'attachera encore plus intimement à son souverain."—*Rapport de la Commission de la Diète à Frankfort*, 10th July 1823.

to combine, so far as possible, regard to ancient rights with reference to the actual circumstances of the present time."

37. Import of the constitution of the provincial estates of Prussia by the edict of June 5, 1823.

It became evident from these proceedings that the only steps towards constitutional government which the larger states of Germany were to obtain at this time, in implement of the promise contained in the Federal Act, was to be found in the provincial estates of Prussia. By the edict of June 5, regarding them, it was enacted: 1. That the provincial estates shall be put into activity; 2. That the possession of landed property should be the condition of admission into them; 3. That the provincial estates are the legal organ of the different classes of subjects in each province. The provincial estates are called on to deliberate not only on projects of laws affecting the local interests of their own provinces, but also, so long as estates-general were not convoked, the projects of such laws as propose changes in the rights of persons or of property. The king reserved to himself the right to fix the epoch of assembling the estates-general, and the manner in which it should be formed from the provincial estates. The elections were to be for six years, and the diets were to be convoked during the first six years every two years. The president and vice-president were to be named by the king. The members of the provincial estates were divided into three classes: 1. The equestrian order, into which certain families were to have entrance by right of birth; 2. The members for towns, who should be proprietors in them, or members of their magistracies; 3. The order of peasants, or proprietors of free lands or hereditary farms. In the provinces where there were most nobles, the deputies of the towns and the country were to be at least equal to the equestrian order, —into which last would be admitted not only persons of noble descent, but those who had acquired their estates.[1]

[1] Edict, June 5, 1823; Ann. Hist. vi. 276, 277, 689.

The principle of this system of representation, and the motives which had led to its being so long withheld, were

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38. Count Bernstorff's circular on the subject.

thus expressed in a letter from Count Bernstorff, the Prussian minister of foreign affairs, to all the Prussian legations: "The King of Prussia, the sincere friend of freedom, and father of a faithful and devoted people, has never hesitated a single instant to abide by his royal word spontaneously given in 1815, by which he engaged to organise anew the representation of the Prussian people. The principle of that representation, established for ages in Germany, is that of deputation BY ORDERS. It is that ancient principle and legitimate right which the government felt it was bound to adapt to the wants and the interests of the age. It was necessary to study the pre-existing relations, the base of the institutions which were to be founded, to ascertain the real wishes of the nation, and to meditate on the obstacles which thwart and the dangers which accompany innovation. Doubtless it would have been easy to proclaim a constitution of paper according to the abstract theories of the day, but such constitutions never endure. In addition to this, the Prussian government had another motive for proceeding with caution, and that was the universal agitation which prevailed in all countries, and the efforts of innovators, and enthusiasts especially, by means of secret societies. It was indispensable that that fermentation should be calmed, in order that the new institutions should be presented as a free gift of the royal wisdom, not as a concession extorted from them by the spirit of revolution."[1]

[1] Circulaire de Bernstorff; Ann. Hist. vi. 277, 278.

39. Regulations against the secret societies in Prussia.

This circular reveals the dread which the Prussian government entertained of the secret societies which had overturned the thrones in all the monarchies of southern Europe, and had such extensive ramifications in Central and Northern Germany. The extension of these secret societies to the universities in an especial manner excited the apprehensions of government, and the chief of them, entitled the "Armorica," was denounced in an especial manner, and its members subjected to various disabilities. They were compelled at the termination of their studies,

if they desired to become candidates for any public employment, to declare that they regretted having taken part in it, and that they would never belong to associations of a similar nature. In addition to this they were obliged to pass a year out of Berlin or the cities containing universities, and remain during all that period under the surveillance of the public authorities. Students of medicine could not obtain their degrees but on the same conditions.[1]

[1] Edict, Sept. 5, 1823; Ann. Hist. vi. 278.

40. The real worth of the provincial estates.

The constitution thus given at the eleventh hour to the provinces of Prussia was the shadow of a representative government, and but the shadow. The estates thus established possessed no real authority in the State, and they were to be convoked at such distant periods that they could not exercise any material influence on the opinions of its inhabitants. They had neither the initiating of laws, nor the power of rejecting them, nor the power of granting or withholding supplies, placing or displacing ministers, or controlling the march of internal government or foreign administration. With the exception of the local concerns of their respective provinces, the estates could do nothing but express their *opinion* concerning proposed changes in the laws regarding person or property, which changes were to emanate only from the ministers of the Crown. In all respects the powers and duties thus devolved upon the provincial assemblies very closely resembled those enjoyed by the town-councils in England or the commissioners of supply in Scotland, who are elected by certain classes of the people for the performance of certain duties under Government, and are at liberty when assembled to express their opinions on proposed acts of parliament which may appear to affect their interests, but enjoy no power, save by the influence of that opinion on the Government, of either advancing or obstructing them.

This shadow of a representation was so obviously a deviation from that which had been solemnly promised by the king in 1815, and sanctioned by the thirteenth

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article of the Federal Act, that it is probable that, despite the great weight of the military monarchies in the Confederacy, it would have led to serious disturbances in Prussia and the whole north of Germany long before the great convulsion of 1848, had it not been for the influence of two circumstances which calmed the public mind, and gave a different direction to the general thought. The first of these was the beneficial effect of some of the measures adopted by the Congress of Vienna, and embodied in the Federal Act. Perhaps the most important of these were certain regulations which provided for the free navigation of rivers, particularly the Rhine and the Elbe, by the acts of the Congress of Vienna, 9th June 1815, and of the Federal Diet at subsequent periods. By a most important act also, which applied to all Germany, concerning the exportation of goods, it was provided that all restrictions or duties which limited or burdened the transmission of goods from one state of the Confederacy to another should be abolished. * The effects of these enactments upon the material prosperity of Germany were immense. They created all the states of the Confederacy into one vast empire, which not only enjoyed the inestimable blessings of internal peace and external security, but gave them the hardly less important advantages of free trade and communication among each other; and its great rivers, instead of being subjected as heretofore to endless tolls and exactions for the advantage of the petty sovereigns who dwelt upon their banks, were restored to the destination assigned them by nature—that of being the arteries and natural canals, which diffused wealth and prosperity through the State.[1]

41. Causes which prevented an outbreak.

Aug. 3, 1820.

June 23, 1821.

June 23, 1817.

[1] Arch. Dip. iv. 103, 276, 291, 294, 295.

* "Sont compris dans la franchise fédérale d'exportation les biens de toute espèce passant d'un état de la confédération dans l'autre, soit par suite d'émigration ou à titre de succession de vente d'échange, donation, dot, ou d'autre manière, et tout impôt qui restreint l'exportation des biens entre les états qui font partie de la confédération, ou de la propriété des biens entre les sujets des états confédérés, est déclaré aboli."—Décision de la Diète Fédérale, June 23, 1827; *Archives Diplomatiques*, iv. p. 103.

The next circumstance which tended to deaden, for a time at least, the ardent wish of the people of Northern Germany for free institutions, was the uncommon wisdom and beneficent tendency of the government of Prussia during the quarter of a century which followed the termination of the war. Her leading statesmen during that period, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Humboldt, and many others, were men of great capacity and enlarged views, who had learned wisdom and become practically acquainted with affairs in the school of adversity, and who, having seen their country extricated by a miracle from the jaws of destruction, applied their great talents earnestly and indefatigably to the healing of its wounds and the amelioration of its institutions. It is often more easy to do this in a despotic than in a free country, just as it is more easy to do mischief, because in either case the march of government is less restrained by the efforts for good or evil of party. Prussia had suffered so dreadfully in consequence of its conquest by France, and its long occupation by the troops of that country, that social improvement had become visibly to all classes, from the prince to the peasant, a matter of state necessity. This overwhelming pressure, like seasons of adversity upon an individual, produced the most salutary effects, and there is perhaps not to be found in the annals of the world a period when more wise and beneficent internal legislation was applied to a people, or its fruits appeared in a more sudden burst of general prosperity.

42. Wisdom of the internal government of Prussia.

An account has been given, in a former work, of the admirable reforms, the offspring of necessity, which the Prussian government, under the able guidance of Stein and Scharnhorst, introduced in 1807 and 1808, after the peace of Tilsit, into the civil and military administration of the monarchy, and which, beyond all doubt, prepared in silence, beneath the cold shade of adversity, the glorious resurrection of 1813.[1] The same system was continued with unabated vigour after the general peace

43. Specific measures introduced.

[1] Hist. of Europe, 1789-1815, c. 51, §§ 8-15.

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had relieved the government of the crushing weight of the warlike armaments, and left them leisure to attend to the all-important concerns of their civil administration. "Everything for the people, nothing by them," which Napoleon described as the true secret of government, was the ruling principle of their administration. Hence the greatest solicitude was evinced for the instruction of the people in all grades, from the humble parish school to the highest departments of science in the universities, which, as already mentioned, was attended with such success that Prussia may now with justice take its place as the most generally educated country in Europe. The peasantry were everywhere emancipated from the remains of feudal servitude, and intrusted, as well as the burghers, with the choice of municipal magistrates, who had the entire direction of their civic and local concerns. Provincial assemblies, though endowed as yet with no real power, gave the people, at stated though distant intervals, a legitimate channel whereby to make known their opinion upon any changes projected by the government in matters affecting their persons or properties. Free trade was established in its most unlimited sense, not only between all the provinces of the Empire, but between all the states of the Confederacy; all restraints were removed from the navigation of the rivers; and hitherto unheard-of markets were opened up in every direction for the productions of industry. New universities were established at Berlin, Breslau, and Bonn, all respectably endowed, and furnished with valuable libraries and museums; and schools to such an extent were set on foot over the whole country, that the wish of George III. in regard to his British subjects was realised: "Every man in the kingdom could read his Bible." In 1821 an extremely useful regulation was published for the division of commons; in 1822, one for the establishment of an extra post. Finally, an admirable system of military organisation drew forth, without oppression, the whole physical

strength of the state in defence of the country. Every man, of whatever rank, was bound to render three years' service, between eighteen and twenty-one, in the regular army, and was liable up to the age of thirty-nine to do duty in the landwehr,—a system which, without diverting any individual permanently, except those who chose arms as a profession, from pacific life, trained all to military duties, and inspired all with military spirit.[1]

[1] Stein's Lebens Erinnerung, iv. 326, 347, and v. 247, 300.

44. The ultimate effect of these changes would have favoured freedom.

Social and political reforms of this description, which remove the fetters from industry and enlarge the means of well-being to all classes, may for a considerable time stifle the voice of complaint, and weaken the desire for change: but their ultimate effect, in an intelligent community, is to increase them. The reason is, that they create or extend a middle class in society, which, with the acquisition of wealth and independence, inevitably become inspired with the desire to share in or even monopolise the government of the State. Hence it was that the feudal noblesse everywhere entertained such jealousy of the boroughs which threatened to encroach on their exclusive jurisdiction, and that a natural alliance sprang up between them and the sovereign for defence against their common enemy. It is probable, therefore, that the rapid growth of population, wealth, and prosperity in Prussia, would have had its usual effect of inducing a struggle for political power much earlier than it actually occurred, were it not for another event which occurred ere long, and for a considerable period totally altered the ideas and prevailing passions of men. That event was the French Revolution of 1830.

45. Great effect of the French Revolution in checking German freedom.

Calamitous in every quarter to the interests of freedom, that great event was in an especial manner fatal to Teutonic liberty. It gave a new direction to men's minds, and in the end for a course of years substituted the terror of French conquest for the sturdy spirit of German independence. Exciting the revolutionary passions in the very highest degree in the smaller states and

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free cities of the Confederacy, and occasioning, as has been already seen, tumults in many, revolution in some, it proportionably augmented the alarm of the great military monarchies in which the power of the sword was really vested. The diplomatic relations between Austria and Prussia were immediately, upon the fall of Charles X., drawn closer, and military preparations on a great scale commenced in both countries to meet the expected invasion of the French. The Austrian army was raised to 360,000 men, of whom 80,000 men were sent to Italy, and 40,000 stationed on the Gallician frontier; while in Prussia two armies were formed, one of 80,000 men under Prince William, and one of 75,000 under General Borstel, whose headquarters were at Aix-la-Chapelle. The warlike spirit became universal in the Prussian youth; it entirely and at once supplanted that of internal discontent. "A national sentiment," says the annalist, "then got entire possession of the Prussian youth. Terror at the thoughts of the conquest of 1814 and 1815 slipping from their hands, and a jealous dread of the tricolor flag, formed an effectual barrier against the revolutionary contagion."[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xiii. 620, 625.

46. Increase of this feeling with the Belgian and Polish revolutions.

These sentiments, so natural in a country in which the national feelings had been recently so strongly roused, and which had only been delivered by a unanimous and unparalleled effort from the grinding tyranny of French domination, were greatly increased and worked up to a perfect climax by the Belgian and Polish revolutions. When the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin beheld Belgium revolutionised, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands dissevered, Italy in a general revolutionary convulsion, Switzerland shaking to its centre, and Poland in the throes of mortal struggle for recovery of its independence, they not unreasonably supposed that a general war was approaching, and took their measures accordingly. When the people saw the French republicans indulging in visions of universal conquest, and the clubs

resounding with declamations about advancing their eagles to the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Danube, they were seized with the old dread of French conquest. They knew, by dear-bought experience, what followed the victories of the republicans. They had not forgotten what ensued after the battle of Jena. Merciless requisitions, grievous taxes, they were well aware, stalked in the rear of the tricolor flag. The landwehr was now called out in all the states of the Confederacy, and the people everywhere joyfully obeyed the summons. They repaired to their several rallying-points singing the songs of Körner, recounting the victories of the Fatherland. The querulous discontent of the journalists and students in a few towns was drowned in the loud shout of national exultation. Severe measures were enacted by the governments against the licence of the press and the machinations of the secret societies, but they did not require to be put in execution. The recreants to the cause of Germany had already been gibbeted on the scaffold of popular indignation. Such were the effects which followed the triumph of the Barricades in the cause of liberty on the right bank of the Rhine! If the demon of tyranny had been given his choice of the event which was most effectually to serve the cause of despotism in Europe, he could not have selected any one which would answer his purpose so effectually as the triumph of the three glorious days in Paris.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xiii. 623, 625, xiv. 455, 461.

47. Effect of the siege of Antwerp in 1832.

Still greater was the impression produced in Germany by the *entente cordiale* which ensued between France and England in consequence of the Reform revolution in the latter country. When the reality and sincerity of this new and unprecedented alliance were evinced in the union of the two kingdoms to support the pretensions of Belgium against Holland, and the junction of the fleets of the one power with the armies of the other to effect the reduction of the citadel of Antwerp, a universal consternation seized the whole of Germany. It seemed impossible

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that Germany could avoid being drawn into the quarrel, for the King of the Netherlands had appealed, as Grand-duke of Luxembourg, to the Diet of Frankfort to protect him in his rights to that duchy, which formed part of the Confederacy. In truth, Europe then stood on the verge of a general war, and nothing but the dread of the united power of France and England, and the financial embarrassment which had been bequeathed to all nations by the unparalleled exertions of the last conflict, prevented it from breaking out. But though these causes averted hostilities even at the eleventh hour, when every hostile preparation had been made, they did not avert the consequences of the crisis to the cause of constitutional freedom in Germany; and those consequences were great and lasting.

48. Stringent measures of the Diet against the Press.

Not content with taking the most stringent measures against the liberty of the press in her own territories, Austria took advantage of the general consternation to propose, and had influence enough in the Diet to carry, various measures which in a manner extinguished freedom of thought and expression throughout the Confederacy. The fermentation of men's minds, especially in the lesser states, where representative assemblies were established and a certain degree of liberty of the press existed, was such that it was evident that, if it went on, a civil war or breaking up of the Confederacy would inevitably ensue. In this crisis the measures of the Diet, under the guidance of Metternich, were vigorous and decisive. Not content with simply demanding, as it had done in the preceding year, the execution by the separate sovereigns of the decree against the licentiousness of the press and popular assemblages, it went a step farther, and, by a resolution on March 2, suppressed of its own authority three leading journals on the liberal side,—viz. the *German Tribune* and *Messenger of the West*, which were published in Rhenish Bavaria, and the *Wings of Time* at Frankfort. This decree was accompanied by another,

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which interdicted the editors of and writers in them from engaging in any similar undertaking. This was shortly after followed by decrees of the Diet on the 28th June and 5th July, which in a manner extinguished the constitutional liberties of Germany. By them it was declared —1. The states of the Confederacy are not bound to sanction the decrees of the chambers in particular states, except in so far as they are in harmony with the principles of the Confederacy. 2. Any refusal by the chambers to raise or sanction taxes in a particular state is to be held as an act of rebellion, which the Confederacy is bound to suppress by force. 3. The internal legislation of particular states is not to be permitted to run counter to the general objects of the Confederacy, or thwart the execution of the decrees of the Diet. 4. A commission shall be nominated by the Diet to last for six years, with power to watch over the proceedings of the chambers and enforce obedience to this resolution.* The confederated governments engage to adopt and support measures calculated to prevent any attack upon the Confederacy in the assembly of its estates. 6. The Diet alone has the right to interpret the Federal Act and the Final Act of Vienna.[1]

June 28, July 5, 1832.

[1] Protocole de la 22e Séance de la Diète, June 28, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 165. (Doc. Hist.)

By another resolution, passed on July 5, the introduction was prohibited, in all the states of the Confederacy, of every foreign periodical publication, containing less than twenty pages, printed in German in any foreign country; all political associations were interdicted, as well as popular fêtes not consecrated by usage, without the consent of the constituted authorities; all political speeches at such meetings, though authorised, were absolutely prohibited, as were the bearing of any colours not belonging to the nation of the person wearing them, and all planting of trees of liberty; a great many minute and rigorous enactments were decreed regarding the professors

49. Decree of July 5 of the Diet.

* This commission was composed of M. de Munch, minister of Austria, de Naglos of Prussia, de Manteuffel of Saxony, of de Trott of Würtemberg, and Pechlin of Denmark for Holstein.—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 339, note.

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and students of universities from whom so much danger was apprehended; finally, every government of the Confederacy engaged to exercise the most rigorous surveillance over its own subjects and strangers within its bounds, and engaged mutually to give up political offenders who might take refuge within their bounds from the neighbouring states. By another resolution of the Diet, on the 19th July, two journals in the grand-duchy of Baden were suppressed, and with them expired the last remnants of the liberty of the press in Germany.[1]

July 19, 1832.

[1] Protocole de la Séance du 5, et 19e Juillet, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 176. (Doc. Hist.)

50. Immense sensation produced by these decrees over Europe.

These decisive resolutions of the German Diet created an immense sensation in western Europe, and gave rise to the most acrimonious debates and vehement condemnation both in the liberal journals and the legislative assemblies of France and England. "These decrees," it was said in both, "consummate the labours of the congresses of Laybach, of Troppau, and of Carlsbad; strip the Germans of all the guarantees of liberty provided for them in the organic act of the Confederacy, violate the constitutions established by common accord between governments and the people, and sap the foundation of representative governments, by placing the national assemblies under a special and foreign surveillance, and denying them the right to refuse to vote taxes or of controlling their expenditure." Multitudes of petitions were presented from the free towns and liberal constituencies in the lesser states of Germany against these decrees, but in vain. They remained the standing law of the Confederacy, and being supported by 300,000 armed men, resistance to them was out of the question. The impassioned declamations on the subject in the English parliament and French chambers only confirmed the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin in their resolution to persevere in the measures of repression which they had adopted, for they regarded them as the two great revolutionary powers;[2] and from the violence of their language against these decrees, they took the mea-

[2] Ann. Hist. xv. 340, 341; Ann. Reg., 1832, 375, 378.

sure of the opinion they entertained of the effect they were likely to have in arresting the revolutionary contagion.*

51. Riot in Frankfort, and its occupation by the Austrians. April 3, 1833.

These decrees were followed soon after by another measure, which indicated still more decisively the determination of the military powers of Germany to put down the revolutionary attempts which originated in its lesser states and free cities. On April 3, 1833, when the minds of the liberal party were violently agitated by the sudden dissolution of the chambers in Hesse-Cassel and Würtemberg, which had just taken place, a riot of a very serious kind broke out in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which soon assumed the character of an insurrection. There could be nothing very formidable in such a movement in a little republic not containing above 80,000 inhabitants; but it assumed a very different aspect when it was recollected that it was the seat of the meetings of the Diet, and entertained relations with the disaffected in all parts of Germany. The tumult was put down by the unaided forces of the magistrates, though not without difficulty, for the insurgents fought with great courage and desperation, and many lives were lost on both sides. It appeared, however, from the examination of the prisoners taken, that the conspiracy had extensive ramifications in other parts of the Confederacy, especially

* "What have we to do with Austria, that old, musty, worm-eaten hollow trunk? It will be dashed to the ground by the worms of time, and in the storm will crush all those who sought shelter beneath its boughs. What advantage can absolute Prussia offer to constitutional Bavaria, that treacherous cane which pierces through the hand that thinks by leaning on it to find support? How can Prussia protect the rights of Bavaria, that red-hot Moloch, to which, with treacherous madness, a father must offer up his own child? What protection would be to us that iron colossus with feet of clay? Oh king! thy people adjures thee aloud, close not the unhappy alliance with these absolute powers—drive the tempter back; trifle not with the affections of the Bavarians; quit not thy people in the hour of trial and of danger, that thou mayest not, when too late, have to repent thee of having thrust them off; that when hereafter thou shalt feel the bitterness of being the vassal slave of foreigners, thy people may not turn away from thee when thou shalt crave their aid, and say, Seek help from whom thou hast more confided in than in thy Bavarian people."—*Address of Rhenish Bavaria*, July 18, 1832; *Ann. Reg.* 1832, 378.

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among the students in the universities; and, during the fight, a body of strangers, armed, approached the gates, and endeavoured to force an entrance. Their object was to get possession of the federal treasure, of the archives of the Diet, and then, as from the seat of power, to proclaim a republic, one and indivisible, embracing all Germany. The Diet, which was sitting at the time, deeming the stroke levelled at the Confederacy itself, invoked the aid of its military force, which was promptly accorded. Next day a battalion from the garrison of Mayence entered the town, and they were followed on the next day by two thousand more, who permanently occupied the city. At the same time, a commission was appointed to examine into the revolt, and its ramifications in other parts of Germany, composed of deputies chosen by Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Hesse, and they commenced their labours; but the inquiry soon became so extensive that no report was obtained till the following year.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 381, 383.

52. Congress of sovereigns at Münchengratz. Sept. 9, 1833.

So great was the alarm excited by this insurrection at the seat of the federal government, that it led, in a subsequent part of the same year, to a congress of sovereigns. The King of Prussia met the Emperor of Austria on August 14 at Theresienstadt, in Bohemia, and the Emperor of Russia in the following month joined them at Münchengratz, in the same province. At this conference it was agreed to assemble a congress in the succeeding year, to take into consideration the state of the Germanic Confederacy, and the difficulties which seemed to render incompatible, for any length of time, the existence of representative constitutions in any of the states with monarchical institutions in the others. In the mean time, the sovereigns agreed to a treaty, signed on January 4, by which, "in consideration of the interest which they all had in the preservation of the existing order and tranquillity in the Polish provinces,[2] they agreed mutually to deliver up persons accused of sedition or treasonable practices in any of them

Jan. 4, 1834.

[2] Ann. Hist. xvi. 385, 387; treaty, Jan. 4, 1834; Ibid., 145. (Doc. Hist.)

to the authorities in the others." At the same time a proclamation was issued by the governor of Milan against a secret society, entitled "La Jeune Italie," described as the most dangerous species of Carbonarism, and against the members of which the severest penalties of the criminal code were threatened.

53. Fresh riot at Frankfort, which is put under martial law. May 2, 1834.

Since the occupation of Frankfort by the troops of Austria and Prussia, a species of forced tranquillity had prevailed within its walls, arising from a sense of the overwhelming military force which could be brought at any moment against the insurgents. This was disturbed, however, the following year, by a tumult which was got up in order to effect the liberation of the persons imprisoned on the charge of the former insurrection, and whose trial, according to the usual and deplorable tardiness of German legal procedure, had not yet been brought to a close. Five prisoners escaped, but they were all soon retaken, except one. This incident, in itself trivial, acquired importance from its being made the pretext for the placing the city under martial law, and vesting the supreme direction of it in the hands of the Austrian governor. This strong step in a free city, and the seat of the federal legislature, was justly regarded as affording the clearest indication of the despotic dispositions which had now got possession of the allied councils. The congress agreed to in the preceding year met at Vienna on January 12, and immediately commenced their deliberations, which were almost entirely directed to the means of suppressing, by the forces or authority of the Confederacy, the refractory disposition of the estates, or the anarchical efforts of the people in the lesser states. By a decree agreed to then, and sanctioned by the Diet on 30th October ensuing, it was provided that, in the event of a difference ensuing between the government and the representative assembly of the state upon the interpretation to be put on any part of the constitution, or in consequence of a refusal to vote the necessary supplies, and after all legal and

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constitutional attempts to adjust the dispute had failed, the parties interested were to apply to a tribunal constituted for the purpose of settling such differences, composed of thirty-four members, two chosen by each of the federal states having a voice in the Diet, whose decision was to be final, and immediately enforced by the authority and forces of the Confederacy. These judges were to be elected for three years, and re-elected at the expiration of that period, and decided all questions by a majority of votes. As Austria and Prussia commanded a majority of votes in the Diet, it was easy to see how a tribunal thus constituted would decide every important question which came before them. In the same session a variety of still more stringent regulations were passed, for the purpose of controlling the universities, and preventing their entrance into the secret societies. As to the press, it was already subjected to such a rigorous censure in every part of Germany, that it was not deemed worth while to pass any additional regulations on that subject. The trial of the Frankfort rioters was not finished till the end of the year 1836, when the greater part of them were sentenced to imprisonment for life, or for twenty years, and a few acquitted.[1]

Nov. 13.

[1] Decree of Diet, Oct. 30 and Nov. 13, 1834; Ann. Hist. xvii. 574, 575, and 106, 108; Doc. Hist. lxix. 296.

So much had now been done by the Federal Diet, during the three preceding years, to fritter away or restrain representative assemblies, extinguish the liberty of the press, and coerce the universities and the students, that the attention of succeeding Diets only required to be turned to lesser details and objects of social solicitude. This change was soon apparent in their public acts, and bespoke the substitution in the general mind of questions of social for those of political interest. Two decrees were passed in 1835. By the first, the travelling of *workmen* from states in the Confederacy where *trades' unions* were prohibited to those where they are permitted, was stopped, and those coming from the latter countries were placed under the strict *surveillance* of the police.[2] By the second,

54. Decrees of 1835 in the Diet.

Jan. 15.

[2] Ann. Hist. xviii. 413, 414.

the society of writers, known by the name of "Junge Deutschland," was denounced, and the publication of all writings, by five members of it specially named, prohibited under severe penalties.

55. Death of the Emperor Francis, and his successor's communication to the Diet. March 12, 1835.

On 12th March in this year, the Diet received the official intimation of the death of the Emperor Francis, who had closed his long and eventful reign at Vienna on the 8th of the same month. In Austria, however, as in all states governed by an aristocracy, the demise of the emperor made no change on the policy of the monarchy. Metternich remained, and the ruling oligarchy of three hundred nobles who directed the empire was unchanged and unchangeable. The new emperor, Ferdinand I., early gave token of this, in the official communication which he addressed to the Diet, immediately after his accession to the throne. "As to what concerns the affairs of the German Confederacy," said he, "the path is traced out. His Majesty will remain for ever faithful to it. The most conscientious discharge of the federal duties, an active and continual co-operation in the maintenance and consolidation of the alliance, an immovable resolution to contribute everything to the exterior and *interior* security of Germany, and to protect by all possible means the independence and inviolability of the different states,—such were the sentiments with which the Emperor Francis was animated for the bringing to perfection of that great work, due in a great degree to his paternal laws; and the Emperor Ferdinand will be ever animated with the same sentiments and principles." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 413, 414.

56. Change in the public mind in Germany towards material objects.

The task which devolved on the young emperor, of solving the many knotty points, and keeping together the heterogeneous members of the Germanic Confederacy, was much facilitated in the first years of his reign by the remarkable change which, in Germany as in other parts of Europe, took place at that period, in the object of general thought and public interest. One law only of importance —that providing for the uniform punishment of state

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offences, and mutual extradition of political offenders against the constitution of any of the states of the Confederacy—marked the annals of the immediately succeeding years.* Material objects had come to supersede political; projects of gain occupied every mind. The railway mania, which soon after seized so violently on the public mind in England and France, extended also to Germany, and with it the passion for extravagant speculation and gambling in shares, with which unhappily these undertakings, when generally embraced, are found to be attended. The thoughts of making a fortune in a few days or hours by a fortunate speculation, possessed irresistible attractions for a people so little accustomed to the whirl of commercial excitement, and for the most part leading so simple and patriarchal a life as the people of Germany. The first railway on the Continent was laid down in Germany; and numbers were soon set on foot, which have nearly all been since completed, and formed the spacious network of iron communication which overspreads the Fatherland, and has so essentially modified the habits, ideas, and inclinations of its inhabitants. The mania spread from the people to their governments; and for some years the legislatures of the small states, which had been such a prolific source of discontent, were occupied entirely with projects of public utility or private advantage. The passion spread to Austria, generally the last to embrace any projects of innovation; and a great society was established to promote the navigation of the Danube, remove its obstructions, and restore it to the destiny intended for it by nature—that of being the great artery of Germany.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 295, 297.

The determination of the Diet to entertain no projects

* "Toute tentative contre l'existence, l'intégrité, la sûreté de la Confédération, ou de chacun des états dont elle se compose, doit être jugée et punie suivant les lois déjà en vigueur ou toutes celles qui seraient à l'avenir sur les divers délits contre la dite Confédération. Les états de la Confédération s'engagent réciproquement à livrer tout individu qui serait coupable des délits ci-dessus spécifiés."—*Edit de la Diète*, 18 Août, 1836; *Ann. Hist.* xix. 295, 296.

which tended to the extension or restoration of public rights was strikingly evinced in the year 1838, in regard to an application from the town of Osnaburg, in the kingdom of Hanover. In 1837 the King of Hanover, in consequence of the tumults which had arisen in his dominions from the contagion of the French Revolution, abolished, of his own authority, the constitution which had been solemnly established in his dominions in 1833 by the consent of all the estates. The town of Osnaburg upon this, in the succeeding year, petitioned the Diet for its restoration, appealing to the 56th article of the Final Act of Vienna of 15th May 1820, which bore that "the constitution of states at present in vigour cannot be changed *but in a constitutional way.*" As there was no question that the constitution of Hanover had been changed in an unconstitutional way, having been abrogated by the sole authority of the sovereign, the Diet was not a little embarrassed how to elude the demand. At length, after a silence of six months, they returned an answer, that "they did not consider themselves in the situation of being bound to interfere;* a decision which distinctly showed that they regarded that article as intended to prevent a change of constitution forced upon a reigning prince by his subjects—not one forced upon his subjects by a reigning prince.[1]

57. Refusal of the diet to restore the constitution of Hanover. Sept. 6, 1838.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxi. 238.

This affair made, as well it might, a great noise in Germany at the time, and tended powerfully to revive the political agitation which had been so much allayed by the prevalence of projects of gain and material progress in the preceding years. The agitation, however, was in a great measure neutralised by a dispute which arose at the same period between the Prussian government and the

58. Dispute between the Prussian government and the Pope regarding the Archbishop of Cologne.

* "La Diète Germanique fait connaître au magistrat et aux conseillers-municipaux de la ville d'Osnabruck, par le Docteur Hessenberg, leur fondé de pouvoirs, qu'elle ne trouve pas, dans le cas qui lui est soumis, qu'ils aient été autorisés légitimement par l'acte de la Confédération à adresser l'exposition ci-dessus mentionnée de leurs griefs."—*Reponse du Diète*, 6 Sept. 1838; *Ann. Hist.*, xxi. 237, 238.

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Papal See relative to marriages of Protestants and Catholics, which threatened to revive the flames of theological controversy in Germany, which had slumbered since the Peace of Westphalia. This dispute arose in consequence of an article in the Prussian law which conferred on the father, in case of mixed marriages, the right of choosing in which religion his children should be brought up, in default of which choice they were to be educated in his own. This law, how agreeable soever to the principle of the *patria potestas*, recognised in all ages over the whole civilised world as indispensable to the peace and regulation of families, was far from being equally so to the dignitaries of the Romish Church, who ever direct their principal efforts to secure the spread of their faith in that sex which, though weakest in intellect, is the first in charms and influence. Accordingly the Pope, by a brief dated 25th March 1830, which was the foundation of the whole dispute that followed, enjoined the prelates to make the Catholic spouse, in the case of mixed marriages, come under an engagement to bring up the children in the Romish faith. It was the obedience yielded by the Catholic clergy in Prussia which occasioned all the dissensions that followed. Another subject of dispute between the Government and the See of the Vatican was the theological tenets of Dr Hermes, which admitted freedom of thought to a degree that was deemed incompatible with the tranquil despotism of the Church of Rome, and were accordingly denounced by a papal bull on 26th September 1835; and in pursuance of it the Archbishop of Cologne published an ordinance forbidding any student in theology to receive lessons in the University of Bonn, which had embraced the principles of Hermes. Matters at length came to such a pass that, after having exhausted all means of conciliation, government resolved on removing the archbishop by force. This was a very hazardous step, as the great majority of the inhabitants of the Rhenish provinces of Prussia were

Catholics, and zealously attached to their faith. It was accomplished, however, happily without bloodshed. On the 28th November the whole garrison of Cologne was put under arms. Cannon, with matches lighted, guarded all the approaches to the archbishop's palace; and the governor of the Rhenish provinces, accompanied by the commandant of Cologne, entered the building and informed his grace he was dismissed, and their prisoner. He was immediately conducted, under a powerful escort of cavalry and artillery, out of the city, and conveyed to the fortress of Minden.[1]

1837. Nov. 20, 1837.

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 23, 1837; Ann. Hist. xx. 401, 402.

59. Immense sensation excited by this event.

It may readily be conceived what a sensation this *coup d'état*—executed by the temporal authorities alone, and on a prelate so eminent in station as the Archbishop of Cologne, in the midst of a zealous Catholic population—excited in Europe. Such was the clamour raised on all sides—some approving, some condemning—that it was absolutely stunning, and recalled the days when the powerful but rude arm of Luther shook to its centre the fabric of papal power in Europe. The government soon after published a long manifesto, in which the grounds of their complaint against the archbishop were fully detailed.* This led to a rejoinder from the consistory of the Vatican. On December 16, the Pope protested "in favour of the violated immunities of the church, the episcopal dignity trampled under foot, the jurisdiction of the Holy See so flagrantly usurped, and the rights of the Catholic

* "L'Archevêque a donc forfait à sa patrie et à ses devoirs; il s'est mis en opposition avec les ordonnances et les lois existantes; de plus, il a fait pour miner ces lois et les renverser des tentatives sourdes, que non-seulement il cherchait à cacher au gouvernement, mais sur lesquelles il trompait et trahissait son souverain, en faisant accroire qu'il respectait tout ce qu'il ne songeait qu'à fouler à ses pieds. Toutes ces allégations sont clairement établies par des pièces qui, par des motifs de haute convenance, ne peuvent être portées jusqu'à présent à la connaissance générale. Ces faits graves et criminels joints à un coupable mépris de tout avertissement, et à des déclarations écrites de l'archevêque, faites à divers reprises, qu'il entend persister dans sa rébellion, justifiaient déjà seuls et provoquaient d'une manière impérieuse les mesures que le pouvoir temporel vient de prendre."—*Exposé du Gouvernement Prussien*, 22 Nov. 1837; *Ann. Hist.*, xx. 403.

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Church and the holy set at nought;" and this was soon after followed by an exposition from Rome of their side of the question. Meanwhile the excitement was daily

Dec. 11. increasing in the Rhenish provinces; and on the 11th December a riot took place in Münster, which was only suppressed by several charges of cavalry, and at the expense of several persons wounded. Anxious if possible to appease the Papal See, the cabinet of Berlin sent a most able diplomatist—whose suavity of manners, not less than his literary and theological acquirements, eminently qualified him for the task—M. le Chevalier Bunsen,* to Rome, to endeavour to effect an adjustment. The negotiation was prolonged for a very long period, and in the end was terminated in a species of compromise. The Catholic clergy, in obedience to the supreme pontiff, agreed to cease to make inquiries into the religion in which the children of mixed marriages were educated; while the king, by a wise and tolerant edict, declared on the one hand that, if the Catholic spouse refused to emit a declaration as to the religion in which his children were brought up, he should not be subjected to ecclesiastical censures; and that the Catholic priest was not to be con-

June 10, 1838. strained to celebrate the mixed marriage according to any forms but those of the Catholic Church. This judicious compromise at length allayed a ferment which had subsisted for three years, and threatened again after an interval of two hundred years to deluge Germany with blood in a theological quarrel. It is a curious circumstance, indicating at once the unchangeable policy of the Church of Rome, and the danger of generalising too soon from imperfect data, that within thirty years of the time when an able divine of the Church of England had asserted,[1] in advocating the Catholic claims in Ireland, that all danger from the ambition of the Court of Rome had disappeared, and that the supreme pontiff had become "a pope of wax,"[2] this

[1] The Rev. Sydney Smith in Peter Plymley's Letters.

[2] Ann. Hist. xx. 404, 405, and xxi. 242, 245.

* Since the highly-esteemed Prussian Minister in London, and author of the celebrated *Life of Hippolytus*.

waxen pope convulsed Europe from one end to the other, by advancing pretensions combated by Henry II. in the twelfth century, and which recalled the days of Thomas-à-Becket.

60. Wise internal regulations of the Prussian government. Nov. 3, 1838.

The remaining and last years of the Prussian monarch were chiefly devoted to regulations directed to the material prosperity of his subjects, whose industry at that period was taking so rapid and extraordinary a step. A wise regulation, which it would have been well for Great Britain had its rulers adopted, provided that every project for forming a railway should, in the first instance, be submitted to government for its sanction, with a statement of its subscribers, who were all personally and absolutely bound to pay 40 per cent on the estimated price, from which obligation they were not relieved by selling the shares, or the company taking them off their hands, declared null all sales of shares before this had been done, and prohibited all rival lines for thirty years after the first had been constructed. At the same time the Prussian government gave proof of its liberality by an edict which opened all the universities in the Confederacy to Prussian students, under the reasonable condition only that those who wished to practise medicine in the monarchy should study a certain time in one of its universities; and of its toleration, and desire to throw oil on the bitterness of theological controversy, by commencing the entire restoration and completion of the cathedral of Cologne, originally commenced in the year 1248, and which, sedulously followed up in subsequent years, has rendered it the most beautiful of the many beautiful structures of that description in Europe.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxi. 246, 248.

The year 1839 was marked in Northern Germany by two events which strikingly evinced the liberal and enlightened spirit of the age. The first was a general amnesty proclaimed in Prussia for all lesser delinquencies and all Crown debtors below 50 thalers (£6), on occasion

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61. Amnesty on the 300th anniversary of the Reformation, and treaty of reciprocity with Holland.

of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. This act of grace, in a truly catholic spirit, embraced persons of all religious persuasions, not those only who had embraced the Lutheran creed. The next was a most important one, which, in favour of certain states in Northern Germany, of which Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony were the most considerable, established an entire reciprocity of duties, in themselves very moderate, on the most important articles of commerce with Holland. This measure was important in itself, but it became doubly so in its results, as the first step towards the establishment of the ZOLLVEREIN, or union for the purpose of collecting import and export duties, on one uniform scale, for behoof of the parties forming part of the union, which has since contributed so much to the prosperity of Northern Germany, and augmented so largely the influence and consideration of Prussia, the acknowledged head of the Confederacy, and by whose servants the various duties are collected.[1]

Aug. 10, 1839.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxii. 297, 299.

62. Death of the King of Prussia, and revival of the question of the constitution.

Political passion seemed stilled by these beneficent changes, and Germany, industrious and enlightened, seemed occupied only with the career of wealth and independence which they were calculated to bring to its inhabitants. But an event soon occurred which showed that the desire for power only slumbered and was not extinguished, and was gaining strength by the growth and prosperity of the middle class, among whom it always is most strongly felt. Frederick-William III., King of Prussia, died on the 7th June 1840, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.* The close of his long and eventful reign dis-

* He was born on 15th October 1775, and married, on 13th November 1801, the Princess Louisa of Bavaria.—*Ann. Hist.* xxiii. 422.

In his testament, Frederick-William addressed the following eloquent instructions to his son and heir, which, better than anything else, explain his views in the last and most critical years of his life: "It is on you, my dear Frederick, that will henceforward fall the weight of affairs, and their responsibility. The position you have hitherto occupied has prepared you for it better than any other heir to the throne. It is for you to justify my hopes and those of the country. Your principles and your sentiments afford me a

closed the fires which were slumbering beneath the surface of his eminently prosperous dominions. He was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederick-William IV., the present (1855) reigning monarch; and the ceremony of coronation of the new sovereign took place with great solemnity, according to ancient usage, on the 10th September, at Königsberg. In conformity with established custom, which bespoke the former existence of long-forgotten rights in the Prussian people, the provincial diet of Eastern Prussia was summoned to attend the ceremony, and invited to determine whether, on this as on former occasions, the equestrian order should be represented by twelve knights, who were to explain, on behalf of their order, what rights they wished to have confirmed. The diet met accordingly, and by a majority of 90 to 5 resolved on the motion of M. d'Auerswald, that his Majesty should be respectfully invited to cause his ministers to prepare a new law for the organisation of the provincial diets, *from which the national representatives should be chosen*, in conformity with the royal declaration of 22d May 1815, corroborated by the Federal Act of Vienna of 8th June in the same year, and the Final Act of 5th January 1823.[1] This petition was

Sept. 10.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiii. 422, 423.

sure guarantee that you will prove the father of your country. Preserve yourself from that mania for innovation which has become so general, and from the numerous theories afloat in the world, which it is impossible to reduce into practice; but guard also against falling into another excess which may be not less fatal,—I mean an excessive predilection for ancient institutions. It is only by shunning these two shoals that you can succeed in introducing really useful ameliorations. The army is organised in the most superior manner: it has justified my expectations in peace as in war. May it never forget its high mission, and may the country never forget what it owes to it. Continue, so far as you possibly can, in a good state of intelligence with the European powers: in particular, may Prussia, Austria, and Russia, never be disunited. Their union is the safeguard of European peace. My beloved children give me the sweet consolation of feeling assured that they will always distinguish themselves by a useful, active, wise, and pious conduct; it is by such alone that the blessings of Heaven are to be attained, and that consoling idea will comfort my last moments. May God protect and bless our dear country! May His almighty hand for ever bless our family. May He bless you, my dear son, you and your reign: may He bestow upon you the strength and talent necessary for reigning; and may He give you conscientious and faithful counsellors, dutiful and obedient subjects."—CAPEFIGUE, x. 235, 236.

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signed at Königsberg on 7th September with the ominous words, "The States of the Kingdom of Prussia."

63. Answer of the king.

Had a bombshell fallen and burst in the royal council, it could not have created greater consternation than this unexpected demand, supported by so large a majority, did in the cabinet of Berlin. The king's answer was delayed till he came to make his speech dissolving the diet, and he said, "He would give to the promises of the late king the accomplishment which the good of the country demanded;" vague words, which might mean anything or nothing. During the ceremony of fealty he said, "He would never do homage to the idea of a general popular representation, and would pursue a course based upon historical progression, and suited to German nationality;" words of deep significance, and which, if carried into effect, might have avoided all the calamities which followed. The provincial estates were shortly after opened, and separate diets for each established in the provinces. They did nothing material, however, and the public attention was rather directed to the proceedings of the Zollverein, which met at Berlin in August, and entered into negotiations, though at that time with little success, to induce Brunswick and Hanover to join the fiscal league.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiii. 422, 424.

64. Adjustment of the dispute with the See of Rome.

The first serious affair which called for the attention of the new monarch was the schism between the Crown and the Holy See, which had so violently convulsed the monarchy in the preceding reign. This was at length finally effected, and on terms more favourable to the See of Rome than could have been anticipated. Both parties receded from the pretensions they had originally advanced: quarrels are in general more easily adjusted when their direction falls into the hands of heirs, than when in those which originally commenced them. An accommodation was effected with the Pope, in virtue of which the Archbishop of Posen, who had been dispossessed and kept in detention for two years, in consequence of having, like

the Archbishop of Cologne, refused to obey the edicts of the king in the vexed matter of the mixed marriages, was reinstated in his functions; and although the Archbishop of Cologne was not formally restored to his province, yet he got a colleague in the Bishop of Spires, who was nominated by the Pope, and received personal satisfaction in a public royal letter from the sovereign. This was a great concession in appearance to the Catholic party, and went far to appease the discontent among the members of that persuasion. Both parties gained something by this compromise; for, on the one hand, the Holy See obtained a recognition of the important principle for which they have always contended, that spiritual authority, conferred by the head of the church, cannot be abrogated by temporal power; while, on the other, the royal edicts as to the education of the children of mixed marriages remained in force throughout the whole of Prussia.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiv. 464, 465.

65. Opening of the provincial estates, and great excitement with which it was attended. March 1.

The meeting of the provincial estates, which took place in the different provinces with great solemnity on the 1st March, revealed the strong under-current in favour of constitutional freedom, which, beneath a tranquil despotic surface, had been long flowing in Germany. In the outset of the sittings, the royal commissioner, M. de Bussewitz, read a decree of the king, permitting them to make public their deliberations *by means of the press*, and at the same time announced a remission of certain taxes which bore especially hard on the poorer classes. These concessions gave universal satisfaction, and realised in some degree what the nation had so confidently expected and passionately desired from representative institutions. It led to another step in advance—the most important of all—an attempt to establish the freedom of the press. On April 9 a motion was brought forward in the diet at Berlin, that the king should be petitioned to remove the restrictions on the press, which it was said had entirely annulled the benignant intentions announced in the royal proclamation of October 18, 1819, and rendered all free

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communication of thought impossible. Immense was the sensation excited by this debate; men could scarcely believe their own ears when they heard it announced: with agitated hearts they listened in crowds in the streets to the report of the speeches on the subject in the newspaper, the *Staats Gazette* of 13th April, which was read *in a low voice*. The example of the states of Berlin was speedily followed in the other provincial diets, and with an energy which gave no small uneasiness to the government. The states of the Rhenish provinces demanded that the debates should be daily and faithfully published, that the censorship of the press should be abolished, as it had been in England for one hundred and fifty, in Denmark for seventy years. The diet of Cologne demanded the convocation of a general parliament for the whole kingdom; a similar proposal at Posen was, after three days of stormy debates, only rejected "lest the nationality of Polish Prussia should be drowned in the general majority of the kingdom." In a word, the thorns began to show themselves with the roses, and so much was the government alarmed on the subject, that, by a circular to the different governors of provinces, the utmost vigilance was enjoined in enforcing the censorship of the press, and the free publication of debates was permitted only in the *State Gazette*.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiv. 459, 466.

66. Extension of the Zollverein, and increasing intellectual strength of Prussia.

The cabinet of Berlin in this year zealously pursued the two great objects of its domestic policy, which were, to attract literary and scientific talent from all quarters to the Prussian capital, and to render it the centre of the great financial union of the north of Germany. Both efforts proved successful. M. Schelling, an eminent philosopher, was put at the head of public instruction, and numbers of men, distinguished in science and literature, were attracted to Berlin. The Zollverein obtained an important extension this year, by the accession of Brunswick and Hesse-Homburg. The advantage of belonging to the union, both from the diminished expense of

collecting the duties, and the increased facility of transmitting goods from province to province, was now generally felt, and was rapidly overcoming the resistance offered by local interests, which always in the first instance obstructs measures of general utility. Treaties of commerce were also concluded with England, America, and Turkey, which materially lightened the import duties on commodities coming from these countries. They brought to light in Prussia the jealousy between the manufacturing and agricultural interests, which inevitably, in a certain stage of its progress, gets up in every country making rapid progress in industry. The eastern provinces towards Poland, which were entirely agricultural, warmly supported the treaty with England, which promised to give them the manufactured articles of which they stood in need, cheaper and better than they could be made for them at home; the western, in which native manufactures had made considerable progress, strongly opposed it, and deplored the ruin it was destined to bring on the commercial prospects of their own country.[1]

March 2, 1841.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiv. 467, 469.

67. Vast system of railways in Northern Germany.

Not content with having thrown down the barriers, which impeded the commercial intercourse of the different states forming the Zollverein, the Prussian government was indefatigable in its endeavours to connect them all together, in a solid and durable way, by a vast system of railways. In September 1841 the line from Berlin to Köthen was opened, which connected that capital with the one running from Leipsic to Magdeburg. It was soon after united to one running to Dresden; and another, of vast commercial importance, running from the Prussian capital to Bremen, Hamburg, and the Danish states. The government conceived, with justice, that these great undertakings would not only open up new markets for the industry of their subjects, but cement the fiscal union which was every day embracing fresh states, and adding to the preponderance of Prussia in Northern Germany. The Austrian government followed, *sed haud*

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passibus æquis, in the same beneficent career; and this year saw the lines opened from Prerau to Olmütz, and from Wiener-Neustadt to Neukirchen. But so much more vigorous was the spirit of enterprise in the northern than the southern states, that of fifteen railway lines at this period existing in Germany, no less than ten belonged to states forming part of the Prussian Commercial League.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiv. 468, 469.

68. Inauguration of the Cathedral of Cologne, and King's speech at it. Oct. 15.

Two important events in the constitutional history of Germany ensued in the following year, which well deserve a place in European history. The first of these was the inauguration of the Cathedral of Cologne, which took place on October 15, to commemorate the entire adjustment of the differences with the Holy See. On this occasion the King spoke words pregnant with meaning, not only on the great principle of religious toleration, but on the still more thrilling topic of German unity and nationality. "We are not engaged here," said the monarch, with the earnest accent of deep emotion, "with the construction of an ordinary edifice: it is a work bespeaking the spirit of union and of concord which animates THE WHOLE OF GERMANY, and all its persuasions, that we are now constructing. May, by the grace of God, the gates of this temple become to Germany the gates of a new era, when she may be great and powerful; and may all that is anti-German—that is, all that is not noble and true and sincere—be ever far from her: may the shameful attempts to relax the bonds of concord which unite the German princes and people, and trouble the peace of persuasions, be shattered against them; and may that spirit which has interrupted the completion of this sacred edifice, the temple of our country, never reappear amongst us! That spirit is the same as the one which, nine-and-twenty years ago, burst asunder our chains, and avenged the insults our country had received under the yoke of the stranger!"[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. xxv. 338, 339.

The next important step in the year, and a mighty one in the annals of German freedom, was the meeting

of the estates of *the whole kingdom*, which, for the first time in Prussian history, was held at Berlin on the 19th October. It may be conceived what hopes and expectations this event awakened among a people so passionately desirous of political enfranchisement as the middle ranks of Prussia were. They were somewhat damped, however, by a passage in the opening speech which Count Arnim delivered in the name of the King: "Unity in the deliberations of this assembly—this is what his majesty confidently expects of you, at the moment when, *of his sole royal pleasure*, he has put in execution the important complement of the institution of estates by uniting the different provincial committees. In those cases where the provincial estates, in their separate and independent representation, and in the consideration of what is suitable for their respective interests, have separated without coming to an accord, upon them the committee will here unite and reconcile them."[1]

69. Meeting of the general estates at Berlin. Oct. 19.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxv. 345; Moniteur, Oct. 24, 1842.

These words recorded the real design of the government in convoking this general assembly, which was by no means to erect a barrier which had in other countries proved often so serious against the royal authority, but to obtain a means, under colour of reconciling the differences between the provincial assemblies, in reality of obtaining their direction. No real control of the executive was permitted either to the provincial or the united assembly: on the contrary, by a royal ordinance of August 10 in the same year, the functions of the committees were limited to questions involving a diminution of taxation or the formation of railways. The session was always to be opened by the Minister of the Interior, and the secretaries were all to be chosen by the King. Important restrictions fettered the powers of the central assembly, and almost nullified its powers. No member was to be allowed to speak more than once on any question; the speakers were to address themselves to their respective chiefs of departments, and not to the opposite

70. Secret views of the government in this step.

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orators; and the representatives of the commons *were only a third of the entire assembly.* So little did the government contemplate any interference with its prerogatives, that when the provincial estates of Cologne desired to be permitted to present a petition to the King, who was then in their city, on the subject of commercial reform, they could not even obtain an audience. The session was closed at Berlin on November 10, after having sat just three weeks; and some questions of education, of taxation, and forming railroads, alone occupied their attention. It terminated by a speech of the King in person, who congratulated the country on the formation of the States-General out of the committees of the provincial estates as "the last development of the Prussian monarchy, and the satisfactory manner in which they had discharged their duties, and justified his confidence."[1]

[1] Moniteur, 14, 1842; Discours du Roi, Nov. 11, 1842; Ann. Hist. xxv. 96 (Doc. Hist.); Ann. Hist. xxv. 344, 346.

71. Progress of constitutional ideas in 1843.

Notwithstanding, however, these complimentary expressions, confidence was very far indeed from being really felt, and the government soon found that the concession they had already made was a great step in the career of constitutional freedom. Petitions for greater powers to the States-General, for the abolition of the censorship of the press, publicity of debates, and for real States-General, not mere committees of the provincial estates, crowded in next year from all quarters. From Königsberg no less than three hundred and fifty-five petitions to this effect were presented in the very next year. The ferment was particularly strong in the Rhenish provinces, whose estates petitioned that the States-General might be permitted to deliberate on *all* the affairs of the nation—not merely taxes and railways—and that entire publicity should be given to their debates in a perfectly free press. These demands, and the increasing excitement in the country, caused government to take fright and pause in its career. The amiable illusion of unity of opinion, which is always the dream of the inexperienced,

and with which the King had flattered himself, was already dispelled by the sober reality of division, the invariable result and characteristic of emancipated man. The King agreed that the "accounts" produced to the estates should not be subjected to the censorship ; but the publication of debates was only permitted to the *Gazette de Prusse*, the government organ, from which the other journals were obliged to take them. An important concession, however, was made by royal ordinances, 10th October 1842, and 4th February 1843, which abolished the censorship *entirely* of works extending to above twenty pages ; and in regard to journals or lesser pamphlets, enjoined the censors to discharge their duties with gentleness and discretion, and not to erase anything which did not strike at the monarchical frame of government, or tend to bring the institutions of the country into discredit, or discuss existing laws in an unsuitable or insulting manner. Wise principles, but how difficult of application to particular cases.[1]

Oct. 10, 1842. Feb. 4, 1843.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxvi. 269, 271; and ordinances, Oct. 10, 1842, and Feb. 4, 1843; Ann. Hist. xxvi. 161, 163, (Doc. Hist.)

72. Progress of railways.

So great was the vigour with which the construction of railways was pushed forward, both in northern and southern Germany, in the succeeding year, that the lines were rendered complete from Hamburg to Trieste,—that is, from the Baltic to the Adriatic! Such a prodigious penetration of that hitherto inland and remote country by the means of communication and rapid conveyance, could not but have ere long an important influence on its political fortunes. Railways are the pioneers of thought; when they have opened the way, changes of opinion, and through them, of institutions and government, rapidly succeed. The material and pecuniary interests of governments lead them to favour a change in this respect, destined in the end to work a much greater change upon themselves. This appeared in this very year. A serious revolt broke out in Silesia, the most manufacturing district of Prussia, originating in a strike among the workmen, who complained of the lowness of their wages, and the ruinous

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effect of machinery upon their interests. This revolt soon embraced the whole manufacturing towns and districts, and was not put down but by the intervention of a large military force, and a deplorable effusion of human blood. With the industry, the fabrics, and the riches of free states, Germany was already inheriting their passions, their collisions of classes, and their dangers.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxvii. 361, 365.

73. Important religious movement in Germany in 1845.

The increasing ferment of ideas, and the disposition to shake off the shackles of priestly as well as temporal authority, were strongly evinced in the succeeding year. A pretended relic of a saint, which had been exhibited at Treves for the adoration of the faithful, roused the indignation of a young Catholic priest, named Johan Ronge, who commenced preaching a reformation somewhat similar to that of Luther three hundred years before. The success of this bold attempt was at first such as to excite the greatest alarm in the papal conclave. The principles of the new sect were, that the supremacy of the Pope should be abolished, and he should be reduced to the mere rank of Bishop of Rome; that confession should be abolished, priests permitted to marry, and the mass be celebrated in the native tongue. This was cutting up the ascendancy of Rome by the roots, and it met, as might have been expected, with the most violent opposition from the Catholic party in every part of Germany. Deprived, however, of the aid of the fagot and the Inquisition, it was not so easy a matter as it once was to check the progress of heresy; and the schism of Ronge shook the Romish Church in Northern Germany to its foundation. Ronge and Czercky, the two leaders of the new sect, were formally excommunicated; but ere long, like many other reformers, they quarrelled, and this fresh schism was more fatal to the new opinions than the thunders of the Vatican. The King of Prussia was strongly urged, by a deputation from the magistrates of Berlin, to take vigorous measures against the ultra-Puritan party in that city, at the head of which were MM. Thiele and

Eichorn, both members of the royal council; but he answered in just and pregnant words, which bespoke the real seat of the evil in the superstition of some and indifference of others. "To me alone," said he, "belongs the direction of religious matters. You have nothing to do with it. Under my grandfather, Berlin contained forty thousand inhabitants, and fifty preachers; now its population is nearly five hundred thousand, and you have not added to their number; you have not built a single church. Is this a proof of your zeal for religion? As to the Puritans, those were men faithful to their God and their King; it is not for the magistrates of Berlin to attack them: the King can still less recognise that right in the declared partisans of the new Catholics, those men who have violated their oath towards the Church." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxvii. 283, 285.

74. Constitutional progress during the year 1845.

This religious schism was an indication of the stirring of men's minds; it was the precursor, as the fervour of the Puritans had been in England, of the great rebellion. When the human mind is resolutely set on expansion and inquiry, it is often in religious division that its heavings first appear. The same anxiety was evinced by the people, on the one hand, to obtain States-General, or a real representative assembly, and by the government, on the other, to repress insolent language, and check extravagant ideas. The demands of the petitions presented to the King had become so extensive, their language in some cases so violent, that they were nearly all considered illegal, and their insertion in the public journals prohibited. The object of the government was not to put an entire stop to the stream of innovation: *that*, they were well aware, was wholly impossible. What they desired was to turn it into constitutional channels, and take the initiative themselves in any changes which might be deemed advisable. Accordingly, Prince Adolphus of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, who presided over the provincial estates of Silesia, thus addressed them at their

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opening on the part of the government: "It is permitted to us to hope that the King will accord in the next session (that of 1847) *the constitution of States-General which you desire so warmly.* The King is convinced that the present situation of affairs not only requires, but favours that design." Numerous demands were made by all the estates, especially those of Cologne, Posen, and Berlin, for various objects of domestic and social reform, particularly a reform in criminal trials, and publicity of their procedure; the publication of the debates of the estates, the emancipation of the Jews, the establishment of real States-General, the extension of the representation of towns and rural communities in them, the guarantee of the liberty of the press, and similar objects. The answer of the King to these applications, though sometimes evasive, in general contained promises that the grievances complained of should be taken into consideration. The autumn of this year was rendered remarkable by an auspicious event, the visit of our present gracious sovereign to the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, when she was magnificently entertained by the King of Prussia, whose language on the occasion bespoke alike the courtesy of a chevalier, the grace of a sovereign, and the felicity of a scholar.[1]*

Aug. 10.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxviii. 295, 302.

75. The year 1846 and its constitutional struggles.

The year 1846 was chiefly distinguished by the agitation which prevailed in Prussia and all Northern Germany in favour of religious toleration and liberty of conscience, a topic which is everywhere, but especially in that country, the battle-field between the subjects and their sovereign. The religious schism, which had got up in the preceding year, furnished occasion for the presen-

* At a public dinner given to the Queen of England at Cologne, the King of Prussia said: "Gentlemen, fill your glasses to the brim. We are about to pronounce a word which ever resounds most pleasingly in English and German hearts: formerly, it resounded on the battle-field, hardly won, as a symbol of a happy fraternity in arms. Now it resounds, after a peace of thirty years, the happy result of the arduous toils of that period: here, in this German province, on the banks of this noble stream of the Rhine—that word is VICTORIA."—*Ann. Hist.*, xxviii. 302.

tation of numerous petitions on the subject to the King, in the answers to which the firm determination of the monarch to uphold the Lutheran religion as by law established was clearly expressed. It is remarkable that in these answers, which were chiefly addressed to municipal magistrates, by whom the petitions had been presented, the principle of appealing to the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith was expressly disavowed,—a clear proof that men had ceased to be swayed by authority in matters of religion.* The magistrates, however, were not daunted by this rebuke; those of Königsberg followed the example of Breslau, and formed a new sect, under a minister named Rapp, which soon embraced the chief men of the place. Magdeburg and Leipsic also had their divisions; and open-air meetings, like those in England, were called to discuss—as was done in Scotland in the time of the Covenanters—knotty points of theology. Alarmed at this religious agitation, the King convoked a synod to settle the disputed points; and it met at Berlin, and promulgated, as from authority, some dogmas. They, however, only gave rise to fresh remonstrances from the municipalities, and increased division among the people. In truth, the evil was ineradicable, save by a change of national institutions. Religion was the battle-field which the parties chose for their conflict, because none other was permitted to them. It was the reform bill of the German people.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxix. 351, 355.

76. Increased demand for reform.

The municipal bodies and provincial diets, especially in Rhenish Prussia—the centre alike of political effervescence and Catholic resistance—continued this year to petition for States-General, a free press, publicity of judicial proceedings, and the other objects of constitutional

* "Le véritable danger aujourd'hui c'est que l'Eglise, oubliant tous ces devoirs, reconnaisse comme ses serviteurs tous ceux qui tout en raillant les principes fondamentaux de la Foi Chrétienne, *osent en appeler à l'Ecriture Sainte.* Sous mon sceptre ceux-là auront liberté de conscience complète, mais jamais je n'admettrai qu'avec de tels principes ils puissent être serviteurs de l'Eglise évangélique et nationale."—*Réponse du Roi de Prusse aux Magistrats de Breslau,* March 7, 1846; *Ann. Hist.,* xxix. 352, 353.

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reform, with increased vehemence. It was evident that a crisis, and that of the most violent kind, was approaching. The government endeavoured to elude the demands for a free press, by referring to the resolutions of the Diet of the Confederation on the subject; but at the same time they set on foot some journals on the side of government,—a concession which was justly considered as the first step to absolute freedom of discussion. An important addition was made this year to the duties on cotton thread and goods, avowedly directed against England, who thus early began to experience the truth that all the concessions she might make in the way of reduction of duties on her side, would be met only by enhanced ones on the other part. An insurrection broke out at Posen on 14th February, in connection with one at the same time at Cracow, the centre of all the efforts for the restoration of Polish nationality; but it was speedily suppressed, and led to no other result but the occupation of Cracow by the Russian troops. The peasants of the grand-duchy of Posen, who had become proprietors, and largely benefited under the Prussian government, evinced no disposition to put themselves again under the rule of their stormy Comitia.[1]

Feb. 14.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxix. 351, 360.

77. Progress in 1847, and convocation of a general diet. Feb. 3.

The year 1847, the last of the old government in Prussia, was also, in a constitutional point of view, one of the most important. The desire expressed by the nation for a representative government had become so strong and universal, that the cabinet deemed it no longer safe to withhold it. On 3d February the long and ardently wished-for boon was granted. An edict appeared in the form of letters patent, convoking a general assembly of the estates of Prussia, arranged in four classes,—that of the nobles, the equestrian order, the towns, and the rural districts. The diet consisted in all of six hundred and seventeen members, of which the nobles were only eighty; so that the *tiers état* and equestrian order had a great

majority.* In addition to this general assembly there was a chamber of peers, to which certain separate functions were assigned, exclusive, however, of all matters of finance and taxation, which were to be privative to the general diet. The diet was empowered to discuss all questions concerning the legislative power, its exercise, and the relations between it and the executive. The initiative in all measures was reserved to the Crown; the diet had the power only of discussing and voting on them. It was empowered to receive all petitions—the right of presenting was fully accorded to the nation. By this constitution an immense step was made in the career of representative government in Prussia: a real national assembly was for the first time established, and a known channel opened by which the people might make their wants known to the throne; while that *unity* was established in the monarchy, the object of such passionate desire to every true German heart.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxx. 334, 341.

78. Opening of the States-General of Prussia, and King's speech.

The National Diet assembled on 24th July, and was opened by the King in person, in a noble speech, remarkable alike for the elevation and generous spirit which it evinced. He said in substance, "that in preserving entire the prerogative and prestige of the Crown as the ruling power in the state, the object of the King was to preserve the form and unity of the monarchy. He convoked the diet in order to make himself acquainted with the wants and wishes of his people; to satisfy, in a just measure, those views when they were legitimate. Sometimes he would invite a vote of the diet when important new measures, as the laying on of additional burdens, were requisite. But

* The deputies of the orders stood thus:—

Nobles,	80
Equestrian order,	231
Towns,	182
Rural districts,	124
	617

—*Ann Hist.*, xxx. 336, 338.

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the government would not be changed in its essence; the absolute monarchy had only become *consulting;* and for the interest even of his people, the King did not think it was his duty to establish a proper representative government. He felt that it was his duty to resist the levelling and innovating spirit of the age: he would never permit a charter to intervene between him and the duty which he owed to his people; he would never yield to the rule of majorities, and he would resist to the last the ruinous democratic and incendiary designs which were the disgrace and the peril of the age." This speech, it may readily be conceived, gave rise to a violent debate as to whether the constitution thus explained was or was not a redemption of the royal pledge given in the declaration of 20th May 1815. An address substantially approving of the constitution was carried only by a majority of fifty-three—the numbers being 303 to 250; and an energetic protest was signed by the minority. An animated debate also took place on the finances; and the session was closed on 24th June by a royal rescript, after the assembly had given sufficient proof of a sturdy unmanageable disposition, which too surely prognosticated the terrible convulsions of the succeeding year.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxx. 335, 363.

79. Extraordinary political situation of Germany.

From this account of the political circumstances and constitutional history of Germany subsequent to the peace, it is evident that its situation was very singular, and such as necessarily stamped a peculiar character on its literature, and portended at no distant period serious convulsions among its inhabitants. On the one hand there was a vast confederacy of states, the great majority of which were in a simple agricultural condition, animated with a strong military spirit, deeply tinctured with feudal ideas, governed by a feudal nobility, and inspired with the strongest aversion to the democratic regime, from the invasion of which they had already suffered so much. On the other hand, there were many free towns and commercial or

manufacturing districts, already considerable at the commencement of the period, which increased immensely during the long peace that followed the conclusion of the war, and the inhabitants of which were animated with the strong and inextinguishable love of freedom which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race. Between such classes, inspired with such opposite feelings, union was impossible —ultimate contest inevitable. The *tiers état* of Germany was rising so rapidly in wealth, intelligence, and consideration, that it was not in the nature of things that it should remain long in the fetters of the feudal nobility: the feudal nobility were so strongly intrenched in the citadels of power and in the possession of government, that it was equally hopeless to expect they would relinquish it without a struggle, or be driven from it without convulsions.

80. Effect of the revolutionary war on the two parties which divided it.

A contest of this description is inevitable in one stage or other of every monarchy of the European race. England had it in the Great Rebellion—France during the Revolution. But what was peculiar to Germany, and rendered it likely to be more serious there than in any other country, was this—that the long duration and successful issue of the revolutionary war had materially added to the strength of both parties, and in a similar proportion augmented their hostility against each other. Twenty years' almost unbroken warfare had drawn forth to the very highest degree the military spirit and resources of the country; and the narrow escape it had made at its close, by almost superhuman efforts, from slavery and bondage—the sad result of their former divisions—had both convinced every one of the necessity of a federal union to cause the common independence to be respected, and of a vast standing army to maintain it if assailed. Thus the whole of Germany unanimously agreed, while smarting under the evils of French oppression, to a federal union, which placed the entire physical strength of the Confederacy at the disposal of Austria and Prussia—the

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two greatest military powers of central Europe; and acquiesced in the establishment of a federal army of 300,000 men to obey their directions. Such and so great was the accession to the strength of the aristocratic and monarchical party from the long continuance and final triumphant issue of the revolutionary war.

81. And in increasing the passion for freedom.

But that very triumphant issue, and the long peace to which it gave rise, augmented in a proportional degree the passion for freedom in the middle and commercial portions of the community. The victory had been gained by a unanimous effort of all ranks; and, in the first fervour of gratitude, the sovereigns of Germany had solemnly given in return, in the Federal Act, the promise *to all* of representative institutions. In Prussia this promise had been followed up by the official announcement that government were engaged in the inquiries requisite for the formation of a constitution. When, therefore, year after year passed away without this promise being redeemed in the great monarchies, and when at last it terminated in the illusory concession, in the Prussian states, of provincial assemblies only, and in Austria in no assemblies at all, the discontent was general and extreme. It was rendered the greater that, during the long interval of expectation, the industry and wealth of the middle classes had immensely increased, and with it the desire for and capability to exercise representative powers had proportionally augmented. The Diet had most wisely prohibited internal war between the states of the Confederacy; they had effectually guarded it against foreign attack, and had removed many of the restrictions which fettered the commercial intercourse of one state of the union with the other. The Fatherland—peaceful within, respected without—had been moulded into a vast empire, containing in the end forty million of inhabitants speaking the same language, descended from the same stock, in great part actuated by the same sentiments, and rapidly increasing in population, wealth, and industry. Imagination could

hardly conceive circumstances more favourable to the development of the passion for freedom among the middle and industrial portion of the community; and yet the very circumstances which had created this desire had imposed seemingly impassable barriers to its gratification.

82. Great effect of general education in increasing this desire.

The education which had become so general in Germany, especially its northern and central states, powerfully augmented this general and natural desire. Every person, in however humble a condition, being taught to read, a great proportion of them learned to think; and the first effect of an entrance into the realms of thought always is to beget a passionate desire to bring opinions into action, and mould the social institutions and measures of government according to what seems to them most desirable. Unthinking man, whether in religion or politics, is often for a very long period passive and quiescent —thinking man never. Division of opinion and divergence of action arise with the development of intelligence as naturally as the sparks fly upward. Unity of thought is the result of ignorance, universal, save in the few who direct it. It was inevitable, therefore, when Germany became instructed, that difference of opinion on political subjects should arise, and the passion become general for those representative institutions which might open vents, as it were, for its reception. But there was a circumstance peculiar to that country, which in an especial manner aggravated the difficulties of its situation, and inflamed the vehemence of the political passions which agitated its bosom beyond what perhaps ever occurred in any other country.

83. Great difficulties arising from the want of foreign commercial colonies.

In general, where free institutions are established in a country, or the desire for them is generally felt, it is in consequence of manufactures having flourished, commerce extended, and, as a natural consequence, colonies having been planted, which afforded a vent to the surplus population of the parent state. But nearly all these means of independence and outlets to discontent were awanting in

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Germany. Colonies they had none; foreign trade, except in a few towns in the north, little; manufactures were flourishing in some districts, but not so generally established as to afford any sufficient employment or vent for the inhabitants. Hamburg and Frankfort, the two largest commercial towns in Germany, do not each to this day contain more than eighty thousand inhabitants—not a fifth part of Glasgow, Manchester, or Liverpool. It results from this, that none of the ordinary outlets which draw off the bustling and active part of the community, and to which Great Britain has been so deeply indebted for her internal tranquillity, were open in Germany, while, at the same time, the general intelligence of the people inspired multitudes with the desire to elevate themselves in the world, and exchange manual for intellectual labour. Thus its governments came to be placed in the most perilous of all situations—that of being constantly in presence of educated indigence panting for elevation, and squalid multitudes destitute of employment. We boast of the stability of the Anglo-Saxon character, and the manner in which England has stood the political storms which have proved fatal to the governments of so many other states; but it is not equally generally felt how much of that is owing to the coal and iron under our feet, which has given us manufactures, and the encircling ocean, which has given us commerce and colonies. And if we would see what Great Britain has owed to these advantages, we have only to turn to Ireland to see what a country can be brought to which is in part without them.[1]

[1] Laing's Germany and Denmark, 37, 62.

84. Causes which held Germany together: constitution of the Diet, the federal union.

So powerful is the influence of these causes, prompting to general discontent and social convulsion, that they would undoubtedly have brought on disturbance, and probably revolution, in the states of northern and western Germany long before the outbreak of 1848, were it not for other circumstances which had a directly opposite tendency, and kept the social body together when causes of discord were at work in its bosom eminently calculated

to tear it in pieces. The first of these was the Federal Union, which not only gave a preponderance of votes in the general Diet to the monarchical and military states, but put the immense military force of its members entirely at their disposal. Out of the seventeen votes which composed the Diet, not more than one or two could be reckoned on by the commercial towns, or the liberal party in the smaller states: they never on a serious occasion could muster more than two votes, while Austria could command fifteen; and of the military forces of the Confederacy not less than 225,000 was at the disposal of the great military monarchies, or those whom they influenced. The knowledge of how political and physical strength was thus arranged, prevented any partial outbreak in places where the democratic feeling was strongest, from its obvious hopelessness.

85. Effect of the preponderance of Catholics in the Confederacy.

II. In this question a great degree of importance must be attached to the fact, that a majority of the German states were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Their inhabitants were, in 1820, nineteen millions to the Protestant seventeen millions. It is true, nearly the whole genius and intelligence of the Fatherland was to be found in the Protestant states of the north, and that they almost exclusively directed the thought of the German educated classes, and the character of German literature throughout the world. But although that circumstance will doubtless come to exercise a great and probably decisive influence on the fate of Germany in the end, it could not counteract, in the first instance, the efforts of the Catholic clergy in the Romish states to retain their flocks in a state of real ignorance. Rome has a perpetual dread of instruction and intelligence, because an unerring instinct tells it that they inevitably lead to division of opinion. The mere fact of the whole people in Austria and southern Germany being taught to read, had no influence in counteracting this tendency; on the contrary, it increased it. The people got leave to read nothing but little books of their priests' composition.

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Accordingly, on every important division in the Diet, the representatives of the Catholic states all voted with Austria and the monarchical party.

86. The army is the expression of general opinion.

III. It was a mistake to say, as is often done by the liberal writers, that this decided superiority of the aristocratic party, both in the Diet and the governments of Germany, was owing to the wishes and aspirations of the people being crushed by the force of military power. Constituted as the army in all the states of the Confederacy is, its voice is the exponent, not the controller of general opinion. As every man, of whatever rank, without exception, is bound to serve three years in the armed force, at the expiration of which period he retires, and makes way for his successor, who during that period has grown up to the military age, the army is in fact an *armed deputation of the nation*, just as the juries in America are a judicial committee of the majority. It is possible with a mercenary force, which has no sympathy with the people among whom they are introduced, or with a victorious host which follows the standards of a Cæsar or a Napoleon, to crush effectually for a time the expression of general opinion; but with an army constituted as those of the German states are, this was impossible. The people have arms in their own hands: the whole population have been trained to their use; if they are dissatisfied with the existing system, they have the remedy in their own power. No one succession of soldiers remains so long in the service as to come to be detached from the people, and belong to the military caste. The armies of Germany are aristocratic, and support the monarchical cause, because the great majority of the people, whatever a portion of them in the great towns may be, are of the same way of thinking, lead a simple agricultural life, and are still subject to the old influences.

IV. A prominent place in the causes influencing German policy and domestic history in recent times must be

Influence of Russia on Prussia and the lesser states.

assigned to the influence of Russia. This great power, essentially monarchical and despotic in its system of government, is as tenacious of purpose and far-seeing in policy, as the inhabitants of free states are vacillating and inconsiderate. The close union which subsisted between the Czar and the King of Prussia during the war of liberation, led to a very great influence of the former over the latter, and, in effect, has ever since rendered Prussia, so far as external policy is concerned, little more than an outwork of Muscovy. Austria entertained for long, and, till driven into her arms by the tortuous policy of England, a very great dread of Russia; and therefore the main efforts of the latter power, during the last quarter of a century, have been directed to gain the command of the Diet by means of extending its influence among the lesser powers. Fortuitous circumstances gave it the means of doing this with very great effect. Through the Empress Catherine, a Livonian princess, the Russian house of Romanzoff was connected with several reigning families in the north of Germany; the marriage of the Emperor Nicholas to a sister of the King of Prussia brought it into close connection with the royal family of Berlin, while that of the Emperor Alexander with a princess of the house of Baden had placed it in alliance with an old and highly connected family in central Germany. The vast armies of Russia, like those of the East India Company to Great Britain, furnished employment to the numerous youth of noble extraction in Germany, to whom circumstances and the general feeling left no other career but that of arms; and this means of influence was prodigally exerted by the cabinet of St Petersburg to extend its sway over the German powers. Thus the influence of Russia had become nearly omnipotent, especially in the lesser states, before the French Revolution of 1830; and so strongly was this felt by the popular party, that the greatest reproach which could be cast

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upon a writer, and that which proved fatal to Kotzebue, was that he was a Russian spy.

88. Influence of the want of employment in forcing men to become government employés.

V. A very curious circumstance connected with the social condition of Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century, tended greatly to extend the influence of government, though at first sight it might seem calculated to have a directly opposite effect. This was, the great extent to which education had been carried in the middle and lower ranks. That this universal opening of the gates of knowledge rendered nearly all young men at first liberal, and even revolutionary in their opinions, is indeed certain; and accordingly, extreme license of ideas in the schools and universities was one of the circumstances which most strongly excited the solicitude of the governments of Germany. But what came of these young men, when they left college and went into the world? Universally educated, they all sighed for intellectual rather than physical labour: restricted in their walk of life by circumstances, there was not one in ten could find employment, or earn a subsistence in intellectual pursuits. Trade or manufactures in a country so little commercial could absorb only a limited number; the army furnished occupation merely for a few years in early life; colonies there were none; emigration, till the middle of the century, was almost unknown. Thus the only channel left open was that of government employment, and the great number who crowded accordingly into that line, gave the authorities an immense sway over those who had entered upon the career and felt the wants of real life. Dreaming of republics, and declaiming passages about Brutus and Cromwell, was very exciting, as long as the youths were at college, maintained by their parents, and animated by the presence of each other; but when they went out into the world, and found themselves alone in a garret, with scarce the means of purchasing one meal a-day, it became very desirable to exchange

such penury for the certainty and security of a government office. Thus it was universally found in Germany that there were a dozen applicants for every vacant situation, how humble soever, that fell vacant, and that the visionary enthusiasm of the young aspirant was speedily cooled down by the chill atmosphere of real life after they left the universities. The ardent student, burning with the passion for freedom, who had fought two duels, with his meerschaum, his beer, and his *liebens-wurdige schauspielerin*, was ere long transformed into a quiet, respectable government *employé*, who toiled at his desk twelve hours a-day for eighty pounds a-year, and thanked his stars that, in the dread competition, he had drawn such a prize in the lottery of life. It would be the same in every other country if the means of existence were equally restricted. Cut off the backwoods and California from America, or Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, with India and Australia, from England, and where would be the boasted independence of the Anglo-Saxon character?

89. Disastrous effects in Germany of the revolutions of 1820 and 1830.

VI. Among the circumstances which tended to coerce for a very long period the rising democratic spirit of Germany, must be reckoned the revolutions of Spain and Italy in 1820, and France in 1830, so productive of disaster to the cause of freedom in every part of the world. Like all other attempts by force and violence to overturn governments and change institutions, they deeply injured the cause for which they had been undertaken; and it is hard to say whether they did this most effectually by their early success or their ultimate discomfiture. The first excited the terror of the monarchical and aristocratic party all over the world, buried their jealousies in oblivion, and caused them to coalesce cordially to oppose the revolutionary deluge: the last chilled the hopes of the friends of real freedom by the ill success which had attended the efforts of the revolutionists, and the apparent hopelessness of their cause. The treachery and defection

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of the Spanish army, the object of such impassioned laudation from the liberal party all over the world, in reality promoted nothing but the interests of Russia, for it rallied all the friends of order over Europe to its standard. This advance of Muscovite sway was still more furthered by the triumph of the Barricades, and the establishment of a revolutionary government on the left bank of the Rhine. The lesser German powers, violently assailed, and some of them overturned, by the outbreak of the democratic spirit in their own bosoms, were fain to take shelter under the ægis of the great conservative colossus of the north. The fall of Charles X., for which the short-sighted Liberals chaunted *io-pæans* all over the world, in reality had no other effect but that of extending the Russian influence from the Niemen to the Rhine, and throwing back for half a century the cause of German freedom.

90. Counteracting influence of these causes.

Such were the chief causes which acted upon the people of Germany during the thirty years which followed the termination of the war of liberation. The most cursory observation must show that they were on each side so powerful, and yet so contradictory to each other, that they could terminate only in a vehement struggle or an entire disruption of society. The restraining causes and influences were the more powerful in the commencement of the period, but the disturbing became more efficacious as time rolled on, and it was evident, at its close, that nothing but a violent shock from the neighbouring kingdom was required to throw society into convulsions. The thirty-three years which elapsed from 1815 to 1848 were nothing but a long-continued preparation for the terrible convulsion in the latter year in Germany; just as the fifteen years from 1815 to 1830 were for the Revolution of France, which overturned Charles X.; and the seventeen years from the same epoch to 1832, for that which subverted the old constitution of England. The convulsion was longer of com-

ing in the Fatherland, because the aristocratic and monarchical influences were more powerful, and the innovating principles less active, in a great inland and agricultural Confederacy than in either of the adjoining states, where commerce and manufactures had, from the possession of coal and the vicinity of the ocean, made much greater progress.

91. The triumph of the Conservatives left the seeds of revolution in all the European states.

And here a markworthy circumstance deserves to be noted, eminently characteristic of the ceaseless vicissitude from good to evil and from evil to good, which in the unbroken chain of events marks the progress of human affairs. It was the triumph of the conservative powers, at the close of the terrible struggle with France, which left the seeds of revolution in all the countries which had proved victorious in the strife. This History has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that it was the vast growth of wealth and realised capital in Great Britain, during and after the war, from the immense extension of the empire which occurred during its continuance, which, by enabling the holders of it to get possession of the close boroughs, put it in their power to pursue measures calculated for their exclusive advantage, and brought on the Reform revolution. Spain was revolutionised in consequence of the successes of Wellington and the restoration of Ferdinand VII. in the Peninsula; Flanders, from the effects of the triumph of Waterloo. Russia was shaken to its centre from the participation of its armies in the strife of central Europe and the conquest of Leipsic; France, by the consequences of the restoration of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon; and Germany was no exception to the general law. In the effects of the great and formidable Confederacy which arose out of the strife of which its fields had so long been the theatre, is to be discerned the remote but certain spring of revolutionary movement in its bosom, more determined and bloody than any which have yet con-

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vulsed the world. Such strength as was there given to the conservative and democratic principles in the different classes of society, and such antagonism as was there created between them, could not but lead at no distant period to a frightful social convulsion. Whoever would rightly apprehend the German revolution of 1848, must devote his days and his nights to the study of the moving principles which had been brought into action among its inhabitants subsequent to the battle of Waterloo and establishment of their independence.

92. Influence of these causes on German literature.

The causes which have been mentioned have exercised an influence not less powerful on the LITERATURE of Germany than on its political condition and social state. In the speculations of its philosophers, equally with the visions of its poets and the imaginations of its dramatists, is to be seen the traces of genius chafing against the fetters of conventionalism, of freedom seeking to burst the bonds of power. Excluded from a share in the direction of affairs, debarred from exercising an influence on present events, shut out in consequence from a practical direction, the thought of Germany has been forcibly turned into the realms of imagination, and has sought a vent for its ardent feelings in the picture of ideal beauty, the creations of erudite fancy. All the events of time, from the earliest ages, have floated before its vision; all the characters of men in all nations have peopled its ideal world; all the thoughts which have been wrung by joy or suffering from the human heart in the endless vicissitude of human affairs, have found a vent in its poetry. Hence the perfection, unrivalled in modern times, to which the German drama has suddenly arisen. The stage was the only theatre on which the ardent aspirations of an age of intellectual activity and impassioned energy could be exerted. The German drama and poetry is the result of excited genius and enthusiastic feeling wielding the treasures of great learning, but

debarred from any practical application. Like the poetry of Racine and Corneille, it contained the aspirations of minds born to be free, but permitted to expatiate only in the realms of imagination. And genius wrote for the drama because it had no real stage to write for; men went to the theatre because they had no house of lords or commons to go to. This circumstance invests the German literature during the period of its greatness—that is, the last half-century—with an interest, and gives it an importance beyond what usually belongs to the efforts of thought, how great or splendid soever. In it, as in a mirror, and far more than in the political history of the period, may be traced what ideas have been really fermenting in the minds of men; and if "coming events ever cast their shadows before," it is when the sunlight of genius throws its radiance over the dark and troubled ocean of the moral world. In the extravagant doctrines and corrupt conceptions which prevailed in France in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Lord Chesterfield saw the harbingers of the coming revolution in that country; and he must be blind indeed who does not perceive in the German literature of the nineteenth the heavings of a pent-up fire destined to produce throes and convulsions more earnest, more serious, but not less bloody, than those which have stood forth as a beacon to the world in the French Revolution.

93. Advantages of the German Confederacy to the peace of Europe.

There can be no doubt that, in a social and political point of view, the formation of the German Confederacy has proved a very great blessing, not only to its own members, but to Europe in general. To its existence humanity is mainly indebted for the long peace which succeeded the revolutionary war, with the inestimable blessings which it brought in its train. Germany, for two centuries before, had not merely been the battle-field of Europe, but the coveted prize which provoked its wars. The lesser states, incapable of resisting the

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assault of the greater, afforded only a bait to tempt their cupidity. Religious zeal strove at one period to effect their subjugation, in order to realise the seducing dream of unity of belief; regal ambition, at another, to effect the substantial acquisition of universal dominion. The lesser states of Germany formed a sort of "land debatable," into which Gustavus Adolphus rushed to defend the cause of religious freedom, and Frederick the Great to anticipate the dreaded partition by Austria, and revolutionary France to convulse and overturn the world. The Thirty Years' War, the Seven Years' War, the Revolutionary War, the fiercest strifes which have stained the soil of Europe with blood in modern times, have all arisen from the political weakness and defenceless condition of the lesser states of Germany. But the case was very different when these little principalities formed part of a vast Confederacy, capable of bringing 300,000 men into the field, and backed by Austria and Prussia, whose armies could in a few months double that armed host. Even the greatest powers shrank from provoking such a colossus. More than this, its existence in the centre of Europe prevented the great powers from attacking each other. Beyond all doubt, it was the impediment of the German Confederacy which kept asunder France and Russia in 1831, and preserved the peace of Europe at a time when it was so violently threatened by the propagandist efforts of the French revolutionists and the despotic tendencies of the Russian autocrat.

94. Effect of the German Confederacy on domestic peace and the progress of freedom.

If we consider the German Confederacy with reference to the internal development of constitutional ideas, and the progressive growth of civil liberty, there is unfortunately much less to admire. As the majority both of votes in the Diet and of physical strength in the field was decidedly in favour of the great military powers, while the peace which they secured for the whole Confederacy was equally favourable to the growth of a passionate desire for freedom and self-government in the

lesser states, as much internal jealousy and heart-burnings were created within as peace and tranquillity without. The obvious hopelessness of any attempt on the part of Würtemberg, Bavaria, or Baden, with the aid of Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfort, to withstand the great military monarchies, prevented any general insurrectionary movement, or if it did break out, rendered it easy of suppression. But it by no means followed from that state of things that men's minds were really satisfied, or that society was seated on as solid a basis as its external appearance appeared tranquil and unruffled. On the contrary, these outward appearances were every day becoming more fallacious; the discontent of the middle class was rapidly increasing, and beneath the surface of peace and concord the flames of a frightful volcano were in reality smouldering. Extraordinary as at first sight the revolution of 1848 may appear, it was in reality nothing more than the natural result of the long peace which Germany had enjoyed, and the peculiar circumstances of its federal union.

95. What of a federal union for the interests of mankind?

These considerations throw an important light on a question of much importance to mankind, viz., the ability of a federal union, such as those of Germany or America, to promote the ends of the social union, and advance the general happiness of society. And this question may probably be resolved by a distinction. If the states forming the confederacy are in the same or nearly the same, political circumstances; as all commercial, like the Dutch; or all pastoral, like the Swiss; or all agricultural, like the vast majority of the American; they may frame institutions adapted to their entire inhabitants, and enjoy, perhaps, the greatest social felicity which is allotted to man on this earth. Unity of external power, and individuality of internal institutions, present a combination which, as long as it lasts, affords the best possible security for general happiness, because it unites the inestimable advantages of national independence, domestic

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peace, and suitable institutions. But if the circumstances of the different states are widely and irreconcilably dissimilar; as if some are commercial and manufacturing, others agricultural or pastoral, or some resting on the labour of freemen, and others, from the heat of their climate, chained to the toil of slaves; the ends of the social union will be irrecoverably thwarted by their being united together, and no durable existence can be presaged for such confederacies. The majority in such cases will force institutions upon the minority, so prejudicial in their nature *to them*, or so unsuited to their circumstances, as to breed a dissatisfaction which will ere long burst out in revolution, or occasion a forced abstinence from vexed questions fatal in the end to the existence of the union. Germany is an example of the first, where the great agricultural and military monarchies succeeded in denying to the free towns and commercial districts those political immunities which they so ardently desired, and thereby occasioned a dissatisfaction which broke forth in the terrible revolution of 1848; America of the last, where the confederacy is only held together by a most irksome toleration in the northern states, of slavery in the southern; and it is well understood that the first serious infringement of that compromise will be the signal for a dissolution of the Union.

96. What may be hoped for federal unions in future.

It does not, however, appear hopeless to expect, in the progress of time, that certain plain and simple truths may become so generally admitted, that the advantages of federal government may be combined with those of separate legislation. Hitherto, indeed, this has been found to be impracticable for any length of time; for this plain reason, that such is the selfishness and blindness of human nature, that men, when they have got the power, by means of a majority in a ruling assembly, never fail to make use of it, in the very first instance, for their immediate aggrandisement, and to force the institutions of which they themselves approve upon their neighbours,

how resolutely soever opposed to them. It is chimerical to expect that this selfish propensity will ever be lessened in the progress of time; but it is not chimerical to hope that its pernicious effect may in the end be abated, by men seeing that their *interests will be more advanced* by adopting a more tolerant policy towards other men. Unity of institutions and laws in politics, like unity of belief and form in religion, is the dream of the inexperienced; diversity of laws and institutions is the want of civilised man. The farther he advances in his career, the greater is the divergence of ideas and habits in different places, and the greater the necessity for different institutions suited to their different circumstances. It is on account of the immense advantages which such adaptation affords, that confederacies of small states, such as those of Greece in ancient, or the Italian republics in modern times, have presented such brilliant spots in the history of the world. This splendour was instantly destroyed when they were conquered by foreign powers; and it is their experienced inability to resist such assault which has rendered them so shortlived, and men so distrustful of their advantage. But it does not seem hopeless that men may at last come to be convinced of the plain truth, that diversity of institutions arises inevitably from diversity in race, character, or occupation, but that it is not incompatible with *entire and cordial union for the purposes of internal peace and external independence.* But many ages must positively elapse, and much misery be endured, before such an union of monarchical and democratic states becomes practicable, or will ever for any length of time be realised.

97. Cause which shipwrecked German liberty.

It is a remarkable fact, clearly indicative of the real causes which have, for the time at least, made shipwreck of German freedom, that its greatest advances were made at the period when the conservative party were all-powerful in Europe, and its greatest reverses sustained when the revolutionary was in the ascendant. Estates were

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solemnly promised to all the states of Germany by the congress of sovereigns at Vienna, and by the King of Prussia to his subjects at Berlin, immediately before the battle of Waterloo; they were given to Poland at the same time by conservative England; they were subsequently withheld mainly in consequence of the violent and unjustifiable proceedings of the revolutionary party in other states of Europe. France, blessed with a representative government, and in the enjoyment of real freedom, was the theatre of one incessant conspiracy for the overthrow of the government ever since the Restoration, at the head of which Lafayette and the whole liberal leaders were to be found. England was so disturbed during the same period, that all the Continental observers thought she was on the eve of a revolution. Germany had no inducement to adopt the Constitutional regime, when it had led to such results in the countries where it had been first established; still less, when the subsequent revolutions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont, demonstrated that nothing short of the entire despotism of numbers would satisfy the movement party in any state of Europe. The German governments were unquestionably right when they declared that their institutions should be framed according to the historical traditions of the country, and based on the representation of classes, not numbers; but they were as clearly wrong when they delayed to redeem the pledge given of establishing such institutions, and gave their opponents the fair ground of complaint that they were opposed to any advances even towards freedom, and anxious to prolong the despotism of the sixteenth amidst the light of the nineteenth century. The Liberals of Germany were unquestionably right when they claimed from their governments the redemption of this pledge, but as clearly wrong when, on its being delayed to be rendered, they allied themselves with the revolutionists of France and Spain, to commence their career of human emancipation by

secret societies and open assassination. And thus it ever is in human affairs; the progress of freedom is checked, and the extension of human felicity prevented, not so much by wrong ends being pursued by either party, as right ends by wrong means. The most dangerous and demoralising doctrine ever put forth among men is the principle which revolutionary has borrowed from Romish ambition, that the end will justify the means. The only course which history in every age shows has been permanently beneficial, is that which pursues THE RIGHT END BY THE RIGHT MEANS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LITERATURE OF GERMANY IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1800-48. 1. Great importance of the German literature in the early part of the nineteenth century.

IMPORTANT at all times, and in all countries, the LITERATURE OF GERMANY during the early part of the nineteenth century is pre-eminently so, not only as indicating the progress of the human mind during the most important era of modern times, but as foreshadowing the course of social change, and the march of political event. In free countries, the changes of public opinion, often capricious and inconstant, are indicated by unmistakable symptoms, and future events are foreshadowed in a manner which, even by the most inconsiderate, cannot be misunderstood. The debates in the legislature give vent to general thought, and define the objects of the parties into which the State is divided; the press disseminates them through every part of the realm, and strengthens the passion of which they are the expression; public meetings indicate, often in a voice of thunder, the objects of popular desire, and the subjects of general discontent; and philosophic thought, in periodical literature, applies to present events the lessons of past experience, and stimulates or discourages future change by the contemplation or the picture of former revolution. No one who is acquainted with the literature, whether daily, monthly, or quarterly, of free states, can be at a loss to apprehend whence they are coming, or whither they are

going. But it is otherwise in despotic countries. No national assemblies there furnish a safety-valve to public feeling, or indicate its tendency; the expression of discontent in any form is strongly prohibited; rigorous punishment deters from any censure, how well soever founded, on the measures of government; and while national feeling is daily accumulating, and public discontent is at its height, the journals do little more than narrate the progress of princes and princesses from one city to another, and the universal enthusiasm when they show themselves in public. But in an age of advancing intelligence and stirring events, it is not to be supposed that the human mind is in reality dormant; it is incessantly working, but its movements are not perceived, nor is the existence of dangerous passions even suspected at a distance, till a sudden and unforeseen event at once reveals their tendency, and demonstrates their strength.

2. Literature is thus the index to general opinion.

It is in the literature of such states that we must look for the real tendency of public opinion, and the foreshadowing of future change; and it is to be found, not in the discussion of present, but in the contemplation of past events; not in the journals, but in the drama. *Veluti in speculum* may then be, with truth inscribed over the curtain of every theatre. The ardent desires and aspirations of the human mind, unable to find a vent in public assemblies, a free press, or the discussion of present events, seek it in the realms of imagination; the license of the theatre consoles for the restrictions of the senate-house; and the dreams of perfectibility are indulged in a world of the poet's creation, if they are not to be found in that of the statesman's direction. This is the true cause of the elevation and frequent grandeur of thought in the drama of despotic states, and its ultimate degradation in free communities: in the former it is the expression of noble and generous thought, in the latter it is the scene of relaxation from it. Thence it was that Corneille and Voltaire poured forth such noble declamations in favour of

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general freedom under the despotic rule of the Bourbons; thence it was that Shakespeare uttered such heart-stirring sentiments at the absolute court of Queen Elizabeth; and thence it was, in later times, that the drama had not even arisen in America, in an age when Schiller and Goethe had rendered it immortal in Germany, and that Alfieri's noble tragedies on Roman liberty were contemporary only with Sheridan's comedies on the English stage.

3. Cause of its romantic character in Germany.

The Germans say that the French have got the land, the English the sea, and themselves the air. No one can be acquainted with their literature without perceiving that there is much truth in this observation, and that as much as it is inferior to the works of English thought in practical utility or acquaintance with the social necessities of mankind, is it superior to most of them in ardour of imagination and romance of sentiment. This difference between two people sprung from the same stock, and commencing their career with the same institutions, is very remarkable, and strikingly indicative of the influence of situation and external circumstances upon the ultimate character of general thought. The Germans have built their castles in the air, because they were unable to construct them upon the earth. For the most part shut out by their inland position from the ocean, they were deprived of the material resources and extended intercourse of commerce; surrounded by military monarchies, which turned all the external energies of the state to war, and crushed every approach towards liberal institutions at home, the middle classes neither acquired the social importance, nor, if they had gained it, could they have wielded the physical strength necessary in a conflict with a powerful and proud aristocracy, and a government having at its command great armies. Thus the powers of intellect and imagination, second in the German race to none in the world, were of necessity turned into the realms of imagination, from the closing of all the avenues to practical exertion;

and thence both the aerial turn of their literature, and the sudden start to the very highest eminence which it made. In all respects, save race and descent, the circumstances of Great Britain were the very reverse; and if the Germans had been placed in a land encircled by the waves, abounding in coal and ironstone, and on the frontier of the Atlantic, and the English in an inland territory, without the means of commerce, and constrained in self-defence to turn all their energies to the military art, the character of the literature of the two countries would probably have been reversed.

4. Dawn of German literature.

It is not in general in the outset of its intellectual course that nations, any more than individuals, evince the decided bent which race or circumstances are destined to imprint upon its subsequent stages. Early youth in both is in the first instance imitative. The Greeks themselves, gifted beyond any people that ever existed with original genius, copied in the outset from the Persians and Egyptians; the marbles of Lycia and Ægina preceded the Parthenon. On the dawn of letters and of art in modern Europe, the classical models were the object first of the most extravagant admiration, next of servile imitation. It is by the collision of original genius with the study of the great works of antiquity that a new school is formed, guided in its conceptions by the former, chastened in its execution by the latter. This is exactly what took place in Germany: the classical and imitative school preceded the romantic and original; and the latter in its infancy was strongly tinctured with the images and ideas of the former. But various circumstances tended both to make the spring of intellect later in Germany than in the adjoining states, and to cause it, when it did arise, to start almost at once into perfection and vigour.

Its inland situation and military bent, forced upon it from being the battle-field of Europe, was the main cause of the long intellectual night which overspread the German Empire. Its nobles were constantly, as it were,

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5. Causes of the backwardness of its literature.

clothed in armour; its burghers arrayed in defence of their walls; its peasants tilling the soil for haughty and warlike nobles. Its inhabitants were neither protected from invasion by a barrier of mountains, like the Italians or Spaniards, nor sheltered by a barrier-stream and incomparable situation like the French, nor encircled by the ocean and guarded by their fleets like the English; on the contrary, the German plains were the scene in which they all engaged in mortal conflict. Situated in the centre of Europe, and too much divided into separate dominions to be able then to repel aggression by their native strength, the German states have alternately been the prey of internal discord and the theatre of external aggression. The Poles, the Huns, the Franks, the Italians, the Spaniards, have successively ravaged their fields, or contended in them for the mastery of Europe: war has not been to them a season only of pleasurable excitement as to the French and the English, but it has brought its ravages and desolation home to the hearths of the burghers and the cottages of the poor. Such a state of things is inconsistent with the growth of a national literature, which, though it is often stimulated by the excitement and passions of war, can only take root and flourish amidst the tranquillity and enjoyments of peace. There was no national literature in Scotland till the Union with England had made it cease to be the battle-field of the British Islands; nor in Spain till the expulsion of the Moors had given the Castilians leisure to reflect on the exploits of the Cid and the Paladins of Christendom. Religious freedom was extinguished in Germany by the victory of the White Mountain near Prague; and it never acquired domestic peace till the victories of Eugene and Marlborough had tamed for a season the ambition of France, and those of Frederick the Great had secured the independence of Northern Germany.

That science had made great progress during the

6. Science and learning in Germany before the middle of the eighteenth century.

middle ages in Germany, the land which gave the art of printing and the discovery of gunpowder to the world, need be told to none at all acquainted with these subjects; and on the revival of letters she took an honourable place both in scholarship and the exact sciences. The country of Scaliger and Erasmus will ever be dear to the lover of classical literature; that of Kepler, Leibnitz, and Euler, to the student of astronomy and mathematics. Kepler might make with truth the sublime boast, "I may well be a century without a reader, since God Almighty has been six thousand years without an observer." The Teutonic race, if not the soil of Germany, may boast of Tycho Brahe, one of the greatest of modern observers, whose observatory still dignifies the Sound; and of Copernicus, the discoverer of the true system of the heavens, who was born at Thorn in Prussian Poland. But the intellect of Germany at this period, bred in cloisters and nourished by the study of classical literature or the exact sciences, was entirely of a learned caste. Its productions were, for the most part, written in Latin, and addressed only to scholars. Its *national* literature did not arise till the middle of the eighteenth century.

7. Lessing and Winkelman.

Lessing was the first of this school in Germany, and his writings indicate the period when original thought, struggling for existence, was as yet fettered by the ideas and influence of classical and foreign literature. His works are chiefly critical, a circumstance which Madame de Staël considers as very singular, on the idea that original composition in natural order precedes the examination of others—an idea, however, directly contrary to the fact, as every schoolboy's thesis or student's essay at college attests. A bird learns to fly by imitating the motion of its parents' wings, long before it can take a flight for itself. Lessing's essays on the French and classical drama have great merit, chiefly from the correct taste, sound sense, and precision of expression by which

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they are distinguished, but they have little original genius. His dramas are still more mediocre; fettered by the rules of the French stage, they are an imitation of Voltaire rather than a specimen of the powers of the Fatherland. His works, however, did an immense service to the cause of literature in Germany; they opened men's eyes to what had been done before them, and prepared the way for original conception in the admiration of that which had been already formed. What Lessing did in the drama, WINKELMAN did in art; and there is not to be found in the whole of modern literature a finer appreciation of the beauties of ancient sculpture, or a more correct exposition of the principles applicable to every species of composition on which it is founded.

8. Wieland.

Lessing, with all his talent and taste, only led the way; his works mark the transition state from the classical to the national school. It was reserved for a mightier genius—that of WIELAND—to complete the passage, and show the world of what the ardent mind and romantic disposition of Germany was capable. This great man seems to have had his soul steeped, as it were, in the ideas of two different worlds; for he alternately exhibits the elegant mythology and charming images of the classics, and the chivalrous spirit and heart-stirring incidents of the feudal ages. Like Goethe and Sir Walter Scott, he is equally felicitous in prose and in verse. It is hard to say whether his poems or his novels bear away the palm, or most strongly fascinate the reader. In *Agathon* he has given a charming though sometimes too seducing a picture of the age of Aspasia, Alcibiades, and Cyrus the younger, in Greece; in *Don Sylvio di Rosalva*, a romance in Spain, he combines the delicate satire of *Don Quixote* with the imagery of the *Arabian Nights*. His poetry bears marks of the same combination; for if in *Oberon* he has rivalled Ariosto, and fascinated the world by the most charming conceptions that ever were formed of the romantic school, in his lesser poems he has rivalled Ovid

in the skilful use he has made of classical imagery, and the novel colours in which he has arrayed the immortal episodes of the *Metamorphoses*.

9. His defects and excellencies.

The great reproach which is generally made against Wieland is, that he is too licentious; and Madame de Staël, who has appreciated in so generous a spirit the literary excellence of Germany, has recorded her regret that a writer gifted with such a brilliant and creative imagination should have treated love as a passion rather than a sentiment, and dwelt more on the fascination of the senses than the melting of the heart. It cannot be denied, even by the warmest admirers of Wieland, that there is much truth in this observation; although his fault in this respect is redeemed by one peculiarity which cannot be said of Goethe, but which, while it renders his scenes sometimes more agreeable, unquestionably makes them more dangerous. He is rarely gross. His ideas are all cast in a refined and poetical mould; and even when treating of subjects on the confines of propriety, he throws a veil of elegance and refinement over his most voluptuous conceptions. He is by no means insensible to the influence of noble and elevated sentiments, and in many passages of his works they are treated in a lofty spirit, and with the greatest effect; but the development of such feelings is not, as in Tasso, the main object of his efforts. Variety of conception, brilliancy of imagery, interest of incident and situation, are his great characteristics, and in them he may fairly be said to be unrivalled by any author in ancient or modern times, for he has grasped the imagery of both, and the fecundity of his fancy has improved upon the conceptions of either. Fairy tales, classical myths, ballads of chivalry, the *Arabian Nights*, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the fancy of Ariosto, seem to be alike present to his ardent mind, stored, as it were, with the aerial literature of the whole world; and in his works, as in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, we see an epitome, brilliantly coloured, of the

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creations of human fancy from the dawn of imagination to the present time.

The same character in a great degree applies to the greatest of the German writers, though in him it is combined with many qualities which did not appear in so remarkable a manner in his brilliant contemporary. GOETHE is, by all writers of all tastes and schools, admitted to be the greatest writer of Germany; and his world-wide fame proves that, like Homer, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Sir Walter Scott, he has struck into the deep recesses of the mind of man, which in every age and country are the same. Some of his works, in particular *Iphigenia in Tauris*, demonstrate that he was familiar with the literature and images of antiquity; but that was not his great characteristic, nor does therein lie his chief excellence. His mind was not, like that of Wieland, stored with the mythology and imagery of the classical times; he had worked out a richer mine, he had laboured in a wider field—the human heart. In that he perhaps stands unrivalled in the whole range of literature, ancient or modern. So varied are his conceptions, so vast his acquaintance with the secret springs of action, so immense the range of thought and event which he has gone over, that his works do not resemble those of any individual man, but rather of a cluster of gifted spirits, each great in a separate department, and each shining with the powers of imagination, and laden with the stores of knowledge. The Germans say he is *viel seitig* (many-sided), and that is certainly his great characteristic: but he is not merely infinitely varied in subject and incident, but ideas; and, contrary to what is often observable in men of original genius, the most minute scrutiny will not detect, in the whole of his voluminous works, a single repetition of the same idea, or one expression twice repeated.

The fame of Goethe, both in his own and foreign countries, mainly rests on his *Faust*, which is certainly one of

the most extraordinary efforts of the human mind. Not, however, that it is by any means faultless; on the contrary, it has many and serious blemishes. Some lines in the scenes on the Brocken, in particular, are a perfect disgrace to a man of his genius and taste. Its world-wide celebrity is mainly owing to the conception of the piece, and the profound knowledge of the human heart, and, above all, the secret springs of evil which it exhibits. There is, in every mind, even the strongest, a certain tendency to superstition, and a belief in supernatural spirits, which exercise a paramount influence over our destiny; and when this illusion is embodied in a creation of Goethe's imagination, and adorned with the charms of his versification, it assumes a form of irresistible attraction. The imaginative see in it a realisation of many of their hidden dreams; the romantic, a picture of what fancy has often attempted to depict, but never in such glowing colours; the experienced, a portrait of what they know too often passes in the world. The young dwell with rapture on the beautiful visions of Margaret; the elder sometimes recognise in Memory the truth of the portrait of Evil presented by Mephistopheles. Thus all ages and dispositions find something to admire in this wonderful composition, and thence its immense and universal reputation. The different characters it presents are so many *embodyings* of the varied and contradictory qualities of the author's own mind.

11. "Faust."

Madame de Staël says, "Il y a dans le caractère de Goethe, comme de tous les hommes de génie, des étonnans contrastes." There can be no doubt that this remark is strictly true of the great German, though she herself is a striking exception to the general observation as to genius, for she is always the same—elevated, refined, and impassioned; not so Goethe. The character of his works is as different as the various compartments of his mind, and unfortunately some are much less creditable than others. In a few, as *Torquato Tasso, Iphigenia, Count Egmont,*

12. His marvellous contradictions.

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Werther, and many of his lyrical pieces, we are charmed by the highest refinement and delicacy of sentiment; in many, as *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, the *Relatives by Affinity*, and *Herman and Dorothea*, we see a profound knowledge of the human heart, a thorough knowledge of the world in all its grades, and a complete acquaintance with the secret springs of evil which are ever springing up in the breast; in some, unhappily, an undisguised propensity to licentiousness, and occasional expressions so gross that his most ardent admirers cannot read them without regret. It is scarcely possible to conceive how the same mind which had conceived the exquisite picture of loveliness and innocence in Mignon — of passion in Margaret — could have penned some scenes in *Wilhelm Meister*, some lines in *Faust*. It is evident that he was at bottom a sensualist, and not merely so in the sense in which it is generally understood, but in the gratification of all the senses. His descriptions of love too often savour of the warmth of Moore's earlier effusions, rather than the tenderness of his *Irish Melodies;* and amidst all his admiration of the glaciers of Switzerland and the sun setting on the rosy summit of Mont Blanc, he is by no means insensible to the merits of a good dinner, or the charm of red wine after the fatigues of a sultry day.

13. His moral and religious deficiencies.

On the great subject of morality and religion he does not appear to have had any fixed principles. No one could make more skilful use of their *language* than he has done on many occasions, or move the heart more intensely by the most exquisite pathos, the most elevated sentiment, the most generous self-devotion. But he does so as a barrister makes use of the flowers of rhetoric to serve his client, an actor of the expression of passion to enchant an audience; such sentiments evince the skill of the artist, not the sentiments of the man. It is doubtful if he believed in the immortality of the soul, or had anything but a wavering trust in the existence of a Supreme Being. Certain it is that he not only disbelieved in

Christianity, but had a fixed aversion to its precepts and its very name. He was too much enamoured of the good things of the world to tolerate any creed which prescribed a check upon its indulgences; and felt too strongly the enjoyments of the senses to think their abandonment was not dearly purchased by the secret approval of conscience or the public applause of the world.

§ 14. His prodigious versatility.

So great was the versatility of Goethe's genius, so vast the range of his observation, so close his survey of the inmost recesses of the heart, that there is scarce any branch of literature which he has not touched, and none he has touched that he has not adorned. In the drama he stands second only to Schiller, and, in the estimation of many, even superior to that noble writer; his novels have given him a world-wide reputation; his comedies prove he was as thorough a master of the secret springs of vanity, as his tragedies do of the heroic self-sacrifice of duty; his *Life of Benvenuto Cellini* shows he was capable of writing an interesting biography; his Memoirs of himself a charming autobiography. No traveller in Switzerland can fail of being fascinated by his description of the Alps; in Italy, with his generous appreciation of the beauties of art. There is no philosopher whose profound sayings are more frequently quoted, as embodying just and obvious, but yet novel reflections on human affairs; no lyric poet whose stanzas are more frequently repeated by the children of the Fatherland; no critic on literature or art who is universally acknowledged to have embodied more sense and justice in beautiful language, or more worthily appreciated with a kindred spirit the genius of others. He is the most striking example that ever occurred of the versatility of the highest class of intellect, and of the truth of Johnson's observation, that what is called original genius is nothing but strong natural parts accidentally turned in one direction.

This extraordinary versatility of genius and reach of observation has secured for Goethe a more widespread

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15. His versatility has rendered him rather universally popular than supremely great.

reputation than any other writer in Germany; but it has perhaps precluded him from reaching in any one department the very highest stage of excellence. It is not given to any one mind, not even to that of Shakespeare or Goethe, to excel at once in every branch of literature; universality of fame is a proof of universality rather than perfection of genius. Every one finds something that gratifies his taste, or strikes his intellect; but none find their expectations entirely gratified, their aspirations with nothing left to conceive. Had Raphael given to the world the sunsets of Claude Lorraine, the rocks of Salvator Rosa, the battle-pieces of Lebrun, and the boors of Teniers, as well as his Holy Families, he would have been admired by a wider circle, but he would never, by common consent, have been placed at the head of the art of painting. Some part of one quality would have insinuated itself into the works produced by another; the vulgarity of Teniers' groups, the luxuriance of Titian's figures, would have marred the chastity of his divine conceptions. The true mark of the highest class of genius is not universality of fame, but universal admiration by the few who can really appreciate its highest works.

16. Goethe's picture of the influence of the stage.

Goethe's works are peculiarly valuable and interesting in one respect, from the picture they afford of the training and formation of the German mind in the peculiar state of society that there exists. The influence of the stage seems in a peculiar manner remarkable, and to one accustomed to English habits almost inconceivable. No Mephistopheles ever exercised over a Faust a more complete empire, a more thorough fascination, than the drama does over the German youth. It pervades all ranks, enchains all minds, sweeps away all understandings. Upon the youth at the universities in particular its influence is unbounded, and often not a little pernicious. The characters on the stage are the heroes on whom their admiration is fixed; the actresses the object of their

idolatry. In *Wilhelm Meister*, and in his own Autobiography, Goethe has painted with graphic truth the evolving of sentiment in the German youth; their imaginations first excited by the puppets of the marionette theatre; their feelings next stirred by the masterpieces of Schiller and Goethe; their senses soon enthralled by the handsomest actress who captivates their eyes; their early life spent with singers, dancers, and strolling players. This mental training, so little fitted to prepare men for the duties of active life, or exercising the rights of free citizens, is partly owing, without doubt, to the enthusiastic temper of the German mind, especially in its northern provinces; but still more is it to be ascribed to the peculiar structure of society, and the sullen lines of demarcation which separate its different ranks. The burgher class, in whom intellectual cultivation most prevails, and ardent aspirations are most frequent, shut out by feudal pride from the highest circles, by despotic government from a share in public affairs, too often take refuge in the Aspasias of the theatre for relaxation, in the ideal world of the drama for occupation; and thence in a great degree the deep desire for freedom which pervades their ranks, and the general inability, when put to the test, to exercise its powers.

17. Schiller: parallel between him and Goethe.

If Goethe's genius, vast as it was, was somewhat dimmed by the multitude of objects which it embraced, the same cannot be said of the author who with all obtains the second, with some the first, place in German literature. SCHILLER has not the variety of Goethe's ideas, but he has the unity of refined thought: he is a mannerist, but his mannerism is that of the *Iliad*. His mind is essentially heroic, and on that account little prized by the ordinary herd; he will always occupy the highest place in the estimation of those of a similar temperament. He had not the profound knowledge of the human heart, as it exists in ordinary men, which strikes us in every page of Goethe, but he had a more thorough acquaintance with it as it beats in the breast of the noble and generous,

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and as it has prompted the greatest and most memorable deeds of which history makes mention. We shall look in vain in his pages for a picture of the secret workings of vanity in the female, of selfishness in the masculine heart; but we shall never fail to find a portrait of the transports of love, the pangs of jealousy, the heroism of courage, the self-devotion of duty, such as no other author, ancient or modern, can exhibit. His mind was not graphic, like that of Homer; nor profound, like that of Shakespeare; nor tender, like those of Virgil or Racine. It was simply heroic. His works are not a collection of portraits of individual men or women, in which all recognise some of their acquaintances; but a historic gallery, into which none are admitted but the illustrious of former days, and in whose visages no emotions are depicted but such as animated those whose names have become, or were worthy to have been, immortal.

18. Character of his dramas.

This is the general character of his conceptions; but it is not to be imagined from that circumstance that there is not a very great variety in his writings, and that the reader is likely to be wearied, as he so often is in Metastasio, with the frequent repetition of the same generous sentiments, the same bewitching language. He had studied human nature; but it was neither in real life, like Goethe, nor on the opera stage, like Metastasio, nor in the dreams of aristocratic republicanism, like Alfieri. It was in the page of history that he had studied mankind; and as the characters which stand forth in bold relief after the lapse of ages are those only of a lofty kind, which, for good or for evil, have stamped their impress on human affairs, his conceptions savour somewhat of the ideal, and have their prototype only in those of a heroic disposition. He does not always treat of those whom fortune had made great; his characters are not exclusively princes or princesses. He drew the heroic self-sacrifice of Joan of Arc, as she left her flocks in her native valley, the generous patriotism of William

Tell on the lake of Uri, with as much enthusiasm as the pathetic scenes of Queen Mary's death, the terrible pangs of jealousy which tormented Philip in the stately solitude of the Escurial. But, high or low in worldly stations, his leading characters, those on which the force of his genius was asserted, are those to whom nature had given the patent of nobility; and hence he is immeasurably inferior when he comes to comedy, which chiefly portrays the follies, and is often occupied with the most contemptible of mankind.

19. His powers of the pathetic and of rhetoric.

Schiller's powers of the pathetic are of the very highest kind: the last scene of *Queen Mary*, many in *Joan of Arc*, the *Bride of Messina*, and the exquisite scenes of Thekla in *Wallenstein*, are among the most perfect specimens of that species of excellence which the literature of the whole world can exhibit. They are worthy to be placed beside the parting of Hector and Andromache at the Scæan Gate, the last scenes of Dido and Eneas in the *Æneid*. Equally remarkable are his rhetorical powers, and the graphic picture of the ideas and passions of particular ages and parties which he has given in his historical dramas. This is particularly the case in *Queen Mary* and *Don Carlos*. The best-informed student of the religious wars in the Netherlands will find something to learn in the speeches of the Marquis Posa and Don Carlos in the noble drama which depicts the jealousy of the Escurial. Those most acquainted with Scotch history recur to those in *Queen Mary* for an admirable summary of the considerations for and against the Reformation in this island. Schiller's historical knowledge is so great, his rhetorical power so vast, that he throws himself, whenever an opportunity occurs, into these oratorical displays with the utmost eagerness; but though these speeches in verse excite universal admiration when read in the library, they are far from being equally effective on the stage, and often, by their tediousness, mar the effect of his finest compositions.

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20. His merits as a lyric poet.

Like all other great dramatists, Schiller is equally eminent as a lyric poet. The connection between tragedy and the lyric muse is so close that they insensibly run into each other; the choruses of the Greek tragedies and the strophes of the Italian opera follow so naturally from the previous language and ideas, that the transition never appears violent. Many of his lyrical pieces, in particular the *Lay of the Bell* and *Hero and Leander*, are among the finest of the kind that modern Europe has produced. They unite the burning thoughts of Gray, the condensed expression of Campbell, to the varied pictures of Collins, the poetic fire of Pindar. His *Bride of Messina* is, from the beauty of the choruses, and the strict imitation of the Grecian drama which it presents, the most perfect specimen of that species of composition which modern Europe has produced. In several of his other pieces, in particular *Wallenstein's Death*, and *Joan of Arc*, although the unities are in some places violated, yet they are in reality observed in the material parts of the piece; a peculiarity which obtains also in *Othello*, *As You Like It*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and many of Shakespeare's most popular pieces, indicating the deep foundation which the ancient rules in this respect have in the human heart, and the principles of all the arts intended to move it.

21. As a historian.

Unlike other dramatists, Schiller is also a historian, and there his merits are by no means equally great. This is a remarkable circumstance, when the eminently historical character of his mind, as evinced in his dramas, is taken into consideration; but the same thing occurred in the case of Sir Walter Scott, Moore, Southey, and many others who have tried to combine the muse of history with that of poetry. His *Thirty Years' War* is a luminous and succinct narrative of a most important era in modern history, and as such it merits the attention of every historical student, but it has no pretension to be a great historical work. It is a good epitome of the events of the period for the use of schools and colleges,

that is all. It is a curious and apparently inexplicable circumstance, that the defect always observable in the writings of poets and novelists, when they begin to write history, is, not that they are too imaginative, but that they are too prosaic; not that they are unworthy of credit, but that they are dull—the sin which is never to be forgiven either in prose or verse. Mr Fox assigns a place to history next to poetry, and before oratory; but there are few poets who, when they entered the adjoining region, have not forgotten the place given them. It would seem that the narrative of events is so different from the flights of imagination, that those who can make the farthest sweep in the latter are unable to bring their powers to bear upon the former. Fearful of being thought romancers, they become mere compilers; they curb their imagination from the dread of being too poetical, but they become too prosaic. And yet this disposition is a deviation from the true principles of composition applicable to such subjects,—for what is fiction but an imitation of actual life; and how is the ideal to be founded but on the real; and why should the shadow be clothed in brighter colours than the substance?

22. Klopstock. "The Messiah."

If general and widespread celebrity is to be taken as the test of excellence, the next place must be assigned to the great epic poet of Germany, KLOPSTOCK, in the literary gallery. Yet is this to be done, according to our ideas, rather in conformity with general reputation than our own opinion, for with all its sublime ideas, pure thoughts, and lofty imagery, there is no concealing the fact, that to read *The Messiah* is a heavy task, which fewer than are willing to admit it have been able to perform. The reason is, that it is too much in the clouds; to awaken the sympathy of mortals, it has too little of the interests, the passions, the weaknesses of humanity. There is also much too frequent an allusion in his great poem to death and immortality—topics of the utmost interest and sublimity, when properly and only occasionally introduced, but

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which lose their influence when too often brought forward. We cannot live always among the tombs; and if we are compelled to do so, their imagery, like death to a soldier who daily sees his comrades fall around him, will soon be stript of all its terrors. The greatest human genius cannot avoid failure from these causes, when an attempt is made by mortals to depict the councils of Heaven. Homer only avoided it by giving his gods and goddesses the passions and cares of men and women; Milton, by painting in Paradise the picture, not of divine but *human* primeval innocence. When he attempted to construct an epic poem with the materials of heaven alone, the *Paradise Regained* showed the inevitable failure of the attempt. That poem was the favourite of the author, because he felt that, in constructing it, he had greater difficulties to contend with than when the charming episode of "the bowers of Paradise" enlivened his pages: like the mother of a weak child, he felt more interest in it than in the more robust offspring which had never caused anxiety. But it by no means follows that the world are to be influenced by the same feelings; and it is no imputation on the genius of Klopstock that he failed in awakening the interest of poetry in a subject such as Homer and Milton were unable to invest it with.

23. His merits as a lyric poet.

If we would form a correct estimate of the poetical genius of Klopstock, we must study his lyrical pieces, and then there is room only for the most unqualified approbation. Like the *Allegro* and the *Penseroso* or *Lycidas*, they evince the lustre of his imagination even more than the stately march of the epic. It is so with many, perhaps most German writers; and the reason is, that in that species of poetry they are *compelled to be brief*, contrary to the usual inclination of the German mind, as it is evinced in their prose writers, which is to be diffuse and long-winded. Nothing can exceed the beauty of some of his lyrical pieces, or the refinement and delicacy of the sentiments and images presented in them. They are not

so graphic or varied as those of Goethe, nor so lofty and chivalrous as those of Schiller : they have not the exquisite rural pictures of Uhland, nor the varied earth-wide panorama of Freiligrath. But in delicacy of sentiment, purity of feeling, and refinement of language, he is equal to any of these illustrious writers ; and the poetic fire of some of them proves, that if he has failed in making an interesting epic poem, it was not because his powers were unequal to the task, but because the task itself was above the power of man. It was that which made Dryden say, that the real hero of the *Paradise Lost* was the devil.

24. Oehlenschlager.

OEHLENSCHLAGER is perhaps the poet who, if he is not the most varied, is the most national that Germany has produced. Several of his works, in particular *Aladdin*, and the *Waringers at Constantinople*, are filled with foreign imagery, and prove that he was feelingly alive to the blue skies and ardent sun, and graceful palms and bewitching damsels of the East. Others, in particular the beautiful drama of *Corregio*, evince a thorough acquaintance with the refined ideas and delicate taste and passionate admiration of art which distinguish the inhabitants of modern Italy. But neither is his ruling disposition : his heart is elsewhere ; he is a pilgrim, not a sojourner, in the land of the sun. Heart and mind he is a Goth. His inmost soul is tinged with the imagery and ideas, the passions and desires, the scenery and aspirations of his Scandinavian forefathers. His heart is at times rigid and frozen with the severity of an arctic winter ; at others it gushes forth in copious floods with the breath of spring. So deeply is he impregnated with the habits and ideas of his rude ancestors, so entirely has their disposition with their blood descended into his veins, that he describes them rather as one of themselves than one of their successors. The sea-kings never had such a bard ; the halls of Walhalla never resounded with such strains ; the heroes of the north never inspired such enthusiasm. Their courage is not the child of Roman patriotism ; it is

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not the offspring of Grecian democracy; it is the ardent passion, the inextinguishable desire, which sends forth the children of night into the sunshine of nature. We mount with him the waves of the German Ocean; we share, in imagination, in the spoils of mighty England; we pass the Pillars of Hercules, and see the "brood of winter" revelling in the blue waves and sunny isles and pendant vintages of the Ægean Sea.

25. His elevated picture of love.

But it is not merely in depicting the warlike passions of the hosts whom the sea-kings of the north led forth to conquer and desolate the world that Oehlenschlager is great; he represents with not less felicity the softer feeling which melted those breasts of iron, and caused them to yield a willing homage where force was not to be found, but beauty had supplied its place. Nowhere shall we find so finely painted as in his pages the workings of that passion which can alone tame the savage breast, which is ever strongest in the strong, most generous in the generous; which, when it is awakened in worthy breasts, loses all its dangers by being severed from all its selfishness; which rouses great aspirations, prompts to noble deeds, and which is rightly designated by the same name as the love of heaven, for it shares in all its purity. This passion, the object of ridicule to the man of the world who cannot feel, of astonishment to the man of business who cannot conceive it, is nevertheless the foundation of the imaginative literature of modern Europe, and constitutes the great distinction between it and the fictions of ancient times. As it had its birthplace among the warriors who issued from Scandinavia to overturn the Roman empire, so it has never been so nobly represented as by one of the most gifted of their descendants. Love, as represented in the pages of Oehlenschlager, is neither the wild passion bordering on insanity of the Greek dramatists, the infliction of which was deemed one of the curses of an offended Deity, nor the licentious desire of the Roman poets, which taste sought to refine and invention to multiply;

it is neither the fierce passion of the harem, which, thirsting for pleasure, perishes with enjoyment; nor the heartless vanity of the drawing-room, which, faithless to every one, seeks gratification in an endless succession of conquests. It is the profound feeling which, once awakened, can perish only with life itself; which shuns society, and is nursed in solitude; which time cannot weaken, nor distance sever; which shares with the devotion of the pilgrim its warmth, with the honour of chivalry its constancy; which commands respect from its disinterestedness, and becomes sublime from its immortality. Whoever has read with kindred feelings his beautiful dramas of *Axel und Walburg* and *Das Land gefunden und verschwunden*, will not deem these observations overcharged, and will see from what source the spirit of chivalry, which has so profoundly moved the heart and influenced the literature of modern Europe, has taken its rise.

26. Grillparzer.

GRILLPARZER is an author who belongs to the same school as Oehlenschlager, but he is more modified by the literature of antiquity and the ideas of southern Europe. He is not less national in his feelings or graphic in his descriptions: like him, he delights in painting the manners and ideas of the olden time, and bringing again on the stage the giant characters and heart-stirring incidents and splendid phantasmagoria of the heroic ages. His noble drama of *King Ottakar* is a sufficient proof how completely he was master of that imagery. But he is more tinged with the imagery of the south: he partakes more of Ariosto's imagination; his soul is more penetrated with the sunny isles of the Mediterranean. In *Sappho* this peculiarity clearly appears: it unites the brilliant imagery of the Greeks with the chivalrous ideas of modern time: if it is less powerful than the dramas of Sophocles, it is more refined. The "*Ahnfrau*," the scene of which is laid in a feudal castle, and the incidents taken from modern manners, is perhaps the most perfect drama on the Greek model, though without

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the chorus, which modern literature has produced; and *Medea and Jason*, constructed on the well-known tale, and on the example of antiquity, presents many of the beauties of the Greek stage. Their extreme beauty and interest raise a doubt whether the neglect of the unities, and especially the most important of all, the *unity of emotion*, in England since the time of Shakespeare, is not the chief cause of the decline of the drama in this island. Nor is still more modern genius awanting in the same career:—

"Uno avulso, nec deficit alter
Aureus."

FREDERICH SALOM, the author of *Der Sohn der Waldniss*, if he continues as he has begun, may well claim a place in the august Walhalla of German genius.

27. Kotzebue.

If celebrity on the stage and temporary theatrical success is to be taken as a test of real dramatic excellence, KOTZEBUE is to be placed at the very head of the literature of Europe in that department. His plays have been translated into every language, represented on every theatre, drawn thunders of applause from every audience. Rendered into English by the kindred genius of Sheridan, under the name of *Pizarro*, his *Death of Rolla* is one of the most popular pieces that ever appeared on the British stage. This reputation, however, is sensibly on the decline: they keep their place in the theatre, but they are seldom the study of the library. The reason is obvious; their merit consists in what appears on the boards, not what is conveyed in the lines. He was a perfect master of stage effect, and was never exceeded in the ability with which he brought forward a succession of interesting scenes and thrilling *coups de théatre*, to entrance and keep up the excitement of his audience. Therein lay his real merit; as a dramatic poet he was very deficient. He had neither the heroic soul and ardent spirit of Schiller, nor the exquisite pathos and profound knowledge of mankind which captivate all in Goethe. His

knowledge was immense, his mind eminently discursive, his glance extended over the whole world and all ages. But his characters were all the same: there was great variety of incident, but little of ideas, in his pieces. His imagination for the construction of dramas was as prolific as that of Lope de Vega, his subjects as varied as those of Voltaire; but his thoughts were almost all those of civilised Europe in the nineteenth century. His dramas owe their immense celebrity to the pantomime and theatrical effect: they would be nearly as interesting if it was all dumb show. Hence, they cannot be expected to keep their place as works of literary merit, or as the delightful companions of the fireside; but they will long amuse and delight the world, when exhibited with the charms of scenery and the magic of stage effect.

28. Werner.

WERNER is in every respect the reverse of Kotzebue; he is in a great measure ignorant of stage effect, is careless of *coups de théatre*, and therefore his pieces are little calculated for dramatic success; but they possess a rare beauty if read at home, and regarded as lyrical effusions, or what the Germans call dramatic poems. It is not that he was ignorant of the principles of dramatic composition, and what is essential for success on the stage; but he was indifferent to it. He regarded his dramas, as Byron did his tragedies, as a convenient mode of pouring forth *poetic oratory* in a more abbreviated and less formal mode than in a regular epic poem. Accordingly, with a few brilliant exceptions, of which *Luther* is the most remarkable, his dramas have had no great success on the stage; but they form a collection second to few in German literature for study in the closet. The dignity of philosophic thought, the charm of lyrical versification, is nowhere more happily combined than in his lines. Unfortunately, he does not add to it the succession of brilliant images which forms so essential a part in dramatic and lyric poetry; therein lies his inferiority to Schiller and Goethe. Like Wordsworth, he is more

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diffuse than loose, profound than imaginative; he deals in thoughts more than images, and consequently, like him, he is more likely to have devout worshippers for a season than steady admirers in all future times. His finest dramas, however, *Luther*, *Attila*, the *Cross of the Baltic*, and the *Twenty-Fourth of February*, are a great addition to German literature, and must always keep a respectable place even in the galaxy of genius which the German drama presents.

29. German comedy: its defects.

The comic muse of Germany has by no means attained the celebrity which its tragic has reached. Even in the hands of the greatest dramatic writers—Goethe, Schiller, and Kotzebue—though it was by no means neglected, it is far from being so distinguished as the sister art. The characters are, in the estimation of a foreigner at least, too strongly drawn; they are grotesque and ridiculous rather than comic. They have neither the delicate satire of Molière, nor the playful wit of Sheridan, nor the inexhaustible invention of Lope de Vega, nor the ludicrous farce of Goldoni. They portray with graphic truth the mean and despicable qualities of human nature as they appear in ordinary or vulgar characters, but they are destitute of the fine perception of weaknesses, the secret workings of vanity, as they are revealed in the higher classes, which we see in Beaumarchais, Marivaux, and Molière. In truth, the German mind is too serious; it is strung on too high a key to grasp the nice distinctions, the delicate *manners* of character, which are requisite for the felicitous display on the stage of the manners of high life.

30. Causes of these defects: structure of its society.

Nor is this all. The structure and exclusive system of German society preclude the possibility of its peculiar features becoming known to the rank from which the authors of the country are taken. With a very few brilliant exceptions, they all belong to the burgher class, with which they alone associate through life, and with whose manners and follies they are alone familiar. Princes and dukes, duchesses

and countesses, are not wholly unknown to them, but they are seen only at a distance—much as in England the sovereign and royal circle are to the great bulk of those who attend levees or drawing-rooms. There are scarce any nobles authors in Germany; the sword, not the pen, is in general alone wielded by the magnates of the Teutonic race. The art of war may sometimes, as in the case of the Archduke Charles or Frederick the Great, exercise the thoughts of the highest in rank—the first in genius; but these are the exceptions, not the rule. Hence the picture of elegant high-bred manners is a matter of impossibility in Germany, either on the stage or in romance, for this plain reason, that the persons who write both have never seen high life; and this is a want, especially in the delineation of women, for which no genius can compensate. Imagination can figure fairy tales, heroism can portray heroic characters, and elevation of mind will appear in elevation of language; but the delicate shades of refined society can be represented only by those to whom they are familiar; and Burns never said a truer thing than when he declared that he had never seen anything in men of high rank which he had not more than anticipated, but that an elegant woman was altogether beyond his conception.

31. Tieck.

Madame de Staël says that in comedy there is always something of the animal; either a man speaks like an animal, or an animal like a man. TIECK affords a proof of the justice of this remark. He first introduced from the *Animali Parlanti* of Pulci the system of making animals speak, which has since been so much prosecuted in Germany, and in Andersen's Tales has been brought to such perfection. In this respect he much resembles, and has much of the merit of La Fontaine. Under the guise of the inferior animals, which, with the power of speech, are supposed to be endowed with human feelings and passions, is conveyed a delicate and often amusing satire on men and women. His *Puss in Boots* is an example of this. His melodramas are often skilfully constructed, in

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particular *Octavian* and *Prince Zerbin*, which are full of romantic incident and interesting situations, eminently attractive to a people so passionately fond of the marvellous as the Germans. Tieck's satire is delicate, and always conveyed in delicate language, and his knowledge of life is complete, as far as it goes; but when he leaves fairy tales and comes to real life, it is life in a small German town which alone is portrayed. As a lyric poet, he possesses far higher merits; and many of his smaller pieces contain lines of exquisite beauty, second to none in the German or any other language.

32. Körner.

The German drama is the branch of its literature which is most remarkable, both from the splendid genius which has been exerted on it, the brilliant position—beyond all question the first in modern Europe—which it has taken, and from its being in a manner the reflex, and the only reflex, of the general mind. But it is not to be supposed from that circumstance that other branches of literature have been neglected; on the contrary, many have attained the very highest eminence. In the very front rank we must place lyric poetry, and at its head KÖRNER. This remarkable man, the Tyrtæus of the Fatherland, was gifted by nature with the true poetic temperament. An ardent mind, a lofty soul, a brilliant imagination, were in him united to an indomitable courage, an heroic disposition. These qualities would have made him remarkable at any time, and under any circumstances; but it was the time in which he lived, the circumstances in which he was placed, which rendered him great. His intrepid spirit chafed against the chains of French oppression: he stood forth with the strength of a giant in the war of liberation; his strains thrilled like the sound of a trumpet through the heart of the Fatherland. Several of them, in particular the *Lyre and Sword*, are among the finest lyrical pieces that ever were composed; and long after the contest had ceased, and the excitement of the moment had died away, they have, from the intense

beauty of the expression, and noble feeling which they display, taken a lasting place in the highest class of German literature. Like Chateaubriand's pamphlet on Buonaparte and the Bourbons, they had a powerful influence in bringing about the fall of the great oppressor; and it was not without reason that, when he was treacherously wounded by some French hussars, unworthy of the name, they exclaimed, when the Germans announced the armistice, "No armistice for Körner," and stabbed him.

33. Körner as a dramatic poet.

Körner is chiefly known in foreign countries from the patriotic odes and songs, to which his genius and tragic fate have given immortal celebrity. But he has other merits, less generally appreciated, but also of a very high order. Long before the war of liberation broke out, he was celebrated as one of the most successful dramatic writers of the age, and his best pieces had been produced on the stage of Vienna with very great effect. Like Schiller and Goethe, he took in the whole world in the range of his conception, and sought to extract the grand and the pathetic from the events of all ages and climes. His *Rosamond* is taken from the legend of the loves of Henry II. in the forest of Woodstock; his *Tony* from a romantic tale of love and devotion in a Creole during the horrors of the St Domingo revolt; his *Zriny* from an incident in one of the memorable sieges which the Hungarians sustained against the Turks. It cannot be said that his pieces have the profound knowledge of the heart, and the secret springs of life, which characterise the works of Goethe, or the dramatic effect and condensed eloquence which have immortalised those of Schiller; but in all we see traces of the lofty and magnanimous soul which stirred the heart of Germany, as with the sound of a trumpet, in the war with Napoleon, and never fail to be charmed with the richness of a flowing and mellifluous eloquence. Perhaps the greatest defect of his theatrical pieces is, that they possess these qualities

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in too high a degree, and exhibit them *too constantly*. Compounded as man is of base and selfish, as well as noble and magnanimous feelings, we cannot *long* bear to have the latter qualities constantly displayed: it strikes us as unnatural, and mortifies our self-love to have pictures before our eyes exhibiting qualities superior to what we are conscious of in ourselves. Hence it is that Sir Charles Grandison never has been a favourite hero of romance, and that Homer's characters, where the littleness as well as greatness of humanity are faithfully delineated, have stood the admiration of every age and country.

34. Burger.

BURGER is a poet of a different class, but also of very high merit. It is from his ballads that the other nations of Europe for long took their idea of German literature; *Leonora, or Death and the White Horse*, and the *Cruel Huntsman*, rendered into the languages of the adjoining states, into English by the kindred genius of Sir Walter Scott, spread a universal charm, and awakened a high admiration, but gave in many respects a mistaken opinion of German literature. He first opened to the general mind the idea of the magic of feudal imagery, and of that blending of imagination with the events of the dark ages which has formed so interesting a field of subsequent fiction. His ideas are bold, his fancy vivid, his conceptions often terrific, his language heart-stirring; and none ever understood better the art, so important in romance as well as the drama, of keeping expectation awake, and the mind of the reader or spectator in anxious suspense down to the very close of the piece. Persons unacquainted with the German language, and taking their ideas of its literature from his ballads, supposed at the time, and may still suppose, that that is the universal character of a literature which, the better informed know, embraces all subjects, unfolds all ideas, and is fitted to captivate all understandings.

FREILIGRATH has cultivated the lyric muse with a success which seldom has been surpassed. He is not heart-

stirring and sublime like Körner, nor wild and romantic as Burger. His odes are neither fitted to strike the heart of the patriot nor to rouse the terrors of the superstitious. The whole earth is embraced in his grasp; his lines present pictures of every climate and of every land. In turning over his pages, we roam alternately with the camel-driver in the desert, dip our feet in the cool waves of the Jordan, traverse the burning sands of the Sahara, or rejoice in the first burst of spring after the desolation of an arctic winter. The sun of Italy, the isles of Greece, the icebergs of Greenland, the waves of the Mississippi, the steppes of Buenos Ayres, the summits of the Andes, the plains of Tartary, are equally present to his vivid imagination. No poet in any language has ever made more skilful use of the immensely varied imagery which modern information has brought to light, or given a more decisive refutation to the opinion, now so generally entertained, that the progress of knowledge is fatal to the influence of imagination. The poet may mournfully exclaim, in the well-known lines—

35. Freiligrath.

> "When Science from Creation's face
> Enchantment's veil withdraws,
> What lovely visions yield their place
> To cold material laws!"

That opinion is formed only by the uninformed, unfortunately always the great majority of mankind: more extended knowledge teaches us that the imagery of nature and occurrences of real life much exceed all that imagination has ever figured; and that the only secure foundation for the ideal is to be laid in the real.

36. Uhland.

Uhland shares in some degree the character of Freiligrath, but he differs from him in some important respects. He is not less observant of nature, and felicitous in his description of it, but he is less discursive and more domestic in his objects. He does not roam over the world—he remains at home. It is there that his heart is fixed—it is from thence that his imagery is drawn. His descrip-

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tions are all taken from the scenes in which he had dwelt; his images are those with which all are familiar; and the example of the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," and "The Deserted Village," may teach us that when such objects are treated in the true poetic spirit, no more charming subjects for the lyric muse are to be found. Sunset amidst the bleating of lambs in a solitary pastoral valley—the breath of spring after the severity of winter—the leafy month of June—the hoary icicles of December—the first green of the leaves—the first bloom of the flowers—the tolling of the village bell which calls the faithful to the house of God—are the images on which he loves to dwell. Unlike many of his countrymen, he is deeply impressed with the feelings of religion; and if to "look up through nature to nature's God" is one chief end and the noblest object of poetry, few have ever attained it more successfully than Uhland. In this respect, as well as in his enthusiastic admiration of the beauties of nature, and his felicitous use of common images, he very much resembles Longfellow, who has rendered, in a kindred spirit, many of his finest odes into the English language.

37. Ruckhärt.

RUCKHÄRT is the most voluminous lyric poet of Germany. His works, in six volumes octavo, exceed in bulk those of all its other bards of that class put together. It does not follow from that circumstance that he is the best. Bulk in lyric poetry is generally in the inverse ratio of real merit. It will be long before England produces six volumes composed of poems like "Alexander's Feast," "The Progress of Poetry," "The Allegro," or "Hohenlinden." Ruckhärt has in many respects great merit, but it is not of the highest kind. He has prodigious facility of versification, a richly-stored memory, a poetic fancy, and often shows great felicity of casual expression. Like Freiligrath, his imagery is drawn from the whole earth; and, like many other inhabitants of the northern regions, his imagination seems to have been in an especial manner fascinated by

the sunny isles and graceful palms and unclouded sun of the south. What he wants is depth of feeling and elevation of thought. He is neither profound and pathetic like Goethe, nor noble and chivalrous like Schiller: he is more akin to Wieland, both in the flow of his versification and the strain of his ideas. He is not destitute of sentiment, and occasional passages of exquisite beauty are to be found in his writings; but, generally speaking, he is an epicurean in thought—not a stoic. He is more akin to Horace than Pindar. His amatory verses, which are very numerous, resemble the Italian ones in the decline of taste, when conceit and extravagance had come in place of the simplicity of genuine affection. They remind the English reader of the extravagance of the euphuists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Compared to the simple devotion of Thekla or Mignon, they indeed afford a lasting proof how little all the riches of imagination can supply the want of the simple voice of nature.

38. Redwitz.

Of all the poets whom recent times have brought forth in Germany, REDWITZ is the most successful. His chief and longest poem, *Amaranth*, has gone in a few years through eighteen editions. There can be no doubt that it possesses merits of a very high order, and what renders his verses the more attractive to foreigners, they are peculiarly of a German character. To the simplicity and almost homeliness of rural life in the middle class of landed gentry in that country, it unites the interest of chivalrous feeling, and the romance of feudal event. A sincere Christian, Redwitz presents the Romish faith under its most amiable and attractive form, and hence it is warmly recommended by the Catholic clergy to those of their persuasion, though the warmth of some of the scenes savours little of the coldness of the cloister, or the self-denial of spiritual love. In *Amaranth* the poet has portrayed in charming colours the innocence and simplicity of the virgin heart, under the influences and chastened by the spirit of religion; in *Chismonda* he has

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attempted to draw the portrait of the charms, the passions, and the vanities of the world. Perhaps those who know it best will say that the *denouement* is not agreeable to nature, and that Redwitz would have interested us more if he had made Walther's breach with the Italian syren originate in something else than her refusal, at his request, to submit to sacrifice the natural and universal aspirations of the female heart. Be this as it may, the poem abounds with pure and elevated ideas, great felicity and beauty of expression, and a refined taste for the influences and charms of nature.

39. Kinkel.

KINKEL belongs to the same school as Redwitz, and his *Otto* and *Margaret* present beauties of the same description. The first is a tale of true love and chivalry, such as is recorded of the olden time, and is, we believe, more true to nature, even in these degenerate days, than, judging from the mere surface of society, we should be inclined to imagine. Its strain is as elevated and generous as that of Redwitz, though perhaps there is somewhat less of the varied and attractive imagery which, in the latter poet as in Wieland, give the charm of a fairy tale to the creations of fancy. *Margaret* is itself a fairy tale, in which, as in *Little Red Riding Hood*, the pathetic and the terrible are educed, by a little superinduction of the marvellous, on the common events of humble life. The extreme popularity of both these poets, and the immense extent to which their works are read in Germany, is very remarkable, and eminently characteristic of the pure feelings and lofty spirit which, in a land still untainted, for the most part, by the vices or corruptions of cities, animate the vast majority of the inhabitants. They diminish our wonder at the glorious efforts of the war of liberation, they prognosticate a corresponding generous burst in behalf of civil freedom, when the aspirations of the people shall assume a practical form, and be guided by observation, not impelled by passion.

If ever two branches of literature stood forth in strik-

ing contrast to each other, it is the poetry and prose of Germany. The immense celebrity of its literature, at least with the great bulk of readers, depends almost entirely upon the former. The prose writers have in many instances the very highest merit; their learning is generally immense, their industry almost miraculous, their thoughts sometimes profound. But there is, with a few brilliant exceptions, a fatal defect in their style. As much as the Teutonic poetry is brief, condensed, and emphatic, is its prose lengthy, tedious, and obscure. The sentences are in general involved, and of inordinate length, their ideas often vague and mystical, their doctrines abstract, and incapable of any practical application to the affairs of the world. Their expressions are often felicitous, and the power which their language gives them of compounding a single word so as to make it convey a whole idea, makes them often extremely striking, and renders inexcusable the wearisome length of their sentences, and the mystical obscurity of their ideas. They have neither the terse brevity of the best class of English writers, nor the power of lucid arrangement and clear expression which seems inherent in all ranks of French. They are almost always involved and obscure, and their sentences so long that they put us in mind of what is said of some American orators, who, when they have gained possession of the floor on Tuesday, are expected to keep it during the whole remainder of the week.

40. Prose of Germany: its character.

This fault, great as it is, and seriously as it must impede, as long as it continues, both the influence of the German writers on general thought, and their fame as individuals, is not, however, to be ascribed entirely to themselves. It is the result of the youth of their literature; it is common to them with nations commencing their career in composition all over the world, and in all ages. Look at the prose writers even of the greatest genius in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or soon after; Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton himself. Their prose sentences are so long, their

41. The youth of their literature is the cause of this.

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ideas so involved, that it is next to impossible, in spite of the occasional beauty of expression, to read them with the pleasure which their merit deserves. The same is the case with the early historians of Italy,—Davila, Guicciardini, Giannone. Men of vast genius, and the most powerful minds, may even at such periods indeed convey their thoughts in brief language, but it belongs only to such capacities as those of Macchiavelli, Cervantes, Montesquieu, or Bacon, to do this. Generally speaking, the era of antithesis and epigrammatic expression is late in literary history; it is in the days of Sallust or Tacitus, not of Livy or Xenophon. It is the same with individuals, even those who ultimately become most celebrated for terseness of expression and clearness of ideas. Johnson's Essays in the *Rambler* are for the most part couched in pompous periods and long rounded sentences; his colloquial sayings, recorded by Boswell, are models of vigorous thought and clear epigrammatic expression.

42. Causes of this defect.

The reason is, that a young nation, like a young author, is *writing itself into thought*, not conveying that already formed. The world will not take mere enunciations of propositions off the hands of a young nation any more than a young writer; it requires the weight of years and established reputation to effect this with either. The ideas of a nation commencing the career of thought are of necessity vague, as the movements of a traveller are when he first adventures upon an unknown region; his steps are devious and uncertain, because he does not know well where to go. Decision of thought, and consequent brevity of expression, belong to the experienced nation as well as traveller. Add to this that there is no oratory in Germany except that of the pulpit and the professor's chair; and they, so far from being the school of brevity, are just the reverse, for their audiences are obliged to listen in silence to the prelections of their holders, how long and wearisome soever they may be. There is no school for brevity like free debate in presence

of a numerous assembly *which is at liberty to testify its weariness*, for the auditors will not tolerate long-winded effusions, and the effect of speaking is generally in proportion to the clearness of its thought and the terseness of its expression. Thence the inimitable brevity and force of the Greek and Roman orators. But though these considerations may explain how the German prose, withal so different from their poetry, is so diffuse and tedious, they do not lessen the fault, nor render it the less true that he would confer the greatest obligation on German literature who should prevail on their writers to cut their long sentences into four, their short into two.

43. Niebuhr.

If general and widespread fame, at least among scholars and learned men, is to be taken as the test of real merit, NIEBUHR must be placed at the head of the historians of Germany. He undoubtedly possesses merits of a very high order. To the vast learning and almost incredible industry which seems in a manner indigenous in German scholars, he has added the rarer gifts of a philosophic turn of mind and aptitude for general conclusions. He possesses the power, the distinctive mark of genius, of extracting conclusions of lasting value from particular events, and bringing an infinite multitude of detached authorities to bear upon the conclusions which he wished to establish. He has evinced a rare sagacity in treating of the early history of Rome, and separating the real from the imaginary in its charming legends. But with these remarks the measure of just praise to him seems to be exhausted: what more is given, and much often is, seems rather the zeal of partisanship or the affectation of scholarship than the impartial estimate of discriminating criticism. His style is obscure, his sentences long, his narrative neither pictorial nor dramatic. Subsequent writers, and Arnold in particular, have extracted much which they have rendered interesting from his pages; but we will search for it in vain in those pages themselves. To the most enthusiastic scholar it is

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a heavy task to wade through his history. Even in the matters on which he is generally thought to have thrown most light—the early constitution of Rome and the real nature of the Agrarian law, the contests for which so violently shook its later days—what he has done is more to superadd extraneous authority to what was previously known than to have made new discoveries; there is scarce anything he has advanced on these points which is not to be gathered from Livy or Cicero. And supposing it to be true, as it probably is, that he has shown that the authentic history of Rome begins with Ancus Martius, much is not gained for the interests of mankind by classing all previous myths with the immortal fairy tales which first charmed our childhood.

44. Heeren.

If Niebuhr's usefulness and fame have been seriously impaired by the want of lucidity in his style, of order in his arrangement, and brevity in his expression, the same cannot be said of the next great author who in recent times has devoted his energies to the elucidation of ancient story. Till we open the pages of HEEREN we are wholly unaware what treasures we really possess in regard to the early ages of the world, and what a graphic and complete future may be framed by modern genius from the materials which have floated down the stream of time. His histories of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, the early Greeks and Romans, seem from their completeness, the vividness of the pictures they contain, to be rather the annals of contemporary nations than the history of those which have long since disappeared from the face of the earth. They have justly formed part of the education of youth in every country of Europe, but they are not less charming to the advanced in years, as bringing to his eyes, after the heat of the day is over, the images and ideas which first attracted his youth. Heeren has as much learning as Niebuhr, though, as being diffused over a wider surface, it has not gained for him so widespread a reputa-

tion: but he has not so much genius; his mind is pictorial and discursive rather than profound. If he has seldom, however, struck out original thought himself, there is no one who has furnished in greater profusion the materials of it to others; and to a mind fraught with the events and social questions of modern times there are few works which in every page furnish more ample subjects of reflection.

45. Müller.

MÜLLER has thrown over a most interesting part of modern story the light of genius and the stores of unbounded antiquarian research. His *History of Switzerland* is in some respects one of the most valuable historical works which modern literature has produced. It is remarkable how much more animated and pictorial it is than Schiller's *History of the Thirty Years' War:* the work of the antiquarian seems tinged with the colours of poetry, that of the poet darkened by the shades of prose. It is the same with Gibbon's *Rome* and Scott's *Life of Napoleon,*—a curious and apparently inexplicable circumstance. Müller's memory was prodigious. It is related of him that it was once betted that he would repeat on being asked, without previous warning, a complete list of all the sovereign counts of Bugey; he did so immediately, and taxed himself severely for want of memory in not being able to tell whether one of them whom he mentioned had been regent or sovereign.[1] This prodigious knowledge of details, however, did not prevent him from painting the interesting scenes and events with the colours of romance. His descriptions of the sublime scenery of the Alps are masterpieces of their kind; and his account of the great events of Swiss history, the conspiracy of the field of Grutli, the battles of Sempach and Morgarten, of Naefels and Morat, of Bâle and Grandcour, never were surpassed in pictorial power and romantic interest. His defect—and it is a very serious one, though common to him with the whole antiquarian school of historians—is that he has overloaded his narrative with a mass

[1] Mad. de Staël, de l'Allemagne, ii. 321.

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of insignificant details, which fatigue the reader's mind, are in themselves neither interesting nor instructive, and only withdraw the attention from objects of real importance. Sir Joshua Reynolds said that he would advise every young painter to take a brush dipped in deep shade, and go over three-fourths of the figures in his picture; and the remark is still more applicable to historians, because they are perplexed with a still greater number of small figures. Müller died poor, and left an injunction to sell his manuscripts to pay his debts; and if they did so, he bequeathed his watch to his servant: a sure proof that he had the integrity of a pure mind, for with his talents, if he had chose to pander to any of the passions or ambitions of the day, he might have made a fortune.—"Semper bona mentis soror est paupertas."

46. Von Hammer.

Any account of the German historians would be imperfect if VON HAMMER were not mentioned. His minute and voluminous *History of Turkey*, in twelve volumes, is an invaluable resource to all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the transactions and character of that remarkable people, who during four centuries have played so very important a part in the world's history, and with whom its present destiny seems decisively wound up. He undoubtedly has many great merits. He is laborious, detailed, and circumstantial, and his examination of various authorities, both on the Asiatic and European side, give his history the peculiar value of being, in a manner, a digest of both. But with these remarks the meed of applause due to him must terminate: he cannot be called a great historian. He has neither the general views of a philosopher, nor the artistic skill of a painter. He is neither discursive nor dramatic. Pictorial he certainly is in a very high degree, for great part of his work is taken up with descriptions of processions, dresses, and entertainments. There is no *perspective* in his pictures; everything is represented in the foreground, and worked out with equal

minuteness. This defect, of all others the most fatal to a historian, is in a peculiar manner conspicuous in his writings. If any one doubts it, he is recommended to try to read his twelve volumes. Genius is shown as much in what is rejected as what is retained in history; and it is in the judgment with which insignificant details are dropped out, even more than the skill with which interesting or material ones are portrayed, that the skill and discrimination of the artist is evinced.

47. Herder.

HERDER was more a poet than a historian: his works are rather fitted to fascinate the imagination than instruct the understanding. Considered in the former point of view, however, they have a very great charm. His *Philosophy of History* has no pretensions to that character; but it is a brilliant series of pictures of ancient and remote periods, which almost bring them before our eyes in the days of their pristine splendour. The chapters on Persepolis and Babylon, on the Persians and Egyptians, carry us back to the days of Cyrus and Darius, of Sesostris and Cleopatra. His essay on the *Poetry of the Jews*, in like manner, is tinged with the soul of oriental song; and never were the ideas, manners, and habits of the children of the desert, who pervade every part of the East, unfolded with more graphic power, or stricter observance of the truth of nature. He has even gone so far as to imitate the versification of the Hebrews, and that repetition of the same image or idea in different terms, which constitutes so remarkable a feature in their poetry. "Art and nature," says he, "preserve always an imposing uniformity in the midst of their variety." This is undoubtedly true, and it is a truth applicable to others of the fine arts besides poetry. Witness the imposing grandeur of the avenue of sphinxes at Luxor, the charming identity of the columns in the Parthenon of Athens, or the façade of the Louvre at Paris. There is scarcely any form in nature so revolting that it may not be rendered imposing, or even sublime, by being repeated

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often on a great scale: that is a truth of which the Assyrians at Nineveh and the Egyptians at Thebes have left many proofs; and however paradoxical it may appear, it is undoubtedly true that more effect will often be produced, at least in architecture, by the repetition of ugliness than the variety of beauty. Avenues of colossal toads might become sublime.

Schlosser.

SCHLOSSER has acquired a very great reputation in Germany: there are several of the best judges in that country who consider him as entitled to a place beside the first historians of England or of modern France in philosophic eminence. His *History of Europe during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* is certainly a very remarkable, and, considering the circumstances under which it was written, a surprising work; but it is far from being deserving of that high character. It has not the fault of the antiquarian historians; it generalises sufficiently, and is far from being overcharged with a multitude of insignificant details. But put beside Hume or Robertson, Macchiavelli or Montesquieu, Thucydides or Tacitus, the inferiority is at once apparent. There are general ideas in plenty, but they are those of the closet, not the forum. What is felt as wanting are those general remarks, drawn from a close observation of the collision of the different classes of mankind in a free community, or the contending ambitions of their rulers in despotic ones, which at once carry conviction home to every succeeding age. But the absence of this is not to be ascribed as a fault in Schlosser, so much as regarded as the inevitable result of ideas being formed out of the pale of freedom; and this consideration only places in a clearer light the duty incumbent on those who do enjoy that inestimable blessing, to observe human affairs with an impartial eye, unbiassed either by the vanity of popular applause or the seductions of courtly power.

Among the eminent historians of modern Germany a prominent place must be assigned to RANKE, whose *His-*

tory of the Popes, rendered into every civilised tongue, has acquired a world-wide reputation. The subject is a very great one, possessed of that unity of interest which is so essential an element in success, and of undying interest, for the papal policy is unchanged and unchangeable. No one can approach it without acknowledging the benefit he has conferred on the cause of historic truth by his narrative, and the ability with which he has compressed into a very moderate compass the annals of the long series of the holy fathers. The work, however, has great deficiencies. It is wanting in interest, and its want is not redeemed by philosophic views. The extraordinary growth of the Reformation, its subsequent stationary condition during two hundred and fifty years, and the renewed vitality of Catholicism in these times, are portrayed, but they do not elicit from the author the reflections which such a series of events is fitted to awaken. No one can expect from a history of the Popes the interest in narrative or event which we see in Livy or Sallust; but we might see the graphic power in describing the changes of society which we admire in Robertson, the profound views which carry conviction to our minds in Guizot. What is awanting in Ranke may be judged of by what has been supplied in Macaulay's review of his work, one of the most brilliant of his many splendid productions.

49. Ranke.

SCHLEGEL has a very high reputation in Germany, and his *Philosophy of History* is often referred to as containing profound and important views of human affairs. There does not appear to be any solid foundation for this opinion. The *Philosophy of History* may be a prodigy in Germany, but it is a very ordinary affair elsewhere. It is little more than a clear and succinct abridgment of universal history for the use of schools and colleges, with a few observations interspersed which belong to a higher class. Compared with the writings of Macchiavelli, Montesquieu, or Guizot, it is as nothing. Nowhere does it so

50. Schlegel.

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clearly appear how essential the contests of freedom are to the growth of just views of human affairs, or the real causes which are at work in the affairs of nations. Without entire liberty of thought and action it is vain to expect that the secret springs of events are to be discovered. Machiavelli reached them from a contemplation of the republics of modern, Montesquieu from the study of those of ancient Italy. In the despotic atmosphere of Vienna they cannot be attained. The real merit of Schlegel is as a philosophical critic, and in that department his merits are hardly surpassed. Perhaps nowhere in literature, ancient or modern, is to be found a higher perception of the objects of art, a more generous appreciation of genius, than in his lectures on the drama. English literature has nothing of the same description which can be compared to it. His *Æsthetics*, as the Germans call them, or principles of taste in various branches of art, are models of refined feeling and just criticism, and prove that if he failed in the *Philosophy of History*, it was not from want of the power of generalisation, but from the difficulty of thought being adequately directed to the affairs of nations under a despotic monarchy.

51. Military historians: the Archduke Charles.

It cannot be said that the German military historians have rivalled the transcendant phalanx which the wars of the Revolution have called forth in France, but nevertheless they can boast of some whose merits never were surpassed. At the very head of the array is to be placed the ARCHDUKE CHARLES: the first in rank is also the first in candour, discrimination, and just reflection. His Memoirs of his own immortal campaign in Germany in 1796, and of the still more checkered and heart-stirring one in Italy and the Alps in 1799, are models of lucid and authentic military history, worthy to be placed beside the *Commentaries* of Cæsar or the *Reveries* of Marshal Saxe. The principles of strategy on a great scale, to which the greatest successes or reverses in war are to be ascribed, never were more profoundly reflected on or

lucidly explained than by this great commander. Like the dictator, he discusses his own measures with an impartiality which is, literally speaking, *à toute épreuve.* To the merits of others, and most of all his opponents, he is ever alive, and yields a willing testimony; he is silent only on the praise due to his own great achievements. In this respect he presents a striking contrast to Napoleon, whose Memoirs, distinguished by greater acuteness and reach of thought, are constantly disfigured by the propensity to magnify self and detract from the merits of others, which, springing from his inveterate selfishness, forms so remarkable and discreditable a feature in his writings. Above all, the narrative of the Archduke Charles is distinguished by that entire *truthfulness,* and consequent trustworthiness, which seems an inherent feature in the Teutonic character, and forms so striking a contrast to the mingled genius and falsehood which so often characterise even the greatest men of the Celtic.

52. Clausewitz.

General CLAUSEWITZ had not the immense advantage enjoyed by Cæsar, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, and the Archduke Charles, of having himself directed the movements which he described, but he had borne a considerable command in many of the most important of them, and his intuitive military genius enabled him to do the rest. He was born a great general, if he was not made such. Many men are so who never drew a sword. The power of directing or correctly judging of military movements is a gift of nature which may be improved but is not created by practice, and often appears in its highest lustre in those who have had none. Witness Napoleon's skill in tactics as an engineer at the siege of Toulon, where he first saw a gun fired in anger; in strategy, in his first campaign in Italy. Clausewitz's account of the campaigns of 1812 and the three following years are models of clear and accurate military narrative, the study of which is eminently calculated to form great generals. He has not the splendid power of describing

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battles and sieges which we admire in Napier, but neither are his writings overloaded with the flood of insignificant details which in him so much distract the reader's attention. He takes a general view of his campaigns. He narrates them neither as a subordinate actor nor a general-in-chief, but rather as a superior being, who, from an elevated point in the skies, looks down, like the gods in the *Iliad*, on the contests of men. His *coup d'œil* is just and rapid—his narrative clear and succinct—his reflections generally just, often profound. They bear a close resemblance to those of the Archduke Charles; and in both we see similar proofs of the candour and equanimity of the German mind in its best mood, when swayed only by reason, and undisturbed by passion.

53. German memoir-writers: Bartholdy Varnhagen von Ense, and Baron Stein.

If the Revolution in France has warmed into life a crowd of memoir-writers, whose effusions throw an invaluable light on the events of that memorable period, the war of liberation in Germany has been hardly less efficacious in calling forth a host of writers, who have portrayed with equal felicity the changes and feelings of that eventful era. Their number is so considerable that a separate criticism on each, in a work of general history, is impossible; but three stand prominently forward, and deserve notice in any account, how brief soever, of German literature. BARTHOLDY'S *Krieg der Tyroles* presents a graphic and interesting narrative of the memorable struggle of its heroic mountaineers in the year 1809; and VARNHAGEN VON ENSE has collected with much ability, and recorded with dramatic effect, the most striking incidents connected with the war of liberation, and its hero Marshal Blucher. Inferior in graphic power, but much superior in political importance and historical information, the memoirs of BARON STEIN, one of the greatest and most far-seeing of German statesmen, exhibit a most interesting account of the measures which had prepared the triumph of Prussia in that memorable struggle; while the memoir of BARON MUFFLING has furnished a valuable record, from

authentic materials, of the most important steps connected with the final *dénouement* which at Waterloo terminated the eventful drama.

54. German autobiographies.

Autobiography, when relating to very eminent men, and written in a spirit of candour and moderation, is one of the most interesting, and withal instructive species of composition; for it at once amuses the indolent with the account of the efforts of the departed great, and encourages the strenuous, whom Providence has gifted with the power of emulating them. How valuable such a record may be is sufficiently proved by the admirable sketch of his life by Hume—the more elaborate and charming autobiography of Gibbon; while the confessions of Rousseau afford a melancholy proof how completely the revelations of a great but vain man may undermine even the most colossal reputation, and the truth of the saying, that of all sights the most unbearable is a "naked human heart." Vanity is the general cause of the despicable character of so many biographies of themselves by eminent men; and unfortunately this failing is generally the most conspicuous in those of the greatest celebrity—witness the autobiographies of Chateaubriand and Lamartine. It is fortunate for the memory of Byron that his has been burnt; for it would in all probability have destroyed all respect for his character, though it could not have impaired the admiration for his genius.*

55. Autobiography of Goethe, Oehlenschlager, and Andersen.

Germany has not been awanting in works of this description from some of the most gifted of her sons, and three stand forth pre-eminent among many others of lesser fame. Goethe's Autobiography, without being so fearful a confession of disgraceful turpitudes as Rousseau's, is a most curious and valuable record of his mind; so various, so many-sided, so full, alternately, of piercing thoughts

* By far the best and most favourable, as well as truthful, picture of Lord Byron, is to be found in Lady Blessington's conversations with him—a work second only to Boswell's *Johnson* in fidelity and interest, and worthy of a lasting place beside it in English literature.

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and common inclinations. It is far too minute, however, and in consequence tedious. With more enthusiasm in his disposition and romance in his tastes, that of Oehlenschlager exhibits an interesting picture of the gradual development of an ardent and gifted mind, and of the mingled influence of the traditions of the olden and the literature of modern times upon a highly poetic temperament. It is only to be regretted that its interest is somewhat impaired, at least to a foreign reader, by the multitude of obscure names and characters who are introduced, alike unknown to general fame, and insignificant in the picture of character. But the most interesting of all these autobiographies, as the briefest, is that of Andersen, the celebrated Danish novelist. The picture of his early life in the island of Oldensee, and the patriarchal manners of the inhabitants of the archipelago in which it is placed, is in the highest degree interesting; as is also the picture of the successive means by which his genius was developed, and raised him from a humble station in a provincial town to the society of kings and queens. It is only to be regretted that vanity, the usual foible of successful authors, is too conspicuous in the later pages of his biography, and strangely contrasts with the simplicity and candour of his earlier narrative. It is surprising that so many authors of discernment, in scanning the character of others, fall into this mistake when delineating themselves, and prove blind to the obvious truth that vanity is not only always contemptible, but never fails to defeat its own object, because it wounds the *amour propre* of those who read its effusions.

56. Romances in Germany: their general character.

Romances and novels innumerable have of late years issued from the prolific press of Germany; any attempt to enumerate even their names is impossible in a work of general history. Generally speaking, they cannot be said to be at all comparable to those of England or France. Scott, Bulwer, and Madame de Staël, have met with no rivals in the Fatherland. They are generally distinguished by one characteristic—they paint only one, or at

most two, strata of society. In the first instance, the extravagant admiration which was felt for Goethe's *Werther* led to a crowd of sentimental writers, who descanted on the moon, and midnight serenades, and dying lovers, till ridicule was brought over the whole subject. As usual in such cases, the next school went into the opposite extreme, and the exact representation of real life, with no fictitious additions, became the great object. By its authors, society in a village or small country town in Germany is painted with minuteness and fidelity, but nothing more. The village priest, the apothecary, the bailiff of the neighbouring castle, with occasional glimpses of the inmates of the castle itself; the simple life of the shopkeepers, the visits of strolling actors and actresses, who turn the heads of all the young men; the return from the wars of the hussar officers, who captivate all the maidens; the intrigues of a young baron with a simple true-hearted *frau*, constitute in general the shape of their tales.

57. The philosophic novelists.

Another class of novels belong to the philosophical school; they are filled with abstract disquisitions, and resemble rather moral or metaphysical essays than pictures of life. As a necessary consequence, they are for the most part insupportably dull: romance may often be made the vehicle of the most exalted sentiment, the purest morality, but it must be by event, not prelection; by character, not disquisition. Even the best novels of Goethe and Wieland are not free from this defect; there are many passages which every reader is fain to pass over. It is remarkable how much more homespun and limited in conception their novels are than their poetry or their dramas: but a little reflection must show how this has come, and unavoidably come to pass. Novels are intended to paint real life, and are in general interesting in proportion as they delineate with accuracy and truth, and yet romantic interest, the manners and incidents of those with whom we are acquainted; poetry

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and the drama diverge into the ideal world, and bring to view the events and character of all ages. Imagination and study can find the last, but nothing can supply the want of actual observation in the first. The German authors, who almost all belong to the burgher class, and are familiar with its manners only, can paint them, and they have done so admirably; but we can expect from them nothing more; and it need not be said that they form a part only of the materials of fiction.

58. Countess Hahn-Hahn.

To these observations an exception must be made in the case of the distinguished authoress whose romances have excited unusual attention in Germany. The COUNTESS HAHN-HAHN has been gifted by nature with the true genius of poetry and romance; and her position in society has enabled her to paint its highest as well as its inferior scenes. Her mind is enamoured of strong emotions; like Rachel, she makes straight to them, and, passing lightly over the smiles, dwells with sympathetic interest on the tears. Her best novels have been translated into French and English, and have acquired a European reputation. There are many scenes in them, however, which to our ideas seem coarse, and the *dénouement* is often of questionable morality,—a singular circumstance in an authoress who, in her beautiful little volume, *Ave Maria*, has given so many proofs of a refined mind, and of the most heartfelt and exalted piety. We see the same strange mixture, however, in several other German writers, and we need not wonder at it when we observe it also in Steele and Addison. It is want of refinement in taste more than deficiency in moral sense, which is the cause of this blemish in German literature; if their ideas were more depraved, they would, like the French novelists, be more careful to shroud them in refined and elegant language.

59. Haklander.

It is impossible, in a sketch of this brief description, to give any idea of the immense crowd of romance-writers who during the last forty years have appeared in

Germany. Their name is legion, and a discussion of their separate merits would occupy many volumes; but one has recently appeared whose merits are so great and generally acknowledged as to call for a separate notice. M. HAKLANDER unites in himself several of the most striking qualities of our greatest contemporary novelists. In graphic description of character, in all grades of society, and occasional pathetic power, he recalls Dickens; in the evolving of the story, when to all appearance hopelessly complicated, he resembles Bulwer. He has not, however, the profound knowledge of the human heart, or turn for philosophic reflection, which distinguish the works of the latter author. His most celebrated work, *Europäische Sclavenleben*, is intended to exhibit a picture of all the stages of society, from the cellars, through the saloon, to the garret, in order to prove that the conventional bonds of civilised life in Europe are even more galling than the rude fetters of the African, and that many a white slave would have something to envy in the lot of Uncle Tom. It is to be feared there is too much truth in this view of the effects of civilisation, and in working it out M. Haklander has evinced great dramatic power, and a thorough acquaintance with all the gradations of German society. His picture of the ballet-dancers, and their fearful subjection to the caprices of the public; of the ardent and impassioned baron, of the restraints, etiquette, and difficulties of the ducal courts, and of the licentious life of the robbers, cannot be exceeded in fidelity and force of drawing. Unfortunately they are not calculated to elucidate any definite moral impression, and consequently fall short of the highest object of works of imagination, that of being at once true to nature and elevating in their tendency. The characters in the *Europäische Sclavenleben*, as in *My Novel* by Bulwer, are so numerous that the two first volumes seem rather too complicated for interest; but in the first, as in the English novel, they are all made to concur in the

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denouement with surprising skill. A translation of this highly popular novel, if done by kindred genius, would be one of the most popular works of fiction of our times.

60. Andersen.

There is one species of fiction peculiar to Germany and the northern nations, which they have cultivated with extraordinary success: this is that of supposing animals, plants, or trees, to be animated with human feeling, and to express their thoughts in human language. ANDERSEN has composed several charming tales of this description, which may be classed with any in the world for interest and simplicity. They have not the deep insight into human nature which distinguishes the somewhat similar fictions of La Fontaine, nor the amusing prattling of Gay; but in variety of fancy, richness of imagery, simplicity of thought, and versatility of imagination, they are unrivalled. Many ideas in them are entirely novel to English readers, and bespeak the chill of the hyperborean regions. The first burst of spring after the long night of an arctic winter, the frozen fields of Lapland, the Snow Queen, the return of the swallows, the migration of the storks, and many similar images, indicate the feelings and ideas awakened by the arctic regions, and have all the attractions, in some degree, of novelty to those dwelling in milder latitudes. His *Bilderbuch ohne Bilder* is one of the most charming creations of poetic fancy. His idea of the moon recounting all the scenes on which her midnight rays fall in the wide expanse of the globe, in every country and in every clime, is not only highly poetical, but affords the richest field for graphic power and varied imagery. The Hindoo maiden who looks for an omen of the safety of her beloved in the waters of the Ganges, the iceberg of Greenland, the camel-driver shading his face from the burning sands of the Sahara with a bunch of feathers, the tragic scenes of the French Revolution, the horrors of the Moscow retreat, the simple patriarchal life of the Danish isles, the infancy of Thorwaldsen, the last hours of Napoleon, alternately employ his magic pencil,

and form, with many others, a series of pictures unrivalled in the whole field of German literature for simplicity, variety, and poetic interest.

61. Jean Paul Richter.

JEAN PAUL RICHTER has a prodigious reputation in Germany, but it is by no means equally great in foreign countries. The reason is that his language is too home-spun; his ideas are too much localised. He has observed and painted and philosophised with great ability within a certain sphere, but his vision has not gone beyond it. Life and manners in a provincial German town, and the caustic observations of a sage upon them, constitute the staple of his productions; and though they are done with sagacious thought and witty satire, and often profound observation, they are not calculated to attract universal notice. They have neither the deep thought of Bacon, nor the admirable wit of Cervantes, nor the sagacious insight into the heart, of Scott or Bulwer, which have gained for their writings universal fame. But as pictures of a satire upon German life they have very great merit, and have made a valuable addition to European literature. A work of the size of Bacon's Essays, containing a selection of his observations and apothegms, would be of the highest interest, and, like the maxims of Larochefoucauld, acquire a universal reputation.

62. Philosophic school of Germany.

It is not to be concluded, from the great number of imaginative writers in Germany, and the large space allotted in this sketch to their consideration, that fancy is the only field of literature which the Teutonic genius has cultivated with success. The German mind, eminently contemplative, has laboured also in the field of philosophy, and the works of their sages are not only noble monuments of thought, highly characteristic of the turn of their minds, but have exercised an important influence on the whole character of their literature, and the destinies of their country. Unlike the French philosophy of the same period, which is entirely founded on selfishness, the German is rested on the generous affections; unlike the

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philosophy of Locke, which refers all our ideas to impressions derived from the senses, it has embraced the doctrines of the idealists, who contend for the existence of innate ideas. When the realists referred to the maxim of the scholiasts, "Nihil est in intellectu quod non ante fuerat in sensu," Leibnitz, the father of the Teutonic philosophy, made the sublime addition, "Nisi intellectus ipse." It is perhaps impossible in this much-vexed question to come nearer the truth than is done in these words. Locke was quite right when he maintained that our *information* was entirely derived from our senses, and the doctrine of innate *ideas* seems to have no solid foundation in what we know of human nature. But, on the other hand, it is equally clear that when certain impressions are obtained from the senses, the mind will draw conclusions and form ideas from them altogether foreign to anything derived from the senses; and although it is doubtless true that these ideas could not have been formed but from the materials furnished by the senses, it is not the less true that all the senses in the world could not have furnished the idea but for the self-acting powers of the sentient mind.

63. Kant.

KANT is the second father of the modern German philosophy, and he is regarded by a large class of disciples in the Fatherland rather with the veneration with which the disciples of Plato looked up to their preceptor, than with the feelings usual between pupils and their masters in modern society. It cannot be denied that he was in many respects a great man. Born, bred, and living all his life to a very advanced age in Königsberg, he derived scarce anything from the intercourse of society, and found the materials for his world of thought in his own mind, and his own mind alone. But these resources were immense. The sciences, the literature, the languages of the north, were familiar to him; and without seeking to apply these advantages to the acquisition of fame or fortune, he spent his life in solitary reflections

on his own thoughts, and the laws by which mind is regulated. His great work, the *Critick of Pure Reason*, which treats of the mind alone, was for nearly twenty years after its publication without readers; but at length some adventurous students had courage to open it, and such a multitude of original and profound ideas were discovered, as speedily led to its being generally studied, and acquiring a colossal fame in Germany. It was succeeded, after a long interval, by a treatise on *Practical Reason*, and another on *Judgment*, the first of which treats of the laws of morality, and corresponds to Reid's *Active Powers*, and the last unfolds the principles of taste and beauty. Without affirming that the solitary meditation of the German sage has in every instance led to the discovery of truth, it may safely be affirmed that they are all of an elevated and ennobling character, equally removed from the selfish egotism of the French encyclopedists, and the dangerous doctrines, tending to materialism, of the English metaphysicians. What is chiefly to be regretted in the writings of Kant is the style, which in general is so involved and obscure as to render his meaning extremely difficult of comprehension even to the Germans themselves, and to a foreigner often unintelligible. This is a fault common to him with most other German metaphysicians, and it is in a great degree to be ascribed to the extraordinary length of their sentences, which often extend over half, sometimes a whole page;—a strange unaccountable practice, which can never be sufficiently condemned, and should serve as a beacon to all writers in this country.

64. Fichte and Schelling.

FICHTE and SCHELLING have pushed to an extreme the doctrines of Kant, and in some respects brought upon them discredit. Reversing the doctrines of the materialists, they make the soul all in all. In this respect their doctrines are akin to those of Bishop Berkeley; and if philosophy is to run into extreme, and discard one or

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other of the great elements of nature, it is better to do so with matter and its attributes than mind and its attributes. It is needless to say, however, that the former speaks in so forcible a manner to the great majority of mankind, that the latter is never likely to find proselytes but among a small band of contemplative philosophers or dreamy enthusiasts. On this account no real danger to the interests of society or public morality is to be apprehended from their lucubrations: but the case is very different with those who represent the soul as consisting of a particular modification of matter, physical enjoyments as the chief end of existence, and the means of their acquisition the only object of a sensible man's pursuit. As these are the maxims to which the great bulk of mankind in every age are in practice inclined, any system of philosophy which gives them the support of principle is dangerous, and if generally received, may prove fatal to the best interests of society. Fichte's doctrines are different in a great measure from those of Schelling, inasmuch as the former rests entirely on the contemplation of the mind, which he regards as necessarily endowed, like the circles or triangles of geometry, with certain fixed qualities, discoverable, like them, by the efforts of philosophy; the latter admits largely the influence of external nature, and deduces most of our ideas from its sensations, and the charm of imagination to which its beauties give rise. In this respect his ideas border on those of the materialists; but yet with this vital difference, that the material world is regarded by him as the appliances which surround and awaken the soul, but not as the soul itself, which alone is immortal, and shall exist after the outer crust shall have melted away.

65. Frederick Schlegel.

The doctrines of the German idealists bear so close an affinity to those which, from the dawn of philosophy, have prevailed among the Orientals, and especially the inhabitants of Hindostan, that it was to be expected that ere long some one would arise who should trace the connec-

tion which subsists between them. Such a philosopher accordingly appeared in FREDERICK SCHLEGEL, brother to the great æsthetic essayist. Immense study, and a thorough acquaintance with the oriental languages, had given this very eminent man almost as complete a knowledge of the Indian philosophy as the English scholars who had been brought into personal contact with the Brahmins; and his treatise on the *Language and Philosophy of the Indians* brings out in a very interesting manner, and with the aid of great learning, the affinity which subsists between the thoughts and languages of the two great and long-separated families of mankind, the similarity of which betrays their common origin. He agrees with Bailly in thinking that an original race of men had, anterior to the date of authentic history, inhabited the regions of Central Asia, and spread from thence, on the one hand, across the Himalaya snows into the plains of Hindostan; on the other, over the Ural Mountains into the Sarmatian and German fields. It is curious how the researches of philosophy, from whatever quarter arising, come back to the origin of mankind in Central Asia, and the dispersion of the children of Noah to the three quarters of the ancient world.

66. Jacobi.

JACOBI is one of the few men of family and fortune in Germany who, surmounting the aristocratic prejudices with which they are surrounded, have devoted their talents to philosophy and literature. His principles are as elevated as those of Kant, but they differ widely from them; they exhibit the reaction of mind against the austere doctrines of that celebrated philosopher. Dissatisfied with placing morality, like mathematical propositions, in certain abstract truths apart from human sentiment and feeling, he has gone into the other extreme, and referred it altogether to the sensibility which, according to him, is the revelation to erring man of the Divine will. Everything, in this view, which our feelings approve or admire is right, without reference to any other stan-

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dard than those feelings themselves. "Yes," says he, in a fit of enthusiasm, "I would lie, like the dying Desdemona—I would deceive, like Orestes, when he strove to die in place of Pylades—I would assassinate, like Timoleon—I would commit perjury, like Epaminondas or John de Witt—I would commit suicide, like Cato—I would be sacrilegious, as David; for I have the internal conviction that in pardoning these faults, though they be according to the letter, man is only exercising the sovereign right which the majesty of his being confers upon him: he affixes the seal of his dignity, the seal of his divine nature, to the pardon which he accords." This eloquent hyperbole proves that there is something erroneous in the principles on which it is founded; nor is it difficult to see in what that error consists. It lies in supposing that there is no standard of right or wrong other than what our feelings may be interested in or admire—a doctrine which would utterly confound all ideas of morality, and substitute for the eternal dictates of conscience the effusions of a dreamy and enthusiastic sensibility.

67. Religious character of Germany: its origin.

It is often said that the character of German thought on religious matters is owing to its inhabitants having, in the northern provinces, embraced the Protestant faith: it would be nearer the truth to say that they have embraced Protestantism because they were impressed by nature with a certain vein of religious thought. They were dreamy and abstract in the cloister before they were so in the pulpit: their natural turn of mind was nursed in the monastery ere it reached the forum. As the Reformation everywhere was the revolt of the human mind against the ceremonies and corruptions of the Church of Rome, so it ran into the other extreme; and in those countries in which the disposition of the people led to its being embraced with most fervour, it ended in the substitution of internal fervour, and a species of self-applauding austerity, for the external observances which

had become the subject of so much abuse. This tendency is particularly observable in Germany and Scotland—two countries in which the national temperament of mingled gravity and fervour is much the same, and in which the progress of the reformation movement has been extremely similar. The insurrection of the boors in the former country was exactly analogous to the excesses of the followers of John Knox in the latter. In both countries the triumph of the Reformation was signalised by a system of faith which substituted internal illumination and fervour for external form and observance—which embraced the dogma of election, from the charitable conviction that a certain sect is the object of Divine favour, and all others of reprobation, and invariably places itself in the former class and its opponents in the latter.

68. Reaction against these doctrines: rationalism.

Doctrines of this sort may, during the heat of contest or in the first fervour of innovation, prevail generally amongst a distracted people, and, from the usual tenacity of the human mind to error in matters of belief, long linger among the peasantry and half-educated classes. But it is impossible that they can long coexist with general intelligence and reflection; and they speedily melt away before the light of reason. The reaction ere long begins in the most highly-educated classes and the strongest minds: the danger is that, for a time at least, it goes too far. It began first in Scotland. The principles of Blair and Robertson were the effort of intelligent man to escape from the dogmas of the Puritans, the fervour of the Covenanters, without departing from the great truths of Christianity; and Hume's *Essays* and *History* afford a proof that, when the current sets in that direction, these limits will not long be observed. The progress was the same, though a little later, in Germany. The RATIONAL SCHOOL of divines indicates the reaction of human thought against the fervour of the peasants of Münster, the sentimental dreams of the metaphysicians, the self-applauding fervour of the elect. But it is easier

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to see to what cause these aberrations of thought are to be traced, and to find a parallel for them in the oscillations of the pendulum, than to provide an antidote to the opposite set of errors, which they inevitably induce; and great has been the alarm excited in the minds of the sincere friends of Christianity from the progress of the system of rationalism in Germany.

60. Strauss's Life of Jesus Christ.

STRAUSS'S LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST is the leading work of this school, and the one which has done most to spread its tenets through foreign lands. It is a scheme of faith which is peculiarly attractive at first sight to persons of a vigorous intellect, and masculine independent turn of mind. Equally removed from the slavish submission to authority and unmeaning ceremonies of the Roman Catholics, and the visionary dreams and self-applauding fervour of the Puritans, it professes, without openly disputing the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, to establish them on what is deemed the solid basis of truth and reason. To effect this object it strives, so far as possible, to explain away every miraculous event, to solve every dark enigma, to elude every metaphysical difficulty connected with the Christian faith, and to reduce it to a sublime and beneficent system of morality, which reason may embrace without difficulty, and reflection adhere to without regret. According to it, our Saviour was a wise and virtuous man, whose precepts it would be well if the world would follow; but only in a greater degree than Confucius, Socrates, or Plato, illuminated by Divine light. All the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, the Trinity, the Godhead of our Saviour, the Fall of Man, the Redemption, are either denied or passed over with very little consideration, as tending only to immerse the mind in abstract and metaphysical questions, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law.

Great is the alarm which these tenets, and the writings of Strauss in particular—which have had an immense circulation in Germany—has produced among divines and

70. The alarm thence arising is unfounded.

the friends of religion in this country. There does not appear to be any real ground for these apprehensions. A rational system of religion—that is, a religion which excludes or avoids mysteries—never will meet with a general reception among mankind, for this simple reason, that all feel the subject is wrapt in mystery, and that all attempts to penetrate it are vain. A system of faith which admits nothing but what we can understand, and which our reason approves, is universally felt to be unsatisfactory and erroneous. The slightest consideration must show that everything connected with religion, and which no faith can avoid, is a mystery which we may believe, but cannot understand. Creation, birth, death, the world to come, the growth of a plant, the formation of mind, the Supreme Being, eternity, infinity, omnipresence, omnipotence, are all mysteries which can never be explained on the principles of our reason. We speak of them, we give them names, we know they are real things, but if we analyse our thoughts we shall find that we cannot form a conception of them; while at the same time our reason tells us, and their appearance in all languages proves, that they are ideas which universally and inevitably arise in the human mind. What is the mystery of the Trinity, of which so much is said, but a part, and a very small part only, of the mystery of the omnipresence of the Deity, which no faith in any age has ventured to deny? Every religion that ever prevailed generally among men has admitted the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of expiation by sacrifice—for this plain reason, that every man is conscious of so much sin in himself that he shrinks from meeting the Divine justice without some atonement irrespective of his own deserts. For this reason there is not the slightest danger of any system which professes to explain the mysteries of nature and existence by the mere deductions of human reason ever being permanently adopted by mankind. It may be embraced by the learned during the reaction against the absurdities of

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particular sects, but that will be all. By the great body of the people it will be felt as utterly unsatisfactory, like attempting without wings to ascend to heaven. Revelation of mystery, belief in the incomprehensible, are indispensable for any creed which is to obtain a lasting place among men, because they alone are felt to satisfy their wants and be equal to the difficulty. And it will be found in the end that the Christian religion, which reveals enough of mystery to arrest the attention of the most reflecting, and contains enough of precept to be level to the comprehension of the most illiterate, is the one framed by Supreme Wisdom for, and best adapted to, the combined strength and weakness, knowledge and ignorance, boldness in thought and submission in belief, which we see in man.

71. Reflections on German literature.

Such is a brief, and, of necessity, most imperfect account of German literature, as it has been developed during the period embraced in this history. Its merit and importance will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that it has been entirely the creation of eighty years, and for the most part of the last half-century. Unlike the literature of Italy, which sprang up during two hundred years on the revival of letters, or of France and England, which have slowly evolved during the mental struggles of three centuries, it has all been produced by the mental effort of one or at most two generations. No long line of illustrious men marked its progress: they all sprang up at once, as Minerva fully armed from the brain of Jupiter. This circumstance is very remarkable, when the great extent and variety of literary excellence in Germany is taken into consideration; and it is fitted to inspire the most consolatory belief in regard to the permanent nature of human progress. Goethe says that the human mind is constantly advancing, but *it is in a spiral line;* and it may be added, that in a spiral the curves are alternately in light and shadow. The annals of his own country afford the

clearest proof of the truth of the observation. To appearance, the German mind was entirely dormant during the long winter of the middle ages: but on the return of spring the ceaseless progress appeared; it sprang up at once, like the burst of nature after an arctic winter. The luxuriance of intellectual vegetation which thus broke forth teaches us that, even when apparently lifeless, the human mind is incessantly acting; that it is during the long period of repose that error is forgotten and prejudice dies out; and that under circumstances where reason might despair of the fortunes of the species, the beneficent powers of nature are incessantly acting, and preparing in silence the renovation of the world.

72. General character of German literature.

The great characteristic of German literature, and that which gives it so inexpressible a charm to readers in foreign countries, is the freshness and originality of its ideas. Formed for the most part on the study of antiquity, and having in some respects attained its highest excellence when the classical authors exclusively formed the taste of all persons of cultivated minds, the literature of Italy, Spain, France, and England, of necessity is deeply imbued with its images, and regulated by its ideas. The French and Italian drama is entirely classical; not only are the characters and events almost all taken from the history of Greece or Rome, but the finest plays of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Alfieri, and Metastasio, are little more than free translations of those of Sophocles and Euripides. No scholar need be told how deeply read Milton and Tasso, and Ariosto and Dante, were in classical lore, and how much they are indebted to the genius of antiquity for many of their most captivating beauties and constant allusions. But it is otherwise with the Germans, at least with such of their writers as are distinguished by the true national character. The Teutonic race, when they settled in the Fatherland, had patriotic feeling enough to discard not only the language but the ideas of Greece and Rome. Their thoughts are

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as novel as their words are strange to foreign ears. Their finest writers, Schiller, Goethe, and Wieland, have borrowed, indeed, from ancient literature its taste and refinement, but they have engrafted them on their own thoughts and images and feelings. From this auspicious union has sprung a progeny more charming than either of the parents taken singly. In reading the great German writers, while we have not lost the charm of ancient taste, we feel that we have entered, as it were, upon a new world; a fresh soil has been turned up, and the earth teems with the luxuriance of virgin vegetation. Their ideas are often so novel, and yet so beautiful, that we are led to suspect for a moment that they had been the creation of some purer age, and after being buried for centuries, been newly turned up by modern hands;—like the Grecian statues, which, after lying for fifteen hundred years under the ruins of antiquity, emerge pure, unsullied in pristine beauty, when revealed by the zeal of modern industry.

73. Its romantic and sentimental character.

The chief reproach which is usually made against modern German literature, is its romantic and sentimental character, and its inapplicability to the affairs of the world, whether in nations or individuals. It is impossible to deny that there is some truth in this observation; and certainly, when the enthusiasm of the German mind came to be applied in 1848 to political affairs, it afforded no indication of being qualified to produce a stable or practicable form of government. Probably, too, if any one were to take *Wilhelm Meister* or *Werther* for a guide in private life, he would be as effectually ruined as the cause of German freedom was in that year by the excesses of its supporters. But, all this notwithstanding, the tone of German literature, upon the whole, is of a noble and elevating character, and such as is fitted to produce the most beneficial effects on the character of mankind. It has one inestimable quality—it is for the most part unselfish; its follies and weaknesses, such as they are, are all of a

generous and romantic character. As such, it is eminently fitted to combat the egotism and selfishness which is the root of nearly all the social evils that afflict mankind, and which increase in intensity and influence with the growth of riches and the progress of civilisation. Beyond all question, the tone of German literature had a material influence in producing that burst of generous enthusiasm which, in the war of liberation, effected the deliverance of the Fatherland. And if it be said, What is the use of all this romance and sentiment—to what practical purpose can it be applied? the answer is, it is the antidote to the selfishness which is the bane of humanity, and the corrective of the greatest debaser of the human mind, the most prolific source of human evils. "What is the use," says Madame de Staël, "of the Apollo Belvidere, the pictures of Raphael, the poetry of Racine? What does all that is beautiful serve, if not the soul itself? It is the same with philosophy; it is the beauty of thought: it attests the dignity of that Being which is eternal and invisible, and never ceases to strive after what is eternal and invisible, how far soever it may be removed from all that is gross in present existence." [1]

[1] De l'Allemagne, iii. 115, p. iii. c. 7.

74. Object of the fine arts in Germany.

The same principles which have influenced the literature and philosophy of Germany appear also in the fine arts. The imitation of nature is not the object they pursue—it is ideal beauty to which they aspire; and it is the incessant striving after that elevated shadow which is the real cause of the greatness which they have attained. It is to this that is to be ascribed the extraordinary perfection to which they have brought the art of music, the one of the fine arts which has the least relation with the wants or appliances of present existence. MOZART and BEETHOVEN stand alone in this respect; even Italian music must yield to the variety of their conceptions, the brilliancy of their expression, the pathos of their sentiment. It is the constant effort to express the ideal which has produced this excellence. "The impression," says Ma-

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dame de Staël, "which we receive from the fine arts has not the smallest analogy to that which imitation, how perfect soever, produces. Man has in his soul innate feelings, which the real will never completely satisfy; and it is to these sentiments that the imagination of painters and poets has given form and life. The first of arts—music—what does it imitate? Yet of all the gifts of the Divinity it is the most magnificent, for *the very reason that it is the most superfluous.* The sun gives us his light; we breathe the air of a serene heaven; all the beauties of nature tend in some way to the use of man; music alone is of no utility, and it is for that reason it is so noble, and moves us so profoundly. The farther it is removed from any practical application, the nearer is it brought to that secret fountain of our thoughts, which is always only rendered more distant by its application to any practical object." [1]

[1] De l'Allemagne, iii. 128.

75. Thorwaldsen.

THORWALDSEN is a Dane by birth; but Denmark is but a promontory of Germany, and the Danes are a branch only of the great Teutonic race. Like Andersen and Tycho Brahe, though born in Denmark, he may be claimed as one of the glories of the Teutonic race. In some respects he is the greatest sculptor that modern Europe has produced. There is no imitation about him; his conceptions, like those of all his countrymen, are drawn from himself alone. He has not the vast imagination and daring genius of Michael Angelo, but neither has he his bizarre and sometimes grotesque conceptions. Not less refined in taste and delicate in execution than Canova, he is more original; he has taken from the antique their aspiration after the ideal, but not copied their forms. Canova, in his greatest works, has done little more; his "Perseus" in the Vatican is an obvious imitation of the Apollo; his "Venus" is a modernised and half-veiled Venus de Medicis. The difference between these two great artists is seen in Thorwaldsen's "Venus presenting the Apple to Paris:" not less beautiful in form than Canova's, it is entirely original;

the attitude is unlike anything in the antique. His "Triumph of Alexander" is the finest series of bässo-relievos that modern genius has produced. It is a singular circumstance, indicating how many exceptions must be made to the general opinion that the fine arts can flourish only in the regions of the sun, that the mighty genius of Thorwaldsen has been warmed into life on the shores of the Baltic, and only required to be matured in taste amidst the monuments of Rome.

76. Danneker and Kiss.

DANNEKER is another proof that it is in the north that we are now to look for the successors of Phidias. His "Ariadne seated on the Panther" has all the delicacy and beauty of the antique, while, at the same time, it is quite original; the eternal imitation of Greek forms and attitudes has been abandoned by one who had yet inhaled to the full extent their spirit. The study of antiquity, whether in art or literature, is the best foundation for fresh excellence, if it is done in a worthy spirit—that is, by a perception of its taste, and a desire to rival, not copy, its remains. Considered as the study of achieved and impassable excellence, which is to be imitated, not emulated, it is nothing but a fetter on the human mind, and may chain it for ages to correct mediocrity. The recent sculptors of Germany have shown that they have studied the antique in the true spirit. Kiss's group of the "Amazon combating the Tiger" is worthy of being placed beside the finest Metopes of the Parthenon; for it is not merely ideal beauty, but ideal beauty in the moment of violent action,—a difficult but not impossible combination, and which, when mastered, reveals the highest powers, as well as conception of art. Compare the Apollo Belvidere with the fighting gladiator, and this will at once appear. The bronze statues recently erected at Berlin and Munich, by Kiss, Rausch, and several of their countrymen, have opened, as it were, a new era in art, and showed that regeneration may in the end spring even from the conquests of barbarism, and

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that in art as well as nature, the "Goths have broken in and amended the puny breed."

77. Painting in Germany.

The modern school of German painting is not less characteristic of the combined caution and daring, imitation and originality, industry and genius, which nature seems to have impressed as its signet-mark on the Teutonic race. In portrait-painting it has by no means attained the level of Titian or Vandyke, of Reynolds or Raeburn; perhaps the existing society in Germany does not afford sufficient encouragement for such a school to arise in that department of art. But it is otherwise in landscape-painting; in that branch the German masters have attained an eminence beyond their contemporaries in any other country of Europe, and in some respects on a level with the finest remains of ancient art. They have reached that which is the very essence of beauty in painting—combined minuteness of finishing and generality of effect. The breadth of their pieces renders them impressive at any distance, their exquisite details worthy of admiration on the closest inspection. This combination, so uniformly conspicuous in the works of nature, and so charmingly imitated in her most gifted disciples, Claude and Poussin, is the chief characteristic and chief excellence of the modern school of German painting.

78. Their romantic character.

The landscapes of the chief modern German artists are much in the style of Ruysdael, so far as the colouring and general effect go; but the subjects are much wilder and more romantic—they savour more of Salvator's conceptions. The rugged and magnificent scenery of Norway, with its fiords, its rapids, its cataracts, its dark forests and snowy mountains, its herds of reindeer and clouds of birds, has strongly attracted the Teutonic imagination. It has flown back to the mountains of Scandinavia as to its native seats, and inhaled the spirit which, in the mighty island of the west, has inspired the kindred genius of poetry:—

"Oh, lover of the desert, hail!
Say in what wild and pathless vale,
Or in what lonely mountain-side,
Midst falls of water, you reside!
Midst broken rocks—a rugged scene—
With green and grassy dales between;
Midst forests dark of aged oak,
Ne'er echoing to the woodman's stroke,
Where Nature loves to sit alone,
Majestic, on her craggy throne!"—WARTON.

79. German architecture.

Architecture has shared in the general movement of the German mind during the last half-century, and many imposing monuments of that noble art have arisen in the German field. They differ from the stately cathedrals of the medieval ages; they have not the austere but impressive gloom of the Gothic style. They share in the brilliancy of Grecian imagination, without the passion for variety which has corrupted its style in the Italian cities. The magnificent peristyle of the Walhalla overhangs in awful sublimity the stream of the Danube; the beautiful fronts of the Glyptothek charm the eye amidst the pillared scenery of Munich. Nowhere is to be seen a finer specimen of the masculine grandeur of the Doric style than in the Brandenburg Gate of Berlin, or of the riches of the Ionic and Corinthian, than in the palace-front and some of the public edifices of that capital. Yet is it perhaps to be regretted that the vast genius of Germany has in this art in a manner forgot its proper vocation, and sought the beautiful in the refinement of imitation rather than the boldness of originality. Certainly the stately magnificence of the cathedral of Ulm, the graceful spire of Strasbourg, the exquisite beauty of that of Cologne, destined to be the most perfect Gothic edifice in the world, show that the Teutonic genius has no need to recur to the Parthenon of Athens, or St Peter's of Rome, for the most impressive models of architectural beauty.

If it be true, as the wisest of men in every age have affirmed, that

"Music hath charms to tame the savage breast,"

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there is no country which should be so civilised as Germany, for there is none where melody has so profoundly moved the hearts of the people. The taste for it is not confined, as in some other countries, to the higher or more cultivated classes, but extends to the whole inhabitants. Enter that church in Silesia, and you will hear Luther's Hymn sung in a style which would do honour to any opera in Europe; join in the evening devotions of that cottage in Saxony, and you will see how music has softened and refined those rugged breasts; join in the enraptured circle which surrounds the magnificent assemblage of regimental bands on the Parade of Mayence, and the strong bent of German taste to the enjoyments of music will at once appear. Nothing has so much tended to advance the civilisation and refine the feelings of the country as this strong and universal disposition; for alone of all the creations of human genius, music is necessarily and universally pure and ennobling in its influence. Literature may be perverted to the worst of purposes, and become the corrupter instead of the purifier of mankind; painting, by the exhibition of meretricious objects, can too powerfully inflame the senses; poetry may become the syren which lures us by the light of genius to perdition; but the influence of music can never be pernicious, or lead to anything but the refinement of the feelings. Incapable of application to any purpose of practical utility, having no voice which reaches the other senses, it only speaks the more powerfully to the heart; and rouses, by its all-magic influence, when not indulged to such a degree as to enervate the mind, no other feelings but those which tend to deeds of heroism or thoughts of love.

80. General passion for music in Germany.

81. Beethoven.

BEETHOVEN is by common consent, and the universal opinion of the best judges, put at the very head of modern composers. Sublimity and variety are his great characteristics; he is the Michael Angelo of music. Like

that great master of painting, his conceptions are vast and daring, and his powers equal to their full expression. He is essentially, and beyond any other composer, sublime; but, like Milton, he knows how to relieve intense emotion by the awakening of softer feelings; and none can more powerfully thrill the heart by grandeur and melt it by symphony. Music in his hands exhibits its full powers, and takes its place at once where Madame de Staël has assigned it, as the first of the fine arts, the most ethereal in its nature, the most refining in its tendency, the most severed from the grossness of sense, and which penetrates at once, like a sunbeam from heaven, into the inmost recesses of the soul. Beethoven's pieces, however, like Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Michael Angelo's frescoes, are not adapted for ordinary capacities, nor are they calculated to awaken universal admiration. They are too complicated for an uninitiated ear, which is always most powerfully attracted by simplicity and melody. Beyond any other of the fine arts, the pleasure of music is felt by the most illiterate classes; you cannot see a military band go through the street without perceiving that. But a scientific education, and no small proficiency in the art, are indispensable to a perception of its highest excellences, which none feel entirely but such as are themselves capable of expressing them.

82. Mozart.

If Beethoven is the Michael Angelo of music, MOZART is its Raphael. Not less than that divine master of the sister art, his inmost soul was filled with the mysterious harmonies, the thrilling thoughts, which, emerging, as it were, through the chinks of thought, fill the minds of all who feel this influence with sympathetic rapture. They throw the mind for a few seconds or minutes into a species of trance or reverie, too enchanting for long endurance, and which affords perhaps the nearest foretaste which this world presents of the joys of heaven. It is the peculiarity of the highest efforts and most perfect

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productions of the fine arts alone to produce this ephemeral reverie, and when it is awakened it is the same in all. The emotion produced by the Holy Families of Raphael is identical with that awakened by the symphonies of Mozart, and akin to that which springs from the contemplation of the Parthenon of Athens, or reflection on the *Penseroso* of Milton. Mozart had the very highest powers; but though gifted with the faculty of producing the sublime, he inclined, like Schiller, to the tender or pathetic, and never moved the heart so profoundly as when his lyre rung responsive to the wail of affection or the notes of love.

83. Haydn.

HAYDN was a very great composer, but his character was different as a whole from either Beethoven or Mozart. His conceptions were in the highest degree sublime; human imagination never conceived anything more lofty than some bursts in the "Creation." They have rendered into sound with magic force the idea, "Let there be light; and there was light." If a continued comparison is permitted to the great masters of the pencil, he was the Anibale Caracci of music. Like him, his powers were great and various, but he aimed rather at their display than the expression of genuine heartfelt feeling. Not that he was without sentiment, and could not, when he so inclined, give it the most charming expression; no great master in any of the fine arts ever was without it. But it was not the native bent of his mind; that led him rather to the exhibition of his great and varied powers. His reputation with the world in general is perhaps greater than that of Beethoven, because there is more simplicity in his compositions; one key-note is more uniformly sounded, and a single emotion which can be shared by all is more effectively produced. But for that very reason he is less the object of impassioned admiration to the gifted few to whom the highest powers and deepest mysteries of the art are familiar, and who

know how that great master could wield the former and penetrate the latter.

84. Handel.

No Englishman need be told that HANDEL was a very great composer. In the composition of warlike music—of those strains which are to animate the soldier in the field of battle, and cause danger and wounds and death to be forgotten—he never was surpassed. It was not merely, however, in the composition of these animating and heart-stirring pieces that Handel was great; his powers were as various as they were transcendant, and no one has ever expressed the feelings of piety, the glow of adoration, with greater effect by the wordless but all-powerful eloquence of the ear. No musical festival can ever take place without his works occupying a prominent place, and from age to age they will continue, like the poems of Homer, to enchant successive generations, and perpetuate, in the most aerial of the fine arts, the glory of the Fatherland.

85. Mendelssohn.

It has been the extraordinary lot of Germany to have produced almost in a single generation five of the greatest musical composers which the world ever knew. Little inferior to any of the three who had gone before him in the peculiar branches in which they excelled, MENDELSSOHN was superior to any in the felicity with which he wielded their varied powers. If his immortal predecessors exceeded him in separate compositions, he was superior to them in the genius of his combinations, and the bewitching manner in which he united in a single piece all the charms of melody and all the magic of harmony. Of him, as compared with Beethoven and Mozart, may be said, in the words of the poet, applied to the masters of song—

> "The first in loftiness of thought surpassed,
> The next in tenderness—in both the last:
> The force of Nature could no farther go;
> To make a third, she joined the other two."

Mendelssohn's genius is of the very highest kind;

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there is no one capable of judging of the subject who does not regard it with the utmost enthusiasm. Beyond any other known composer—more so than either Rossini or Mozart—his compositions unite many and varied beauties, indicating a mind full of conceptions, and capable of turning its vast powers at will to the expression of any sentiment, the expression of any charm. In his "Lieder ohne Worte," of world-wide reputation, and his "Overture to the Midsummer Night's Dream," he has shown himself as thorough a master of tenderness and brilliancy, as in his oratorios of "St Paul" and "Elijah" he has of the lofty and sublime. This is the invariable characteristic of the highest class of genius—that which is master not less of itself than others, and can regulate even in its wildest flights the powers of an imagination which charms the world by a strength of mind which nothing can shake, a delicacy of taste which nothing can pervert.

86. Spohr and Glück.

SPOHR, the author of the celebrated opera of "Faust," and GLÜCK, of many famed ones, in particular "Iphigenie," are both too celebrated in the musical world not to deserve a place in the gallery, however imperfect, of German genius during the last half-century. Their merits, universally appreciated by the musical world, are less so by the public in general, for a reason peculiar to music, or at least more applicable to it than to any other of the fine arts. This is, that though it is the one of the fine arts which in its simpler form is most universally felt by the whole of mankind, it is the one which, in its more complicated, is felt in its full force by the smallest circle. In truth, no one can duly appreciate, or even understand, the higher branches of music, to whom nature has not given not merely the delicacy of ear requisite for appreciating the charm of sound, but the flexibility and power of hand capable of producing it. Like the figures of Michael Angelo, he must be a thorough draughtsman who can even understand them.

87. Reflections on the influence of recent disasters on the German mind.

Lord Bacon says that felicities are the blessings of the Old Testament, and misfortunes of the New. Never was a more striking example of the truth of this profound observation afforded than in the intellectual resurrection of Germany during the last half-century. It is sometimes well for nations as well as individuals to be in affliction. Compare the selfishness and egotism, the courtly corruption and popular indifference, the aristocratic pride and general submissiveness of the first part of this period, with the generous sacrifices and heroic struggles of the war of liberation, the intellectual activity, social amelioration, and vast stride in national energy, and in the development of the elements of future freedom which have succeeded it, and the immense impulse given to the German mind by the war of the French Revolution will at once appear. It is not in vain that their fields have been drenched with blood; that the chariot of Napoleon has rolled over their surface; that the iron of subjugation has entered their soul, its bitterness been brought home to every dwelling; with those mortifications the courage was strengthened which might redress, in that agony the spirit was inhaled which might overcome them. Periods of suffering are seldom in the end lost to the cause of humanity, or the moral discipline of nations; it is the sunshine of prosperity which spreads the fatal corruption. The parallel bursts of Grecian genius after the Persian invasion; of Roman, with the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey; in Italy, after the effort of the Crusades; in England, with the Great Rebellion; in France, with the Revolution; in Germany, after the war of Liberation, prove that periods of national disaster form part of the general system of Divine administration, and are the great means by which individual selfishness is obliterated by common feeling, and energy called forth by the rude discipline of suffering.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FRANCE FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE HEREDITARY PEERAGE IN DECEMBER 1831, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT BY THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REVOLT IN THE CLOISTER OF ST MÉRI IN JUNE 1832, AND THE TREATY WITH HOLLAND IN MAY 1833.

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1. Great increase of the power of the Crown from these changes.

By the suppression of the Hereditary Peerage, and vesting the choice of the members of the Upper House for life in the executive, the French Revolutionists had carried out their principles, which were less directed against the Crown than the aristocracy, and aimed rather at equality of political rights than the establishment of security from restraint or personal freedom. But by so doing they had immensely increased the power of the executive magistrate, by whatever name he might be called, because they had rendered all the authorities in the State dependent upon his appointment, and made the Tuileries the centre from which not only all the real power, but all the lucrative patronage of the Government was to flow. To a generation thirsting for pleasure and excitement, and tormented with artificial wants, which, save from government appointments, they had no means of gratifying, this circumstance before long gave an immense preponderance to the Crown. Asiatic had been exchanged for European civilisation; the prefects had come in place of the pashas; but with that change had come also the loss of that hereditary independence and fixity of purpose, which, from the influence of territorial possessions descending from father to son, has characterised European society,

and in its room had been substituted the ephemeral changes of the Asiatic governments, where everything depends on the vigour and capacity of the chief. But these effects were future: in the mean time the result of the triumph of democracy was a vast addition to the power of the Executive; and the Citizen King, strong in the support of the army, the National Guard, the burgher Liberals, and a portion of the liberal press, all of whom were retained in his service by the influence of the immense patronage which he enjoyed, was for the present at least beyond the reach of attack.

2. Social dangers of the Government of France.

But though the political revolution was over, and the throne of Louis Philippe, so far as external appearances went, firmly established, the interior of society was in a very different state, and the seeds of evil were beginning to germinate which were destined in the end to overturn it. The state of the working classes, especially in the great towns, which, as already shown,[1] had rapidly deteriorated since, and in consequence of, the first Revolution, had been brought to a perfect climax of horror by the effects of the second. The almost entire stoppage of purchases and expenditure in France, in consequence of the terrors which had seized all the affluent classes, combined with the corresponding reductions in the English market, from the effect of the simultaneous Reform agitation in that country, had reduced all who were engaged in the production of luxuries—that is, the immense majority of the working classes—to the last stages of destitution. It was hard to say whether the vine-growers of the Gironde, the silk-weavers of Lyons, the cotton-spinners of Rouen, the jewellers or the printers of Paris, were in the greatest distress. In Bordeaux there were twenty-two thousand workmen out of employment; in Paris the number exceeded sixty thousand. At Nismes the fancy silks had sunk to a third in price, and the wages of the workmen had undergone a similar diminution. Montpellier, which depended chiefly on the sale of wines, was

[1] Ante, c. xvii. §§ 128, 134.

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in the utmost distress, and loudly complained of the recent rise in the *octroi* on that article; and in Lyons the suffering had become such, that the only question seemed to be when a half of the entire inhabitants were to expire of famine. From 4 to 6 francs a-day (3s. 4d. to 5s.), which they had been in the time of Charles X., the wages of skilled workmen had fallen successively to 40, 35, 25 sous; and at length, in October 1831, matters had come to such a pass, that the most industrious workman could only earn 18 *sous* (8d.) *a-day* by working eighteen hours; and even at those miserable wages, numbers were out of employment altogether. Nor was the condition of the masters more consoling, for even at these low rates of wages, such had been the fall of prices in the manufactured article, that they could not work at a profit; and numerous failures among the most considerable, both threw numbers of workmen out of employment, and fearfully augmented the general consternation.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 18, 52.

3. L. Blanc's picture of the working classes in France at this period.

The general condition of the working classes in France at this period is thus set forth by the able Republican and Socialist historian; and his description, as a picture of their circumstances after two successful revolutions, deserves a place beside that which Gibbon has transcribed from the contemporary annalists of the condition of the Eternal City at the time of its capture by the Goths: "Never had society been abandoned to such disorders as those which now afflicted it under the direction of its official guides. There was an incessant strife of masters for the command of the market,—of workmen for the command of employment; of the masters against the workman for the fixing of his wages,—of the workman against the machine destined to destroy by superseding him; such was, under the name of free competition, the picture of the situation of France, viewed in an industrial aspect. What a picture of social disorder! The great capitalists gaining the victory in the strife, as the strong battalions in the field of battle, and the principle of *laissez faire* leading to

results as ruinous as the most odious monopolies; the great manufacturers ruining the small, and the great merchants the lesser; usury by degrees gaining possession of the soil,—*a modern feudality worse than the old;* the landed property burdened by debt to above a thousand millions (£40,000,000); independent artisans giving place to those who are mere serfs; capital ingulfing itself with shameless avidity in the most perilous undertakings; all interests armed, the one against the other! The proprietor of vines at open war with the proprietor of woods; the raisers of sugar with the raisers of beetroot; the colonies, the seaport towns, with the manufacturers in the interior; the provinces of the north against the provinces of the south; Bordeaux against Paris; here markets overflowing to the despair of the capitalists, there workshops shut to the despair of the workmen; commerce turned into a struggle of legalised frauds and understood falsehood; the nation advancing to the reconstruction of feudality, by usury of a financial oligarchy, by credit; the discoveries of science turned only into instruments of oppression; the conquests of genius over nature into arms for the conflict; tyranny multiplied in some degree by the very magnitude of progress!

4. Miserable condition of the working classes.

"Turn to the working classes: is their condition more encouraging? The *prolétaire* servant of a master workman seeking, on a crisis, his bread by beggary or revolt; the father of the workman going at sixty years of age to die in an hospital; his daughter at sixteen prostituting herself to gain a livelihood; his son doomed to breathe from seven years of age the contaminated air of great workshops, to add to the earnings of the family; *the bed of the workman, rendered improvident by misery, becoming horribly fruitful,* and the *prolétaires* menacing the kingdom with an inundation of beggars! Such was the material condition of society. On the other hand, so far as their moral condition was concerned, no attachment to traditions; the spirit of inquiry, denying everything,

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and yet affirming nothing, and acknowledging no other religion but the love of gain. Marriage made a matter of speculation, an object of business,—a sort of industrial speculation,—the cheapest way of providing a person to serve in a shop. As marriage, though contracted in that hideous fashion, was declared indissoluble by law, the want of divorce was in Paris and all the great towns almost always supplied by adultery. To the disorders which arose in families from the fragility of the nuptial tie, was joined the unseemly spectacle of the children disputing for the crumbs of the paternal inheritance with each other, or with their mother.

5. Wretchedness of the working classes, and their consequent profligacy.

"In the working classes, the dissolution of families proceeded from a different cause, but one still more painful. Money among them was the main cause of prostitution. Marriage being among the *prolétaires* nothing but an increase of burdens, and libertinism an effort to escape from suffering, poverty came in a manner to be linked to poverty; misery engendered concubinage, and concubinage infanticide. If the children were spared, it was only to be sent at the most tender age to manufactories, where the strength of the body was destroyed by premature and excessive labour, and the health of the mind destroyed by the contact of the sexes. There you see every morning at five, at the doors of the factories, a crowd of pale sickly children, with downcast eyes and livid cheeks, walking with bent backs, like old men. The social system, founded on competition, is to such a degree cruel and insensate, that it not only stifles the intelligence and depraves the disposition of the poor man's child, but it even withers up and extinguishes in them the principle of life. Hence it was that M. Charles Dupin said in the Chamber of Peers, that out of 10,000 young men conscribed in the ten chief manufacturing districts of France, 8980 were found to be infirm or deformed; while out of a similar number in the agricultural districts there were only 4029."[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 90, 92.

Doubtless it would be unjust to impute the whole of this hideous picture to the Revolution. Many causes concurred to bring such a state of things about; and those who are familiar with the social state of our principal manufacturing cities, will find some at least of these features, with which they are too familiar. The facts, too, brought out by the last census of Great Britain, that out of one hundred children born in Manchester and Liverpool only forty-nine and a half survive the age of five years, and that in London three-fifths of the persons above twenty years of age have been born elsewhere, lead to the conclusion that the physical consequences of such employment and accumulation of human beings are nearly as formidable with us as on the other side of the Channel.* But still this striking picture of the state of France, after two successful revolutions, at least demonstrates that such social convulsions have no tendency to *remove* the greatest and most serious of social evils. And when it is recollected how large a portion of the darkest features in this picture is ascribed by the Republican historian to the desperate effects of the principle of competition pervading all classes, it is evident that they must very much have *increased* them; for the principle of revolution is to introduce absolute freedom of competition into every department of industry; and its inevitable effect, by diminishing the consumption of the rich, is to lessen the demand for labour, and increase the competition for employment.

6. The Revolution was not the cause of these evils, but it aggravated them.

From whatever cause they arose, the social evils of

* In Glasgow, it appears from the admirable statistical tables prepared by my esteemed friend Dr Strang, that in the years 1853-1854, which were two of uncommon prosperity, the deaths of children under five years of age were 7046 and 6679 respectively, the registered births only 7597 and 8735 in these years, showing a rate of mortality much more alarming than either Manchester or Liverpool. There is reason to believe, however, that the real births were 13,000; showing still the deaths under five years of age above 50 per cent of the whole. "Without a constant immigration from the country," says Dr Strang, "into the city, Glasgow, instead of continuing a city of progression, would be retrogressive in its population."—*Social and Economic Statistics of Glasgow*, 1855. By Dr Strang. Pp. 7-18.

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7. Commencement of the Lyons insurrection, and condition of the workmen there.

the manufacturing classes were such, in the latter months of the year 1831, that a convulsion had plainly become inevitable. Opinions differed among economists as to the causes to which the inordinate distress was owing. Some, among whom was the celebrated M. Say, had the courage to avow that they were mainly owing to the frantic innovations of the Constituent Assembly, which, by destroying all guilds, fraternities, and associations among the working classes, had added tenfold force to the principle of competition, and left isolated destitute workmen, without leaders or corporate funds, to maintain a hopeless contest with their masters, resting on the resources of realised capital. Others, who were called the St Simonians, from the Duke de St Simon, their well-known leader, were of opinion that the capitalist was the real enemy of the workmen equally with the consumers of their produce, and that the only way to reinstate labour in the rights of which it had been defrauded was to get quit of that class of employers altogether, and thus divide among the operatives the entire profits arising from the sale of the produce of their labour. As this system, however, absolutely required an advance of capital while the work was going on, M. Enfantin, the present leader of that sect, published a prospectus of an elaborate plan, according to which, it was said, by means of an inconvertible paper money, and myriads of shares allotted to the workmen, the necessary capital might be provided in the mean time to carry on the work till the sales came in. This project, which appeared in *Le Globe* newspaper, conducted by M. Chevalier, a great advocate of these principles, appeared to Government so dangerous, that a prosecution was instituted against the responsible editor of the newspaper for permitting its insertion. In Great Britain it has experienced a much more decided check than from the penalties of the law, by having been repeatedly tried and always failed. But meanwhile the distress in Lyons became so excessive that distant remedies could no longer

be thought of. Instant relief was required, and the people loudly demanded, as they generally do in such cases, a forcible interposition of the constituted authorities to fix a *minimum*, below which wages should not be permitted to fall, whatever the prices of the produce might be.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 409, 411; L. Blanc, iii. 53, 54.

So ignorant were both the civil and military authorities in Lyons, at the time, of the principles which should regulate their conduct on such a crisis, that they went into these demands of the workmen; and a meeting of the "Prudhommes," a sort of synod of workmen, called by General Roguet, the commander of the garrison, at once passed a resolution in favour of the fixing of a *minimum* for the workmen's wages.* The prefect of the city, M. Bouvier-Dumolard, a well-meaning and humane, but weak and partially instructed man, immediately adopted this principle, and on the 15th October called a meeting of the chamber of commerce, and mayors of Lyons and the three adjoining suburbs, at which it was agreed that the basis of the proposed tariff should be openly debated between twenty-two workmen, elected by that class, and a like number of masters, appointed by the chamber of commerce, which was entirely composed of the masters. This concession to the principle contended for by the workmen excited great alarm among the master manufacturers over all France, who greatly dreaded the fixing of a tariff which the miserably low prices for every species of manufactured produce would render them unable to pay. The workmen, on the other hand, who could not be brought to see that if the *minimum* fixed was more than the masters could afford to pay, it would only lead to their own dismissal, loudly applauded the steps which had been taken;[2] and the excitement among them

8. Absurd measures of the governor and prefect for fixing a tariff. Oct. 11, 1831.

Oct. 15.

[2] L. Blanc, iii. 34, 35; Cap. v. 417, 419; Ann. Hist. xiv. 276, 399.

* "Considérant qu'il est de notoriété publique que beaucoup de fabricants paient réellement des façons trop minimes, il est utile qu'un *tarif au minimum* soit fixé pour le prix des façons."—*Declaration*, 11th Oct. 1851; L. Blanc, iii. 63.

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had already become very great before the 25th October, the day fixed for the discussion, arrived.

9. Progress of the strife between the masters and workmen.

On that day the appearance of the population was such as to excite the most serious disquietude. An immense multitude of workmen assembled on the heights of Croix-Rousse, where they principally resided, and silently and peaceably, but in military array, descended through the town to the Place Bellecour, where the discussion was to go on. They had no arms, but a huge tricolor flag waved in the centre of the column, and a ribbon in the button-hole indicated the leaders they were respectively bound to obey. After a long discussion, a tariff was agreed on, and signed on both sides. The joy of the workmen at this victory was excessive; their houses were all illuminated in the evening, and songs of triumph and festivity were heard in all the public-houses on the night of the signature. Proportionally great was the dismay among the masters, who loudly complained that the whole thing was unwarranted by law; that the concession on the part of their delegates had been extorted by threats and intimidation; and that those delegates had been appointed at a meeting of masters which a number of them had not attended, and by the proceedings of which they were not bound. All murmured against the tariff. Some refused to abide by it. They were prosecuted for their refusal before the council of "Prudhommes," and decree went against them. This only made matters worse. The general discontent among the masters went on increasing; and at length, on November 10, four hundred of the principal masters of Lyons signed a protest against the tariff, and declared they would no longer be bound by it. M. Dumolard, upon this, saw he had gone too far, and wrote a letter to the council of "Prudhommes," to say that the tariff had not the force of law, and therefore was not obligatory, except on such as chose to abide by it.[1] At the same time the Chamber of Commerce at Paris published a manifesto against the

Nov. 10.

Nov. 17.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 36, 39; Moniteur, Nov. 19, 1831; Cap. v. 419, 420.

tariff and the conduct of M. Dumolard, and Government testified its displeasure at what had been done, and recommended that the tariff should be allowed quietly to become a dead letter.

10. Commencement of the insurrection.

But it is an easier matter to excite the hopes and passions of a starving multitude than to allay them when once excited. The murmurs and discontent of the workmen were now as loud as those of the masters had formerly been, and a review of the national guard of Lyons on the 20th November brought matters to a crisis. Some, and they were the richest portion, were clothed in the splendid uniform of the Restoration; the legions from the poorer quarters were arrayed in the humbler garb prescribed in the last ordinances of Louis Philippe. This difference gave rise to sarcasms and menaces, and everything announced a rupture on the day following. The prefect requested an interview with General Roguet; but the latter had become distrustful of him, from his leaning to the popular side, and refused to see him. The regular troops in Lyons only amounted to three thousand men, and on one of the regiments (the 66th of the line) little reliance could be placed. Bouvier-Dumolard had remonstrated with Government on the weakness of the garrison, but his representations met with no attention. General Roguet persisted in declaring that his measures were already taken, that there was nothing to fear; and the mayor of the Croix-Rousse shared his fatal security. Thus nothing was done to guard against the approaching danger but to station guards at the five gates leading from the Croix-Rousse to Lyons; while the workmen on that eminence spent the night in the most vigorous preparations for a decisive conflict on the succeeding day.[1]

Nov. 20.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 60, 61; Cap. v. 419; Ann. Hist. xiv. 280, 281.

11. The insurrection spreads, and proves successful.

At seven in the morning of the 21st, some hundred silk-weavers set out from the Croix-Rousse, and, descending towards Lyons, began forcibly to eject from the workshops those of the workmen who had agreed to take less than the tariff. They were met by a column of grenadiers

Nov. 21.

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of the national guard, composed of the masters; and as they refused to retire, the national guard fired, and eight workmen fell severely wounded. Upon this the body retreated hastily to Croix-Rousse, where they spread, uttering cries of despair through the streets and lanes. Immediately a frightful tumult arose. Everywhere the cry was heard, "Aux armes! on assassine nos frères!" and with the rapidity of lightning, furious combatants issued from every house, armed with sticks, stones, and pitchforks. More effective weapons, however, were soon found in the muskets and two guns of the national guard, which from the workmen's quarters of the city all joined them. Armed by this important accession of force, the workmen arrayed themselves in columns, threw up barricades, and again descended into the city, preceded by a banner, bearing the words, which are sublime from the intensity of feeling they exhibited, "Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combatant." [1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 64, 65; Cap. v. 419, 421; Moniteur, Nov. 26, 1831.

12. Half the national guard join the insurgents, who make the prefect prisoner.

The remainder of the 20th was spent in vain endeavours on the part of M. Dumolard and General Roguet to effect an accommodation. The workmen demanded wages which the masters asserted would render sales on their part under existing circumstances impossible. The *générale* beat in all quarters of the town, but not a third of the national guard appeared, and those of the Croix-Rousse, La Guillotine, and the other suburbs, all took part with the insurgents.* More than half of the entire civic force of Lyons had joined them before the night of the 21st, and of such as had not, nearly the whole had disappeared and left their ranks. The prefect, in one of the parleys, when he was endeavouring to persuade the workmen to desist, was surrounded and made prisoner. General Ordonneau, who commanded the national guard, was also made prisoner in the same manner, and the insur-

* "Des quatre bataillons de la Garde Nationale de Lyon, on peut à peine réunir six cents hommes,—deux bataillons presque entiers, composés en majeure partie des ouvriers des quartiers de St Georges et de St Jean, passerent dans les rangs des insurgés, ainsi que ceux de la Guillotine et de la Croix-Rousse."—*Depêche du Prefect*, 22 Nov. 1831; CAPEFIGUE, v. 420.

gents profited by that circumstance to force from him a written order to the only battalion of the national guard which still resisted, to retire; which they, not knowing of his captivity, immediately did. Meanwhile the fire of the national guards from the heights of Croix-Rousse on the streets below was so violent, that the regular troops were forced to retire, leaving the pavement covered with their dead. Towards night M. Dumolard and General Ordonneau were liberated by the rebels, in hopes that they might effect an accommodation; but the thing proved impossible, and both parties prepared, during the night, for a decisive conflict on the morrow.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 65, 67; Cap. v. 420, 421; Ann. Hist. xiv. 280, 284.

13. Desperate strife in the streets of Lyons.

The morning of the 22d was ushered in with mournful presages for the inhabitants of Lyons. The dismal clang of the tocsin was heard from the steeple of St Paul's, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the whole inhabitants repaired to their different rallying-points, to take part on one side or another in the approaching conflict. At two in the morning the 40th regiment of the line arrived from Trévoux, but the reinforcements which the insurgents received were much more considerable. The sound of the tocsin, the discharges of the cannon, the rattle of the musketry, brought the whole population of the neighbouring towns and villages into Lyons, many of whom were national guards with their arms, who forthwith joined the insurgents. The strife soon became general. General Roguet established a battery of guns to command the bridges Morand and Lafayette, from whence multitudes were pouring out of the Quartier des Brotteaux into Lyons, and for some time it had the desired effect. But meanwhile the whole city was in insurrection, and the regular troops, stationed in force on a few points, found themselves surrounded by bodies of insurgents four times their own number, for the most part composed of national guards as skilful in the use of arms as themselves. Cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" were heard on all sides: from having been social, the insurrection had become political. The national guards on the side of

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Government gradually slipped away; before evening there were not thirty around their standards. The troops of the line in some instances fraternised with, and refused to act against them; in all, they opposed only a languid and reluctant resistance. They could not see how that could be wrong at Lyons which had been the object of such unbounded eulogy at Paris in the preceding year. At length, towards evening, the troops were driven back at all points to the Hôtel de Ville, which their chief rightly judged was untenable, as they had no communications or provisions. Accordingly, he resolved to evacuate the city, and take a position on some of the adjoining heights, there to await reinforcements and farther orders. The insurgents tried to bar their retreat, but a sustained fire soon dispersed the armed multitude which made the attempt. Attenuated by fatigue, and thinned in numbers, but still maintaining their military aspect, and bearing with them their cannons and wounded, the troops arrived at midnight at Montessuy, where they took up a position.—The insurgents immediately occupied the Hôtel de Ville, and established a provisional government for the management of the city.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 72, 75; Cap. v. 423, 424; Rapport du M. Dumolard, Nov. 22, 1831. Ibid.

14. Extreme alarm at Paris, and vigorous measures of the Government.

The first intelligence which the Government received of these events was by a telegraphic message, which simply announced that "an insurrection has broken out at Lyons, and the city is in the hands of the insurgents." The remainder of the telegraphic message was illegible from fog. The utmost alarm immediately seized upon both the Government and the people. In the twinkling of an eye, the most alarming rumours were in circulation;—that the insurrection had spread like lightning through all the adjoining towns and villages; that the workmen of St Etienne, Vienne, and Tarars had united with those of Lyons; that insurrections had broken out at Grenoble and Toulon, and that Rouen and Bordeaux were prepared to follow the example. Such was the general panic that the Funds fell 5 per cent in a single day. But whatever apprehensions were felt by the Government, no vacillation or want of

resolution appeared in their measures. A cabinet council was immediately held, at which M. Casimir Périer exhibited the utmost irritation at the revolt, and called for the most vigorous measures for its repression. Marshal Soult, who, as war-minister, was present, declared, "that he would engage to prevent the movement from proceeding farther, if clothed with sufficient powers. He should be authorised to assemble sufficient forces round Lyons: they should march instantly upon that city, so as not to give it time to know what it was about. An old soldier himself, he would not spare his person; he would speak to the regiments,—he would restore their courage. The more force there was displayed, the less blood would be shed. In order to give an air of clemency to the proceeding, the Prince-Royal should accompany Marshal Soult, that measures of mercy might reflect their lustre on the Crown." This wise advice was unanimously agreed to: it was determined to give no terms to the rebels, but insist on unconditional surrender; and orders were immediately despatched by the telegraph for all the troops within fifty miles of Lyons to converge with the utmost expedition towards that city, and join General Roguet in position before it.[1]

[1] Cap. v. 430, 432; Moniteur, Nov. 26, 1831; Ann. Hist. xiv. 292, 293.

15. Extraordinary state of Lyons after the revolt.

Meanwhile Lyons exhibited a spectacle perhaps unique in the history of the world. The prefect had remained at the Hôtel de Ville when the troops withdrew, with the laudable design of being a check upon the insurgents, by whom he was much beloved. The real power, however, resided with them, as he had no force, civil or military, at his disposal; and to their honour be it said, no acts of outrage or disorder disgraced the victory of the people. They even went so far as to station guards and sentinels at all the important points to preserve order, and aid in transporting the wounded of both sides to the hospitals. They seemed to have no definite or ulterior object in view, but, like the Vendeans, thought the victory was gained, and nothing remained to do when the enemy was driven out of their streets. The prefect

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still issued his orders from the Hôtel de Ville, which were generally obeyed, though, as might be supposed, they were such as accorded with the wishes of the workmen; and he engaged to exert his influence to the uttermost to obtain the restoration of the tariff, and an advance in the wages of labour.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 82, 83; Cap. v. 432, 433.

16. Arrival of Marshal Soult and the Duke of Orléans, and submission of Lyons. Dec. 3.

But this pleasing illusion was of short duration. General Roguet had already collected seven thousand men in his camp at Montessuy, when the telegraph announced to him the vigorous resolutions of the Government. Reinforcements rapidly poured in on all sides. On the evening of the 2d December, forty thousand men, with one hundred pieces of cannon, were collected round Lyons, and at midnight of the 3d a salvo of artillery announced the arrival of the Prince-Royal and Marshal Soult at the camp. The Marshal spoke in severe terms to the regiments which had failed in their duty, and published a proclamation to the citizens, ordering instant submission and the delivery of all arms. Resistance was hopeless — in presence of so great a force, and on the day following the Marshal made his entrance at the head of his troops, with drums beating, matches lighted, bayonets fixed, and sabres drawn, in the midst of all the pomp and circumstance of war. Stupified and terrified, the workmen attempted no resistance, and the most decisive measures were immediately adopted to break their power. The disarming was instantly and rigorously enforced, the national guard disbanded, a garrison of twenty thousand men stationed in the city, and the Croix-Rousse, where the insurrection had begun, surrounded by a girdle of forts, armed with mortars. M. Dumolard was censured, and his resignation accepted, and a new prefect appointed of firm character, and entirely devoted to the existing Government.[2] *

[2] L. Blanc, iii. 82, 85; Cap. v. 433, 435; Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1831.

So ignorant were the most sagacious politicians in

* The terrible results of the attempt on the part of M. Dumolard to interfere, by positive enactment, in regulating the wages of labour, demonstrates

France at that period of the magnitude of the *social* evils which then pressed upon the country, and were destined in the end to lead to such frightful results, that the public mind was entirely relieved when it was discovered what the insurrection really was directed against. "It is nothing," said the organs of Government; "it is only a dispute between masters and workmen about their wages." "Assured," said the *Journal des Débats*, "of external peace, surrounded by a powerful army united under the tricolor flag, the Government have no cause to apprehend anything from this insurrection but local and private suffering—very serious without doubt, but which will be lessened by the force of legal repression." The Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King, in which they said: "We hasten to lay before your majesty the unanimous wish of the deputies of France, that you should oppose to these deplorable excesses the whole power of the laws. Personal security has been violently attacked, property menaced in its principle, the liberty of industry threatened with destruction, the voice of the magistrates disregarded. These disorders must instantly cease, such attempts must be energetically repressed. Entire France is wounded in the attack made on the rights of all in the persons of some citizens; it owes them a decisive protection." There can be no doubt of the truth of these words; but it is singular that it had never occurred to the legislature,

False views on this insurrection generally entertained in France.

the extreme danger of any such interposition on the part of those invested with authority. Such dangers are by no means unknown in this country. The Author has been repeatedly urged, during strikes and periods of mercantile depression, by the cotton-spinners, colliers, iron-miners, and iron-moulders of Lanarkshire, to interpose his authority as chief magistrate of the county to a certain rate of wages, or to accept a submission on the part of the workmen to fix what they should be. He always declined, however, upon the grounds—1. That he had no power to fix wages; 2. That if he had the power he would not exercise it, because if he fixed the rate too low, it would do the workmen no good; if too high, it would lead to their being dismissed, and the works being closed, and thus essentially injure them. The distress on which the applications were founded, has been often as great in his experience in Glasgow as it was in Lyons in 1831, when M. Dumolard sanctioned the tariff.

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when they overturned the government of Charles X., that the example then so generally applauded might be repeated, and under circumstances of general distress, when it might be more readily embraced by the great body of the working classes. The evils now so much contemned as a "mere dispute between masters and workmen about wages," within seventeen years afterwards overturned the throne of Louis Philippe, and convulsed every monarchy in Europe! One of the most curious and instructive lessons which history teaches is the entire formation of general opinion in all ranks by present events, and the impossibility of getting the great majority of men even to reflect upon the past or anticipate the future.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 26, 1831; L. Blanc, iii. 85, 86.

18. Renewed efforts of the Republicans. Armand Carrel.

The Republicans were much more alive to the signs of the times. Without disquieting themselves more than the burgher representatives in the legislature with the causes of the general distress or the means of obviating it, they were content to take the existing suffering as it stood, and to make use of it as a powerful engine to overturn the Government. They accordingly set themselves vigorously to work to improve their present advantages, both in the press and the legislature. On January 2, M. ARMAND CARREL, in the *National*, openly declared for a republic; and a few days after, M. Garnier Pages entered the Chamber of Deputies avowedly to support the same principle. The former of these men bore too conspicuous a part in the disturbances which ensued in the course of the year, not to deserve a place in contemporary history. His appearance and manners, his erect stature, piercing eye, and intrepid air, bespoke rather the soldier than the civilian, and his early life had been passed in camps. An officer under the Restoration, he had been faithless to his oaths, and joined in the conspiracy of Befort; repeatedly tried before courts-martial for accession to plots, he had escaped them all; a refugee in Spain, he had borne arms there against the white flag.

Upon the ruin of the Peninsular republicans by the French invasion of 1823, he came to Paris, where he gained a livelihood by writing for the most violent democratic journals, and soon acquired a reputation by the vigour of his ideas and the fearlessness of his language. Irony and sarcasm were his favourite weapons, and these he wielded with tremendous effect. He did little to defend his own principles; he took them for granted, and bent the whole force of his intellect to wither and crush his adversaries. His writings exhibit little information, and no traces of originality of thought, but great vigour and capacity in individual encounter. A political dispute with him was like a single combat, in which he freely hazarded his own life, and sought only to destroy that of his adversary. But though this turn of mind deprives his writings of all value for future times, or as a magazine of thought, they only rendered them the more attractive to the present, with which a dispute of persons is always more exciting than one of principles, and which is ever happy to step from a strife of parties into a duel of individuals.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 142, 143; Cap. vi. 189.

19. Garnier Pages: his character.

GARNIER PAGES was in all these respects the very reverse of Armand Carrel, and as well fitted to win the suffrages of an adverse legislature as the latter was to excite the passions of concordant democracy. His youth had been spent in assiduous industry, the happy consequence often of apparently rigorous fortune, which had compelled him early in life to exertion. From the outset, however, he was set on great things; the ordinary advantages of wealth or station had for him no charm. "Do you take care of our fortune," said he to his brother; "I will labour for the glory of our name." Such energy and elevated objects were not long, as they seldom are, of meeting with their reward; and his entry into the Chamber brought him into the theatre where his peculiar talents had their most appropriate field for exertion. A long habit of close attention, great practical

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acquaintance with men, a temper proof against all the acerbities of strife, a ready elocution, and remarkable facility of expression, without any of the highest powers of eloquence, rendered him eminently qualified to contend in the Chamber with a hostile majority. Many men had been heard there more qualified to bear down opposition by the torrent of eloquence; none more fitted to disarm opposition by the charm of manner and the tact of expression. Though a decided Republican in his ideas, and the avowed organ of that party in the Assembly, he never rose without commanding the attention of all parties; and his bland manner and moderate ideas went far to detach the cause of a commonwealth from the bloody images with which it had been associated by the Reign of Terror.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 145, 146.

20. Strength of the republican press, and extravagance of the Court.

Under the direction of those able leaders, the republican party soon made itself felt both in the chamber and the public press. Several journals, particularly the *Fortune*, the *Revolution*, the *Movement*, the *National*, openly advocated republican ideas, and declaimed incessantly against the extravagance of the Court, and the entire departure of the King from the principles which had placed him upon the throne. M. de Cormenin in an especial manner excelled in this guerilla warfare, which was the more attractive to the multitude that it was levelled at individuals, not directed against principles. It must be confessed that the extravagance and insatiable demands of the courtiers afforded him too fair a subject of declamation. The civil list brought forward by Ministers proposed to settle no less than 18,535,500 francs (£748,000) a-year on the King: a sum, said the Republicans, thirty-seven times as large as that settled on Napoleon as First Consul, and an hundred and forty-eight times as large as the salary of the President of the United States of America.[2] The enormity of this grant was the more conspicuous from the circumstance that the private fortune of the King, derived from the noble

[2] L. Blanc, iii. 149, 157; Globe, Jan. 22, 1831.

restoration of it by Charles X., which he had not blended with the property of the Crown, in terms of the law of 8th November 1814, amounted to no less than 2,500,000 francs yearly (£100,000), besides 4,000,000 (£160,000) a-year from lands and forests.

21. Extravagance of the civil list.

To complete the picture of the results of the rule of the Citizen King, there appeared at the same time a notice from one of the boards of charity in Paris, to the effect that "24,000 persons on the lists of the poor in the twelfth arrondissement alone were without either bread or clothing." Already the people began to contrast the extravagance of the establishment of the revolutionary with the economy of that of the legitimist monarch; and it did not escape observation that the charges of the chapel-royal were ten times greater than they had been under Charles X., though no one accused Louis Philippe of being priest-ridden; that though he enjoyed excellent health, the apothecaries' bill was stated at 80,000 francs (£3200) yearly, being quadruple that of the gouty and decrepit Louis XVIII.; that 300 horses were set down at 1000 crowns a-head, being twice the salary of a member of the Privy Council or a member of the Institute; that the allowance for the personal service of the King was 3,773,000 francs (£150,000) a-year, though he affected a philosophic contempt for all physical enjoyments; and that the civil list of Charles X. never exceeded 11,500,000 francs (£450,000), though it was charged with numerous expenses thrown on the nation by his successor. So great was the clamour, that though the Ministers carried their grant to the King, no less than 180 members of the Chamber protested with Odillon Barrot against so extravagant a waste of the public money, and 107 actually voted against the grant. The truth was, that the King personally was not addicted, as many of his ancestors had been, to any great expenses, but he was surrounded by needy supporters, whose demands could not be refused:[1] and France now began to

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 154, 156.

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waken to the disagreeable truth, that the more democratic an old government is, the greater become its expenses; and that a throne surrounded by republican institutions, in reality means a throne surrounded by republican mendicants.

22. Great increase of the general expenditure.

These extravagant charges for the royal household were the ones most likely to irritate the people; but in reality they constituted a very small part of the national expenditure. The great bulk of it was occasioned by the vast additions made to the strength of the army; and they were so considerable, that the estimated expenditure of the year was stated by the Minister of Finance at above 1,100,000,000 francs (£44,000,000), being greatly above that of the last year of Charles X., which had been 987,000,000 francs only.* M. Lafitte boasted in the

* The budget of the year 1832 was thus stated by the Minister of Finance :—

Recettes.	Francs.	
Contributions directes,	353,136,909	
Additionelle,	1,077,000	
Timbre et domaines,	198,225,000	
Bois,	18,000,000	
Douanes,	60,910,000	
Contributions indirectes,	171,000,000	
Postes,	34,290,000	
Loterie,	8,000	
Salines et mines,	23,185,882	
Moyens extraordinaires,	148,498,267	
	1,116,323,058	or £44,750,000

Dépenses.	Francs.	
Dette consolidée,	215,768,242	
Flotante pensions, &c.,	129,686,661	
Dotations,	17,228,417	
Justice,	18,374,700	
Etrangères affaires,	6,939,700	
Instruction publique,	36,327,883	
Intérieur,	3,889,600	
Commerce et travaux publics,	122,894,589	
Guerre,	309,030,400	
Marine,	65,172,900	
Finances,	24,156,900	
Administration du revenu public,	114,759,433	
Remboursements,	42,989,445	
	1,106,618,270	or £44,240,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 96-99, (*Doc. Hist.*)

Chamber, that in the first months of the year 1832 France would have 500,000 regular troops and 1,000,000 national guards under arms, besides all the fortresses armed and provisioned; and so she had, but the cost occasioned an enormous addition to the public expenditure, which greatly swelled the general discontent. In truth, the expense was unavoidable, and was the necessary consequence of the change of government. The overthrow of Charles X. had excited a spirit, both in France and the adjoining states, which the new Government, how anxious soever, was unable to control. The revolution in Belgium, the democratic movements in Switzerland, the attack of the republicans on Spain, the overthrow of the government in Hesse-Cassel, had entirely done away with the prestige in favour of Louis Philippe which at first existed at the Continental courts, from his having interposed between them and a general convulsion. They doubted now, not his inclination, but his ability to restrain the movement, and all were rapidly arming in their own defence. Prussia took up arms to defend her provinces on the Rhine, Austria to protect her possessions in Italy, Russia to overawe the malcontents on the Vistula. France was placed by its own act in a state of antagonism with all Europe: its inhabitants had already discovered that though revolutions may be very exciting things, they are very expensive; and that a people which plays the part of knocker-down and putter-up of kings must be content to pay the charges contingent on the assumption of such a character.

23. Conspiracy of Notre Dame and the Rue Prouvaires. Jan. 4.

So general was the discontent excited by these circumstances, that it led to various plots among the Republicans in different parts of France. One, called the conspiracy of Notre Dame, consisted in an attempt, made by a dozen desperadoes, to set fire to that venerable pile, as a signal, it was supposed, for a general insurrection in the capital. The flames took effect, and were with difficulty extin-

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guished. One of the incendiaries, arrested on the spot, being interrogated as to his profession, answered, "an émeutier." Twelve persons were seized in the cathedral under the most suspicious circumstances, but five only were convicted, and that only of the minor offence of concealing a conspiracy, which was only punishable with imprisonment. It appeared on the trial that the police had been warned, and taken no steps to prevent it. Shortly after, a more serious conspiracy was discovered, the centre of which was in the Rue Prouvaires, in which some partisans of the Royalists and leaders of the Napoleonists were engaged. The object of the conspirators, who were said to be connected with extensive ramifications in the neighbouring towns, was to march on the Tuileries and overturn the Government. The police had information all along from some traitors in the plot of what was going on, but they allowed it to proceed till the designs of the conspirators were approaching maturity. They then acted, and with such effect, that the chiefs, in number about two hundred, were arrested at their place of meeting in the Rue Prouvaires at midnight, after some resistance, in which a sergeant of police was killed, and several of the conspirators wounded. Paris was astonished next morning by the report of so considerable an arrest during the night, and the ringleaders were tried and convicted some months afterwards.[1]

Jan. 17.

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 17, 1832; Cap. vi. 72, 73; L. Blanc, iii. 168, 177.

24. Conspiracy at Grenoble. March 12.

These alarming symptoms in Paris were re-echoed by equally threatening notices from the provinces. At Toulon, Strasbourg, and Grenoble, there had, during the whole winter, been repeated altercations between the military and the citizens, in which it was observed that the national guard generally took part with the latter. At length, in the middle of March, matters came to a crisis in the latter city. A foolish dispute had got up there between the prefect and citizens about a masquerade of children and a masked ball, which he, dreading ulterior

designs, had prohibited.* Great discontent existed at this act of authority, and cries of "A bad prefect!" were heard in the streets, where groups of murmuring and threatening malcontents were soon formed. The prefect, alarmed at these appearances, called out the military, and the *générale* beat to assemble the national guard; but as usual at that time, none obeyed the summons. Upon this, orders were given to the military to clear the streets. They advanced accordingly, with fixed bayonets, and several of the mob received wounds from that weapon before the assemblage was dispersed. No great mischief had been done on either side, but in the excited state of men's minds, extreme indignation arose among the people. The whole inhabitants rose, and were joined by vast multitudes from the country, and soon the prefect, whose firmness in presence of danger was not equal to his rashness in provoking it, was obliged to take refuge in his hotel, and the soldiers, to avoid a collision, were confined to their barracks. The national guard joined the insurgents; the city for two days was in their possession. Such was the threatening aspect of affairs, that General Hulot, who arrived with a regiment of dragoons and a battery of cannon from Lyons, deemed it expedient to withdraw the obnoxious regiment from the city, which at length appeased the tumult.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 193, 205; Cap. vi. 74, 75; Ann. Hist. xiv. 272, 274.

25. Expedition to Ancona resolved on, and its reasons.

These repeated outbreaks in so many different places soon after each other, convinced Casimir Périer both of the futility of the National Guard as any security against popular disturbances, and of the necessity of presenting some object of external interest to the French, to prevent them from perpetually brooding over their internal grievances. In Flanders, the avowed object of French predilection and ambition, any hostile expedition was coerced

* Three of the figures in the masquerade were meant to represent *the budget, and two supplementary budgets;* a circumstance which sufficiently proved the political character of the procession, but at which any man of sense, so as matters did not go farther, would only have laughed.

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by the jealous alliance of England, and the open hostility of Prussia, whose battalions were assembling in warlike attitude on the banks of the Meuse. Italy, therefore, was the quarter where an exciting and interesting eruption could with least risk be made; and although it could not of course be attempted without awakening the jealousy of Austria, yet her hostility was less to be dreaded than that of England and Prussia, and her finances and military preparations were not in such a state as to render it probable that in any event she would actually draw the sword. An expedition to Italy was therefore resolved on, in the double view of presenting a distraction to French thought at home, and counteracting Austrian influence abroad; and Ancona was the place to which it was determined to send the expeditionary force.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 14, 16; Ann. Hist. xv. 97, 99.

26. State of affairs in Italy.

The situation of Italy at this period was such, it must be confessed, as to invite, and in a manner justify, such an intervention. Its inhabitants had never recovered the shock of the revolution of July, and such had been the agitation in the Roman States in particular, that, on the requisition of the papal government, the Austrians had, in the spring of 1831, moved a body of troops into Romagna, and Marshal Firmont, with 20,000 men, occupied Bologna. The French government had remonstrated against that step; but its military preparations were at that period too incomplete to admit of any ulterior measure, and the Austrian troops remained in the Legations, where their presence, though not openly resisted, was a perpetual cause of irritation and discontent. Aware that this state of things could not long continue without inducing a rupture between them, France and Austria, with the concurrence of the other powers, by a joint note on May 21, 1831, invited his Holiness to appease the discontents of his subjects by introducing among them some of the reforms which were most ardently desired and seemed most reasonable.[2] These were, that provincial assemblies, elected by a certain degree of popular choice, should be established to

May 21, 1831.

[2] Ann. Hist. xiv. 534, 538; L. Blanc, iii. 179; Cap. vi. 12, 15.

regulate local concerns; that a central junta should be organised to revise the administrative departments of the government; that laymen should be admitted to all its offices; and a council of state appointed, composed of the most respectable and eminent men in the nation.

27. Disturbances in Romagna and Austrian interference.

How reasonable soever these demands may appear to those who are accustomed to the actions of a constitutional government, they were far from meeting the views of the Holy See, which was desirous, above all things, of retaining the administration of affairs in the hands of the ecclesiastics, and excluding every approach to popular control. Accordingly, although the pontifical court declared its willingness to make every concession which could reasonably be desired, yet the changes made, which were expressed as done *ex proprio motu*, were far from satisfying the general wish; chiefly because, though provincial assemblies were established, their members were chosen, not by popular election, but by the governors of provinces, and laymen were excluded from the government of the Legations. The public discontent, accordingly, so far from being appeased, went on continually increasing. At length matters reached such a crisis, and the disturbances in the Legations were so threatening, that on the 10th January 1832, the papal government announced to the ambassadors of the five powers the resolution they had taken of marching troops into the Legations, and disarming the civic guards. England strongly disapproved this step, but it was cordially approved by the other powers; and strange to say, the French ambassador, M. de St Aulaire, expressed his entire acquiescence in it.* Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the inhabitants of Romagna were in such a state

Jan. 10, 1832.

* "S'il arrivait," disait l'ambassadeur de France, M. de St Aulaire, "que dans leur mission toute pacifique, les troupes exécutant les ordres de leur souverain rencontrassent une résistance coupable, et que quelques factieux osassent commencer une guerre civile aussi insensée dans son but que funeste dans ses résultats, le soussigné ne fait aucune difficulté à déclarer que ces hommes seraient considérés comme les plus dangereux ennemis de la paix générale, par le gouvernement Français."—*Note de M. de St Aulaire*, 10th January 1832. Louis Blanc, iii. 182.

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of excitement that they resolved on resistance. A conflict took place on the plains of Cesena, which the insurgents, 3000 strong, though they had only three pieces of cannon, and the Pontifical troops were double their number, maintained with great courage; but they were at length routed, and the victorious soldiers, pursuing the fugitives, made their way into Forli, which underwent all the horrors of a town taken by assault. Soon after Ravenna was occupied by the Pope's troops, the passage of the Bastia was forced, and the whole sea-coast of the Adriatic fell into their hands.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 431, 432; L. Blanc, iii. 184, 185; Cap. vi. 18, 22.

28. Intervention of the Austrians, and their entry into Bologna. Jan. 28.

The civic guards and insurgents upon these disasters retired to Bologna, where they concentrated from all quarters. Their position and numbers were there so threatening that the Pontifical generals did not deem themselves strong enough to hazard an attack without external aid, and they applied to COUNT RADETSKY, governor of Milan, for assistance accordingly. The Austrian general, in obedience to the orders of his court, and in accordance with a secret convention previously concluded with the court of Rome, lost no time in complying with the request, and on 28th January 6000 Imperialists, under General Grabowsky, entered Bologna, where they were next day followed by 3000 of the Pontifical troops. These forces were so considerable as to render resistance hopeless, and forcibly re-establish tranquillity in the Papal States to the north of the Apennines. But in doing so it roused a new storm to the north of the Alps, and it soon appeared that the peace of Europe was put in imminent hazard by this intervention.[2]

[2] L. Blanc, iii. 183, 185; Ann. Hist. xv. 431, 433; Cap. vi. 21, 24.

29. Occupation of Ancona. Feb. 22.

Casimir Périer had long had his eye on the disturbances in Italy, both from jealousy of Austria and the wish to present an object of counter-irritation to the discontent of France; and the occupation of Bologna by the Austrians appeared to him to present a favourable opportunity for intervention. His designs were taken

with decision, secresy, and skill. The Suffrein ship of the line and two frigates were immediately fitted out for sea, and 2500 men, under Col. Combe, embarked on board them, with orders to proceed with all possible expedition to Ancona and occupy that town; while at the same time General Cubières, who was to command the expedition, was despatched to Rome to prepare the cabinet of the Vatican for the invasion of their territory. Some accidental delays retarded the journey of General Cubières; and on the other hand, the expedition met with so favourable a passage that it arrived first in the Roman States. On the 22d February, at daybreak, three strange vessels were descried from the walls of Ancona, which soon hoisted French colours, and made straight for the mole. France being a friendly power, they were admitted without suspicion into the harbour, and they instantly landed the troops, to the unbounded astonishment of the inhabitants, and made straight for the citadel, of which they required the immediate surrender. The governor in vain demanded some respite in order to ascertain whether this occupation was or was not authorised by his government. Col. Combe, a resolute veteran of the school of Napoleon, would admit of no delay, and threatened an immediate assault if the place was not instantly surrendered. The governor, being wholly unprepared, was in no condition to resist, and he accordingly capitulated. The troops immediately entered, and the tricolor flag was hoisted from the citadel, while the Austrian standards were seen only three leagues distant in the plains.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 5, 1832; Cap. vi. 26, 27; Ann. Hist. xv. 433, 435.

30. Effects of this stroke in Italy and Europe.

No words can describe the astonishment in Italy, and the indignation of the papal government, when these events were made known. General Cubières arrived at Rome two hours after the intelligence had been received, and he experienced the first burst of the Pope's indignation. "There has been nothing like this since the days of the Saracens," were the first words he uttered.

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"We have only imitated the Austrians," replied M. de St Aulaire: "they occupied, and we occupied." Though there was much truth in this rejoinder, yet it afforded little consolation to the government of the Vatican that their territory had in this manner become the object of a double occupation by the tramontane states: and they accordingly transmitted a very angry note on the subject to the cabinet of the Tuileries, and for some time the attitude of the court of Rome as well as of the cabinet of Vienna was very hostile. The storm, however, blew over: neither state was as yet prepared for war, and the Austrians were satisfied, or feigned to be so, with the assurance that a temporary occupation by a limited number of troops was alone intended. In Italy the descent of the French, and the sight of the tricolor flag, excited the most unbounded transports. It was immediately displayed from every window in Ancona: the state prisons were forthwith thrown open, and the captives liberated; and the people, fraternising in the coffee-houses and the streets with the French soldiers, surrendered themselves for a brief season to the pleasing illusion of Italian independence.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 186, 189; Cap. vi. 30, 32; Ann. Hist. xv. 437, 441.

31. First appearance of the cholera in Paris, March 29.

The excitement of these events, external and internal, was cut short in Paris, in the end of March 1832, by the appearance of a domestic enemy more formidable than any foreign foe. The CHOLERA had for some months past been making strides from Asia through the east of Europe, and its regular progress, like that of civilisation, from east to west, gave too certain assurance that it would soon make its appearance even in its most westerly states. This anticipation was not long of being realised. On the 29th March the commissary of police announced, in the middle of a ball at the Opera, the sinister intelligence—"The cholera is in Paris;" and this was shortly after followed by the publication of an official bulletin confirming the intelligence, and announcing that the cases in the hospitals already amounted to twenty-six.

Indescribable was the terror which this announcement produced. The march of the terrible unknown epidemic across Russia, Poland, and Germany, had been watched with intense anxiety, and rumour had even exaggerated the terrors of its approach. In truth, they were sufficiently formidable without any addition from the power of imagination. The dreadful disease, springing apparently from the hot marshes of the Nile or the Ganges, advanced with ceaseless march through the air, unchecked either by the skill of man or the force of nature. Neither a long tract of wind blowing from the west, nor the utmost sanitary or police precautions in all the realms over which it had passed, could arrest its dreaded approach. The journals of St Petersburg, Moscow, and Constantinople, were filled at the same time with the details of its devastation, the terrors of its advent. They were soon too fatally verified. A few ventured the first day to discredit the report, but it was soon ascertained to be too true. On the very next day the deaths amounted to one hundred and fifty; and the police, by whom the scourge had long been expected, and who had taken every precaution against it, issued the most urgent proclamations, enjoining implicit and instant obedience to the sanitary regulations which had been promulgated.[1]

[1] Moniteur, April 1, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 142, 144; Cap. vi. 32, 33.

32. Its extraordinary and unlooked-for symptoms.

In Paris, as in all other places which it has visited, the symptoms of this terrible epidemic baffled alike the efforts of medical skill, the anticipations of reason, and the deductions of experience. To all appearance the poison came through the air, and was inhaled, in the first instance at least, by the lungs; yet how was this reconcilable with its constant progress from east to west, in opposition to the wind, which in all the states of western Europe blows two hundred and fifty days in the year, and nearly all the autumn and winter, from west to east? The character of the disease, and the localities in which it sometimes appeared with most virulence, led to the general belief that filth, and impurity of water or air,

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were most likely to aggravate it: but although many facts apparently supporting this opinion very generally occurred, yet others of a directly opposite character were not long of showing themselves; and in many places, while the filthiest and worst-aired quarters of cities escaped almost untouched, the pestilence seized with most virulence on those who dwelt in the most cleanly and well aired.*

33. Uncertainty in its mode of treatment.

The first symptoms of the disease seemed to indicate the existence of some poisonous or deleterious matter in the system, which nature was making an effort to throw off; yet the mode of treatment which has uniformly proved most successful to arrest at least the premonitory symptoms, are laudanum, or other binding medicine, which might retain the poison in it. Its sudden advent, and its appearance among many different persons in dif-

*In Glasgow, where cholera has broken out three times with great violence, these contradictory symptoms have been clearly evinced. In 1848, which was its second visit, while the low and ill-aired districts, abounding with filth and the lowest lodging-houses, crowded with Irish, were almost untouched, the highest, richest, and best-aired part of the city, that of Blythswood Hill, had one or more deaths in every house. The vast influence of intoxication in predisposing to the reception of the poison was clearly proved by the fact, that after having been three weeks in the city, the deaths had not risen, on 3d December 1847, to more than 30 or 40 a-day: but on 2d January, after the drunkenness of the New Year, they at once rose to 239. The deaths in the three years of the epidemic were:—

	Deaths.	Population.
1832, ...	3,005	210,000
1848, ...	3,777	320,000
1853, ...	4,612	400,000

—STRANG'S *Vital Statistics of Glasgow*, p. 9.

In Paris the same strange and unexpected results appeared:—"A Passy, où l'air est si pur, le nombre des décès s'éleva à 26 par 1000 habitans, tandis qu'il y eut à peine 16 morts par 1000 habitans dans l'atmosphère empestée de Montfaucon. Parmi les communes rurales, si quelques villages remarquables par leur salubrité, tels que Chatenay, Vitry, Chabellon, eurent en point de choleriques, d'autres qui se trouvaient dans les mêmes conditions, tels que Saint Ouen, Fontenay, Louis-Bois, Asnières, Puteaux, comptèrent de 35 à 50 morts sur 1000 habitans. Certaines professions jugées mortelles se trouvèrent priviligiées, c'est ainsi que parmi les ouvriers employés à disséquer des animaux en putréfaction, pas un ne fut sérieusement menacé."—L. BLANC, iii. 223. Add to this, that in the epidemic of 1854, out of 2600 persons employed in cleaning out the drains and common sewers in London, not one took the cholera, while its ravages were great in some of the most salubrious parts of the metropolis.

ferent places at the same time, clearly demonstrates that it is at first epidemic, and not merely transmitted, like the plague, by contact: yet subsequent experience has everywhere brought to light many facts which lead to the conclusion that it is, in its later stages at least, contagious. It is not surprising that a pestilence attended with such strange and contradictory symptoms should for long baffle medical skill, and give rise to more than even the usual amount of difference of opinion among medical men. They have at length, however, it is believed, very generally united in the opinion that it is first induced by an atmospheric influence, though rather one connected with electricity than what is inhaled by the lungs; that it is both epidemic and contagious; that filth and insalubrious air aggravate the disease, by weakening the frames of those exposed to its influence, not producing itself; that mental depression, or the reaction of intoxication, powerfully predisposes for its reception; and that medical skill, though all-powerful in arresting it in its commencement, has very little influence in its later stages, and is efficacious rather by aiding the patient to survive the malady than by subduing itself.

34. Commissions in Paris on the subject.

When this terrible pestilence first made its appearance in Moscow, St Petersburg, and Berlin, the suddenness of its spread, and the symptoms of violent bowel-complaint with which it always commenced, gave rise to immediate suspicion of the food or water used having been poisoned, and serious disturbances took place in consequence. The same thing took place on its first appearance in Paris. To increase the panic occasioned by the natural symptoms of the disease, and pervert it to political purposes, some abandoned wretches there were said to have put poison into the public wells and fountains, and a police magistrate in Paris had the infatuation to publish a proclamation on the subject. The consequences might easily have been foreseen. The populace rose in crowds in the thickly-peopled quarters of the city, seized upon

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the persons whom they suspected of being implicated in these atrocities, and proceeded to execute what they deemed justice upon them with their own hands. Two men, suspected of being poisoners, having been arrested in the Faubourg St Antoine, and sent under a guard to the Hôtel de Ville, the mob defied the police, seized the supposed offenders, and threw one into the Seine. Two others were only rescued from death by the courageous efforts of the Municipal Guard, which extricated them out of the hands of the populace as they were stringing them up to the street lamps. The horrors of the Revolution seemed to be recommencing through the effects of one of the most awful visitations of Providence.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 144, 145; Cap. vi. 86, 89; L. Blanc, iii. 223, 225.

35. Real ravages of the epidemic.

Yet were the terrors of that mournful time really so great as to require no addition at the hands of man. In the densely-peopled quarters of the city, where the ravages of the pestilence were greatest, the appearances which Boccaccio has immortalised in Italy, and Defoe in England, were again exhibited. The deaths increased with frightful rapidity, and by the 9th April they had risen to 864 a-day, of whom nearly a half were in public hospitals. So great a mortality, which was in a great part produced in limited quarters of the city, diffused universal consternation. Terror seized upon every one; the most ordinary and harmless occupations of life became suspected, and were prohibited. A rumour got up that the scavengers spread the epidemic from their frequent contact with filth; they were chased in consequence from the worst parts of the city, and the streets were choked with dunghills, which no one ventured to remove. The theatres, by public command, remained open; but the actors, a thing unheard of in Paris, played to empty benches. The usual litters for carrying patients to the public hospitals could no longer suffice, and seven hundred men were employed in constructing new ones; but none could be found to carry them. The artillery waggons upon this were put in

requisition to collect the dead, and remove the living to their places of treatment; but the mournful sound of the wheels froze every heart with horror, as they passed along at night through the deserted streets, and the jolting of the wheels caused the dead bodies to burst, and a frightful line of putrid matter marked the track of the wheels. At last the terror became such that no one was to be seen in the streets but those who were engaged in tending the living or burying the dead. Funerals, even of the most respected persons, were conducted without pomp or attendants, generally at daybreak. The dead among the poor were thrown into the graves with their clothes on without ceremony of any sort, as on the field of battle. In the general danger, as in all similar emergencies, selfishness prevailed in the generality of men over the generous affections; and the great majority, in terror for their own lives, became callous to the sufferings of others, or failed in the ordinary duties of humanity and domestic life.[1]*

[1] Cap. vi. 87, 89; L. Blanc, iii. 224, 225; Ann. Hist. xv. 144, 146.

36. Noble instances of fortitude and benevolence.

Yet were there some noble exceptions, and which, in the extremity of danger, vindicated the character of human nature. The King and royal family set an honourable example. Unlike too many of the higher ranks, they did not leave Paris on the outbreak of the epidemic, but remained at their post, assuaging suffering by their cares, lessening terror by their example. The

* The deaths in Paris, in the first fortnight of the epidemic, were as follows:—

Date.	Deaths.	Date.	Deaths.
March 31,	128	Brought forward,	2178
April 1,	79	April 8,	769
„ 2,	168	„ 9,	864
„ 3,	212	„ 10,	848
„ 4,	242	„ 11,	769
„ 5,	351	„ 12,	728
„ 6,	416	„ 13,	816
„ 7,	582	„ 14,	692
Carry forward,	2178	Total,	7664

—Capefigue, vi. 882. *Moniteur*, April 15, 1832.

In April, 12,700 persons died. The epidemic lasted one hundred and eighty-nine days in Paris, during which the reported deaths were 18,402, but the real number was probably a half greater. The population of Paris at this period was 960,000.—L. Blanc, iii. 237; and *Satistique de la France* (Population), 87.

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Duke of Orléans, accompanied by M. Casimir Périer, visited in person the cholera hospitals, and the latter there contracted the malady of which he afterwards died. Immense were the sums expended by the public bodies and the affluent classes in arresting the progress of the malady. The police expended in less than a month 19,915 francs (£795) in carriages, for the conveyance of medical men from one sick-bed to another. Five thousand rations of rice were distributed a-day among the convalescent at the expense of the Duke of Orléans. Numerous splendid gifts were bestowed by individuals on the hospitals, to enable them to accommodate the sick; the medical profession of all ages evinced that generous zeal and courageous devotion which its members never fail to evince on similar occasions; and the Sisters of Charity, whose numbers seemed to multiply with the demand for their services, were everywhere to be seen aiding the recovery of the convalescent, or smoothing the pillow of the dying. Only two unworthy acts signalised that period of general beneficence. The Archbishop of Paris had offered his country house of Conflans as an hospital for the use of the convalescent; it was refused by the Council-General of the Department, because that prelate had said that the cholera was a visitation of Heaven on Paris for the Revolution of July. The Duchess de Berri, through M. de Chateaubriand, had sent 12,000 francs (£480) for the relief of the poor of Paris, but it was refused by order of M. Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior! Conscience makes cowards of us all; and so did it shake the mind of Louis Philippe, that he saw a political move in the offer of an aged archbishop, worthy of St Charles Boromeo, and in the gift of a young princess to the suffering poor of a city, where she had formerly appeared as a vision of felicity, adorned with flowers, and surrounded by admiration.[1] *

[1] Cap. vi. 88, 93; L. Blanc, iii. 225, 227; Ann. Hist. xv. 147, 149.

* M. de Chateaubriand, in an admirable pamphlet on this strange refusal, made these remarks, as just as they are eloquent:—"Ce qu'a fait Madame la

The period of alarm felt for the cholera at Paris was signalised by the death of two very eminent men, who, however, were not carried off by that pestilence, M. Casimir Périer, and M. Cuvier the immortal naturalist. The former of these persons, who was of a very nervous and excitable temperament, had never recovered the dolorous impression which the visit to the cholera hospital with the Duke of Orléans had produced. He had been in feeble health before; and the anxieties consequent on his situation as Prime Minister had preyed upon his mind, and, like Mr Canning, brought on a febrile irritable state of the system, which proved fatal. Shortly before his death he had an interview with M. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian ambassador, who having made use of the expression, "The emperor, my master, does not wish——," "Tell your master," said he, interrupting him, "that France has no orders to receive, and that as long as Casimir Périer lives she will take counsel only of her honour." These words were pronounced with extreme animation and a flushed countenance. He sunk down immediately after exhausted, in his arm-chair, and, looking at his feeble limbs, he exclaimed, "Ah! I am gone; they have killed me." His malady appearing hopeless, M. de Montalivet was, by an ordonnance dated 17th April, appointed, *ad interim*, Minister of the Interior and President of the Council; and on the 16th May he breathed his last. On the same day Cuvier expired. A splendid funeral was accorded to the Prime Minister, at which M. Royer Collard pronounced an eloquent eloge on the departed Premier. M. Cuvier sunk almost unnoticed into the grave; no political passions or selfish interests celebrated his funeral obsequies.[1] To which tomb will

37. Death of Casimir Périer and Cuvier.

April 17.

May 16.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 240, 243.

Duchesse de Berri est français, ce que j'ai fait en son nom est français, tout de grand jour et la tête haute. Le nom de la veuve que ses ennemis n'ont prononcé que pour le honnir de leurs calomnies, éclate enfin publiquement d'une manière digne d'elle. La première fois que la Mère du Duc de Bordeaux fait entendre la voix depuis qu'elle est bannie ce n'est pas pour réclamer un Trône, c'est pour offrir quelques secours à des Infortunés."—CHATEAUBRIAND, *Œuvres*, xviii. 297.

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38. Character of Casimir Périer.

pilgrims in future times resort—that of the forgotten prime-minister, or of the immortal philosopher ?

But although Casimir Périer did not live long enough to engrave his name in a durable manner on the tablets of French history, yet was he a remarkable man, and worthy of a place in the gallery of historic portraits. A banker and manufacturer by profession, and in possession of a large fortune made by these means, he became a Liberal and a revolutionist, from the natural desire of persons of that description to obtain a lead in public affairs. His mercantile interests, however, which suffered severely from the commercial crisis which ensued on the fall of Charles X., taught him the necessity of peace to the re-establishment of the mercantile interests of his country. To this object his efforts were mainly directed, this was the leading principle of his policy. The expedition to Ancona was an exceptional measure contrary to his usual system, suggested by the necessity of presenting some object of external excitement to the heated imaginations and real sufferings of the French people. His mind, however, was bold, his vision clear, his temper warm, his disposition ardent. A civilian by accident, he was a soldier by nature, and a hero in character. He made head against the serious convulsions which occurred during his administration with a vigour worthy of the highest admiration. Had he been the minister of Charles X. instead of Polignac, he would have met the revolt, as he did that at Lyons, and the elder branch of the house of Bourbon might have been still on the throne. He sunk at last under the irritation produced by the clear perception he had obtained of the vanity of all his triumphs. He died under the mournful conviction that revolutions brought about by force do nothing but retard the advance of freedom, and that the minister who is called to rule an insurgent people is speedily compelled to have recourse to more severe measures of coercion than those to the exercise of which he owed his elevation.

39. Attempt of the Duchess de Berri to raise the west.

The divided state of opinion in France, and the open resistance in many places of the Republicans to the Government, led at this period to a very singular attempt on the part of the Legitimist party, attended by the most romantic incidents. Ever since they had been assigned Holyrood House at Edinburgh as a residence by the cold and prudent policy of the English government, the sad court of Charles X. there had been divided into two parties, such as usually in such cases are to be found in the councils of exiled princes. The one, taught by experience, was prudent, cautious, and desirous to await the course of events; the second, ardent, impetuous, and determined to lead them. At the head of the first in Holyrood were Charles X., and the Duchess d'Angoulême; and at Paris, M. de Chateaubriand, M. Berryer, and Marshal Victor. They contemplated no insurrection or violent means, deprecated all attempts to force on the current, and trusted for the hoped-for restoration to the influence of suffering, and the gradual return of the people to more rational sentiments from the experience they had had of the consequences of deviating from them. They expected that Henry V. would be recalled by a vote of the Chambers without shedding a drop of blood. The second party, at the head of which was the Duchess de Berri and M. de Blacas at Holyrood, and M. Beaumont at Paris, thought that it was in vain to wait for a spontaneous ebullition of Royalist feeling on the part of the legislature or people of the capital; and that the time had now come when, by a bold move in the southern and western provinces, it was possible to throw off the ascendancy of the rebellious capital, and re-establish the throne of the legitimate sovereigns.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 245, 247; Cap. vi. 91, 95; Ann. Hist. xv. 174, 176.

Worn to death with the ennui and dulness of Holyrood, so different from the brilliant fêtes of Naples or the Tuileries, inspired with a heroic contempt of danger, and animated by a generous desire to regain the throne

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for her son, of which he had been deprived by the astute ingratitude of the first prince of the blood after the royal family in France, the Duchess de Berri resolved on a great effort to raise the western provinces, and to make the attempt in person. It was thought, not without some show of probability, that the spectacle of a young and charming princess throwing herself, without external aid, on the loyalty of her subjects, and braving hardship, captivity, and death, in the attempt to regain the throne for her son, would not speak in vain to a people once pre-eminent in their attachment to the royal family, and in which the chivalrous feelings were not yet wholly extinct. Charles X., seeing the Princess determined, gave a reluctant consent; and in order to give her the requisite authority, and confer a show of consistency on the expedition, he appointed her regent of the realm during the minority of her son. Various events delayed the departure of the Princess; but at length they were all removed, and she set out from Holyrood on her perilous mission. Travelling through Germany, she crossed the Alps, and reached Naples in safety; but there she found the influence of the new dynasty so powerful that her presence was inopportune, and no assistance could be hoped for. She repaired accordingly to Massa, the little court of which was entirely at her devotion; and there, recognised as Regent of France, at least by her own subjects, and surrounded by a little court composed of a few women of the highest rank, and men of the most devoted courage, she surrendered herself to the hopes and illusions with which exiles so often beguile the weary hours of banishment from their country.[1]

40. The Duchess de Berri determines on an effort in France, and repairs to Massa.

March 8, 1831.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 250, 252; Cap. vi. 96, 99.

It was not surprising that the young and inexperienced Duchess gave credit to these flattering illusions, for her correspondents from all parts of France represented the new government as tottering, the discontent universal, and everything ripe for a revolt. She was compelled also to try her fortune in France by the representations

41. She leaves Massa and makes a descent on France.

of Prince Metternich, who was aware of what was going on, and who, although anything rather than a friend to usurpation, was impressed with a belief that Louis Philippe was the best barrier that could be opposed in the mean time to the revolutionary spirit, and that a Royalist attempt in France would only lead to fresh convulsions, and endanger the peace of Europe. He sent notice to the Duchess, accordingly, that her presence in Massa was inopportune, and that she had better look out for some other asylum. Thus impelled alike by the entreaties of her friends and the menaces of her enemies, the Princess took counsel only of her own courage; orders were given for a general armament and rising in the provinces in the south and west of France, which were at her devotion. Though local and partial only, the preparations were far from being inconsiderable: in the country between the Sarthe and the Mayenne alone twenty-six companies had been formed, fifty men each, and well armed with their redoubtable fowling-pieces. The measures, such as they were, having been completed, several proclamations were prepared in the name of the Duchess as regent, forbidding the payment of taxes to the revolutionary Government, ordering the disbanding of the army, abolishing the *octroi* duties on wine and salt, permitting the return of the conscripts since 1828 to their homes, and promising a gratuity of three months' pay to the whole army of Africa. All things being in readiness, the Duchess embarked with a few attendants on board the Carlo-Alberto steamboat from Reggio on the 24th in the highest spirits, attended by Marshal Bourmont, his son, and a few faithful attendants, and steered for Marseilles, where a rising was expected. Though she appeared always with a joyous visage before others, the Princess was well aware in her secret heart of the perils of her enterprise: she made her will while on board.[1]

[1] Proclamation of Caroline, April 1832; Cap. vi. 105, 110; L. Blanc, iii. 260, 269; Ann. Hist. xv. 174.

It was fully expected by the Royalists that a rising in

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42. Landing of the Princess.

their favour was to take place at Marseilles, in which city and its environs they had numerous partisans organised for an outbreak; and various impolitic acts on the part of the Government had violently irritated the feelings of the peasants of La Vendée. Rigorous searches for arms had been made in the whole province, and in the course of these the feelings of the inhabitants had been wantonly injured. The monuments of Quiberon and Savenay had been defaced, the statue of Cathelineau mutilated, the column of Stofflet, in the court of the chateau of Maulévrier, broken by orders of the Government, and several peasants slain by the gendarmes in the course of quarrels in the searching for arms. In effect, a rising was prepared at Marseilles on the arrival of the Princess; and the rendezvous was fixed at the Pharo de Planier, in the neighbourhood of Maberly. During the voyage the vessel passed several French ships of war without being discovered, and it was not till midnight on the 28th that the Carlo-Alberto came within sight of the lighthouse. The agreed-on signal was immediately hoisted, by the hanging of two lanterns from the rigging, and a boat came off to take the Princess ashore. At two in the morning, amidst a tempestuous sea and a stormy sky, she stepped on board the boat, then rocking violently, attended by Marshal Bourmont, MM. de Kergolay, de Mesnard, and de Brissac, dressed as fishermen. Her attendants, who remained on board, beheld with anxiety mingled with pride the courage with which she set out on her dangerous adventure, which was increased when she was seen gaily tripping up a narrow and dangerous pathway among rocks, after she landed on the shore, which the most intrepid smugglers did not ascend without apprehension.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 264, 271; Cap. vi. 110, 114.

43. Abortive rising at Marseilles. April 29.

The intelligence of the landing of the Duchess de Bérri was speedily made known to her partisans in Marseilles, and by the imprudence of one of them it came to the ears of the constituted authorities. Preparations were immediately made on both sides; and so strong was

the feeling in her favour among the people, that although all the posts had been doubled, and every precaution taken, the movement at first met with surprising success. The insurgents, to the number of above two thousand, composed chiefly of fishermen from the coast, assembled at the appointed rendezvous on La Tourette, the highest point in the city, from whence Cæsar directed his attacks against it, and where the Marseillaise women gloriously defended it against the assault of Charles V. Soon the whole quarter was in their possession. Cries of "*Vive Henri Cinq!*" were heard on all sides; and from the cottage where she had passed the night, the Princess, with speechless delight, beheld the white flag waving on the summit of the steeple of St Laurent, the highest point in the city. But her joy was of short duration. The tocsin indeed sounded loudly from the steeple, and the Royalists assembled in great numbers: but few leaders appeared; a great proportion of the crowd was composed of women. First uncertainty, then anxiety, appeared on their countenances. A body which attempted to get possession of the Palais de Justice, where a company of military was stationed, was dispersed by a charge of the bayonet, and their leaders, MM. de Candole, de Bermond, and de Lachau, seized. This proved fatal to the whole enterprise. The crowd dispersed; the Duchess had the pain of seeing the white flag pulled down and replaced by the tricolor on the steeple of St Laurent; and at one o'clock in the afternoon she received from an unknown hand a note containing the words, "The movement has failed; you must leave France."[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 271, 273; Cap. vi. 109, 111; Ann. Hist. xv. 174, 176.

44. The Duchess resolves to cross France to La Vendée.

The Princess was sad but not discouraged. At Massa she had had a dream, in which she saw her husband, who said to her, "I approve of your designs: but you will not succeed in the south; you will have no success but in La Vendée." This dream took such possession of her imagination that it produced all the effect of reality: she saw in her present failure a confirmation of her vision,

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and the herald of future triumph. Instantly she took her determination, and declared she would cross France to La Vendée. In vain her few counsellors strenuously represented that the enterprise was hopeless; that M. Kergolay had been arrested the moment he stepped ashore; and that nothing remained but to re-embark on board the Carlo-Alberto, and make for Spain, where a secure asylum would be found. Nothing could shake the determination of the heroic Princess. "I am here now," she said, "and I will remain. Too many people have been compromised for me; I will not abandon them." She set out accordingly on foot, attended only by Marshal Bourmont, disguised as a peasant. Directing their course across fields and by bypaths, to elude pursuit, they lost their way before night in a wood; and the Princess, overwhelmed with fatigue, sank to the ground at the foot of a tree, and fell asleep. The marshal, standing near, watched her slumbers without reposing himself; and thus passed the first night of the regent's sojourn in her dominions.[1] *

[1] Cap. vi. 116, 117; L. Blanc, iii. 274, 275.

•45. She escapes into La Vendée. May 17.

Louis Philippe, with great humanity, and not less wisdom, had given orders to his cruisers that if the Duchess de Berri was taken she should not be brought to France, but conveyed to Naples, and redelivered to her parents. He felt the same anxiety to save her life which he had done to spare those of the ministers of Charles X. at their memorable trial. This circumstance slackened the pursuit of the Duchess, and was the main cause of her reaching La Vendée in safety. The Carlo-Alberto was soon captured; and among the other attendants of the Princess was a young lady, Mademoiselle Lebeschu, who was taken for her, and taken to Corsica, where ere long the error was discovered. While

* What a scene for a picture! When the time comes, as come it will one day, that the free expression of feeling is permitted in France, the adventures of the Duchess de Berri during her romantic expedition to La Vendée will form a favourite subject of the painter's pencil and of melodramatic representation.

the delusion lasted, however, it was universally credited, and contributed very much to the safe passage of the Duchess across France. The adventures of the Princess during that long journey, from the rocks of Marseilles to the Bocage of La Vendée, exceed anything that ever figured in romance or described in poetry. Though she lodged in general in the houses of the Royalist proprietors, where she was perfectly secure, she sometimes ran very great risks on the road, from which she was extricated only by her admirable courage and presence of mind. On one occasion, having lost her way when wandering alone in a wood, she was obliged to pass the night in a miserable shed, of which she herself forced open the door: on another, when driven by hunger to seek human habitation, she boldly presented herself to a Republican, saying, "I am the Duchess de Berri." He had the generosity not to betray the trust. The gendarmes, however, were everywhere on the alert, and but for the fortunate report of her seizure on board the Carlo-Alberto, she would in all probability have been taken. But that mistake stood her in good stead; and at length, after having surmounted a thousand perils, and frequently passed unknown through large bodies of gendarmes, she reached the chateau of Plassac, near Saintes in La Vendée, on the 17th May, and a general rising of her followers was appointed for the 24th of the same month.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 273, 275; Cap. vi. 119, 121; Ann. Hist. xv. 178, 179.

46. Disquietude, and measures of the Royalists at these events.

Great was the disquietude and uneasiness of the Royalists in Paris at these unexpected events. The intrepid character and unalterable resolution of the Princess were well known, as well as the ardent spirit and sanguine temperament of the *preux chevaliers* by whom she was immediately surrounded, so that no modification of her determination was to be looked for. At the same time, the Royalist committee in the capital, far better informed, and awake to the signs of the times, were painfully alive to the perils, it might be said the hopelessness, of the attempt. Not less chivalrous or loyal than M. de

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Bourmont and M. de Kergolay, they were more aware of the difficulties it had to encounter. La Vendée was no longer what it had been during its first immortal struggle. Material interests had invaded the Bocage, and divided the feelings of its heroic inhabitants. They were not less brave or loyal than they had been in the days when they followed the standards of Henri Larochejaquelein or M. de Lescure, but they were more dependent on the capital. The great roads which Napoleon had constructed through every part of their territory had not only let in knowledge and information, but opened up to their industry the market of Paris. Their cattle, the produce of their dairies, their sheep, lambs, and wool, were bought up and sent to the metropolis. Men paused before they adventured on a contest of which the dangers were now well known, and which threatened not only to endanger their lives and families, but to deprive them of the means of subsistence. A considerable part of the richest proprietors in the country had bought the national domains, and were attached to the new order of things. Thus, though the majority retained their traditional feelings of loyalty, and the influence of the old families over their tenantry was undiminished, there was a much greater division of opinion in the country, and the same unanimity as formerly in any Royalist movement was no longer to be looked for. M. de Chateaubriand, M. Hyde de Neuville, M. Berryer, and the other enlightened leaders of the Royalists in Paris, were well aware of these changes, and earnestly dissuaded any insurrectionary attempt. Their constant doctrine was to let the Revolution work out its own fruits, the people experience the consequences of their own actions; and in the end suffering would alter their opinions, and the Citizen King would be dethroned by the Chamber which had created him.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 121, 124; L. Blanc, iii. 276, 284.

Although there are probably few persons who will doubt that these opinions were, in the circumstances, well

founded, and that it would have been well for the Princess if she had adopted them, they were far from being agreeable either to herself or the gallant, though inconsiderate, cavaliers by whom she was surrounded. They persisted in attempting a general rising; the orders to that effect were transmitted to all the Vendean chiefs: and a few days before the day appointed, the Princess, dressed in the costume of the young peasants of La Vendée, repaired on horseback to Mesliers, the rendezvous appointed for her followers. An artificial head-dress of dark hair concealed her beautiful light locks, and she had quite the look of a handsome youth, and took the name of "*Petit Pierre.*" But few obeyed the summons, and such as did come portrayed in the strongest terms the hopelessness of the attempt. They represented respectfully, but firmly, that La Vendée had engaged to take up arms only on the occurrence of one of three events—a foreign invasion, the proclamation of a republic, or an insurrection in the south—none of which had occurred, and that it was impossible to induce the peasants to rise. The Princess, with fervent eloquence, and all the passionate earnestness of her sex and country, represented how much she had risked in behalf of the cause, and conjured them to alter their resolution; but in vain. With a smile on her lips, but despair in her heart, she was obliged to dismiss them with a request for a written opinion, which they sent her next day.[1]

47. Vain attempt at an insurrection.

May 21.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 276, 277; Cap. vi. 122, 123.

But next day a letter arrived from Toulon, addressed to the Princess by the name of *Bernard*, which she was known by in the south, which overcame all hesitation on her part. The moment she read the letter, she exclaimed, "Oh my God, all the south is in flames! No, I will not depart;" and immediately sitting down, she wrote to M. Berryer that she had changed her mind, and was determined to persist; and to the Baron de Charette a letter ordering the rising, which terminated with the words: "My dear friend, do not resign your situation, since

48. The Princess resolves on a rising, which proves abortive. May 26.

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Petit Pierre has not resigned his." With mournful resolution, the Vendean chiefs prepared to obey the summons, and assemblages of five or six hundred men took place in several quarters. But, by a strange fatality, the rising was prevented from becoming general, or acquiring any degree of consistency, by a counter-order which had been issued by Marshal Bourmont on the 19th May, which fixed the day for the 4th June. The effect of these opposite and contradictory orders proved fatal to the whole enterprise. The greater part of the chiefs got the order of M. de Bourmont first, and remained quiet; and such as did not get it, finding themselves not supported as they expected, concluded that the attempt had failed, and dismissed their followers. Some conflicts took place between bodies of the peasants and the troops of the line, in which the former displayed all their ancient valour, and in some instances proved victorious. But these detached encounters, however honourable to the Royalists, decided nothing; they were not in sufficient force in any one place to make head against the vastly superior forces of the enemy which were concentrated against them; and ere long their detached bands melted away, and the insurrection was happily terminated without any serious effusion of blood. The finishing-stroke was put to the prospects of the insurrection by the seizure, by General Dermoncourt, of a packet of papers in the Chateau de la Chaslier, containing the whole details of the conspiracy, and the names of the persons engaged in it.[1]

[1] Baron de Charette sur les Evènemens de La Vendée, 50, 56; L. Blanc, iii. 279, 281; Cap. vi. 123, 125.

49. Incidents of the civil war.

But although the insurrection, considered as a public movement, was thus at an end, yet various tragic incidents occurred in the course of it which attested at once the heroic spirit of the inhabitants, and the dangers which might have threatened the throne of the Citizen King had it been more wisely conducted, or traversed by a less number of unfortunate accidents. In the Chateau of La Penissière forty-five Vendeans were stationed, and they defended themselves so resolutely that

it became necessary to set it on fire in order to overcome them. The upper part of the building was soon in flames, and a circle of bayonets surrounded its base: but they still combated, amidst the music of two trumpets, and cries of "*Vive Henri Cinq!*" and at length, after five of their number had been slain, and when the conflagration had spread into every part of the edifice, they found their way out, and got off unconquered. Unhappily, as in the former war, deeds of heroism on the one side were marked with acts of savage barbarity on the other. A son of the famous Cathelineau was shot dead by the troops of Louis Philippe as he advanced with two companions, saying, "We are disarmed; do not fire." A chateau belonging to M. de Roberie was entered by a body of troops, who put to death the farmer and his wife who occupied it, and barbarously murdered a girl of sixteen in their family. M. Charles de Bascher was surprised by a body of national guards, and severely wounded in his attempt to escape. As they were conducting him a prisoner to Angerfeiulle, he became faint from loss of blood, and could not walk as quick as his guards desired. They shot him in consequence on the road, without even according him the quarter of an hour which he requested to make his peace with Heaven.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 282, 283.

50. Adventures of the Duchess de Berri, and extinction of the insurrection.

Amidst these scenes of horror, the melancholy result of her rash and ill-starred enterprise, the Duchess de Berri escaped, thanks to the courage and vigilance of her attendants, her own intrepidity and presence of mind, and the unvarying fidelity of the Royalists to whom her place of retreat was known. Her hair-breadth escapes and romantic adventures recall those of Charles Edward a century before in the mountains of Scotland. Many nights she slept on the ground in the woods; at other times, on the shoulders of her guide, she passed marshes deemed impracticable, with the water up to the middle of those who bore her. On one occasion, when the pursuit was hottest, she found shelter in a ditch covered with bushes, while the soldiers

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in pursuit of her searched in vain, and probed with their bayonets every thicket in the wood with which it was environed. The variety, the fatigue, the dangers of her life, had inexpressible charms for a person of her ardent and romantic disposition. She often said, "Don't speak to me of suffering: I never was so happy at Naples or Paris as I am now." More than once she entered towns occupied by the hostile troops disguised as a peasant girl, with the great wooden shoes on her little feet, and conversed gaily with the gendarmes by whom the gates were guarded. Meanwhile the Government, in mortal anxiety at her continued residence in the country, made the utmost efforts to make head against the danger. The four departments of Maine-et-Loire, La Vendée, Loire-Inferieure, and Deux-Sevres, were declared in a state of siege; troops were poured in from all quarters, and soon fifty thousand regular soldiers occupied a country where they had no other foes to contend with but a fugitive Princess and two or three of her devoted cavaliers.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 283, 284; Cap. vi. 133, 137.

51. The Princess takes refuge in Nantes.

External events of no light weight soon, however, occurred, which convinced the heroic Princess that her attempt, for the present at least, had permanently failed of all chance of success. The *Moniteur* announced the interview of the King of the French with the King of the Belgians at Compiègne, and the approaching marriage of Leopold with the Princess Louise, daughter of Louis Philippe. Convinced now that the legitimate sovereigns had abandoned her cause, she saw the necessity of considering her own safety, and after much deliberation, finding that the roads and coasts were alike rigorously guarded, she resolved to remain in France, and selected the city of Nantes as her asylum—a place generally hostile to her cause, where her person was unknown, and where the searches of the Government authorities would not probably be so rigorous as in more suspected quarters.[2] Thither, accordingly, she directed her steps, and she succeeded in entering the town, disguised as a peasant girl, accompanied by Mdlle.

[2] L. Blanc, iii. 283, 284; Cap. vi. 134, 137; Ann. Hist. xiv. 221.

Eulalie de Korsabice. She found an asylum in it in the house of some faithful Royalists, who redeemed the character of human nature, by having the courage, at the hazard of their life, to afford a shelter to their sovereign in misfortune. CHAP. XXIX. 1832.

So faithfully was the secret kept, that the Princess remained for some months in this place of concealment in safety. By degrees, however, vague rumours reached the Government that the Duchess was either in Nantes, or frequently visited there, accompanied by intelligence that her situation was such that they might, by her capture, and sparing her life, determinate her influence more completely than by destroying it. Orders were accordingly sent to redouble the vigilance of the authorities in Nantes. During this period of anxious suspense she still maintained a correspondence with her adherents, and from her place of concealment issued her orders as still Regent of France. She even addressed a letter to the Queen of the French in behalf of the brave Vendeans who were to be brought to trial for having taken up arms in her defence, full of generous and noble sentiments.* The Government acted with equal wisdom and humanity in the prosecution of the accused. Twenty-two were placed at the bar, but the prosecutions were so managed that the greater part

52. When she is at length discovered. Nov. 6.

* "Quelles que soient les conséquences qui peuvent résulter pour moi de la position dans laquelle je me suis mise en remplissant mes devoirs de mère, je ne vous parlerai jamais de mon interêt, Madame. Mais des braves se sont compromis pour la cause de mon fils; je ne saurais me refuser à tenter pour les sauver ce qui peut se faire honorablement.

"Je prie donc ma tante, son bon cœur et sa religion me sont connus, d'employer tout son crédit pour intéresser en leur faveur. Le porteur de cette lettre donnera des détails sur leur situation; il dira que les Juges qu'on leur donne sont des hommes contre lesquels ils se sont battus.

"Malgré la différence actuelle de nos situations, un volcan est aussi sous vos pas, Madame; vous le savez. J'ai connu vos terreurs bien naturelles à une époque où j'étais en sûreté et je n'y ai pas été insensible. Dieu seul connaît ce qu'il nous destine et peut être un jour me saurez vous gré d'avoir pris confiance dans votre bonté et de vous avoir fourni l'occasion d'en faire usage envers mes amis malheureux. Croyez à ma reconnaissance. Je vous souhaite le bonheur, Madame. Car j'ai trop bonne opinion de vous pour croire qu'il soit possible que vous soyez heureuse dans votre situation. MARIE CAROLINE."—LOUIS BLANC, iii. 379.

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escaped, and such as were convicted were sentenced to imprisonment only. M. Berryer was brought to trial; but such was the public admiration for his talents and exalted character, that he was acquitted, in a manner, by acclamation, almost immediately after the proceedings commenced. The Government had no need of severity: they were about to strike a blow at the chief of the conspiracy, which they felt assured would paralyse it in the whole of its ramifications.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 577, 579; Cap. vi. 135, 137; Ann. Hist. xiv. 221.

53. Treachery of Deutz towards the Princess.

At this time there was in France a renegade Jew named Deutz, who had unfortunately acquired the confidence of the Pope, and of the Duchess de Berri. This wretch had for some time been soliciting the employment of a traitor from M. Montalivet: it is one of the misfortunes of statesmanship that it brings men into contact with such characters. At length he obtained the treacherous employment he desired. He had long been in the confidence of the royal family, had travelled in the suite of the Mademoiselles Bourmont from London to Italy, and had been charged, at the Pope's recommendation, with important despatches from the Princess to the Queen of Spain and Dom Miguel. He was even then, however, in correspondence with the opposite party, and had been sent on a secret errand to Nantes by M. Thiers. Deutz accordingly undertook, for a large reward, to discover the Princess's place of concealment at Nantes, and in this attempt he proved too successful. Arrived there, he succeeded in persuading some influential Royalists that he had important despatches for the Duchess, which must be delivered into her own hands, and that it was necessary, therefore, that he should have a personal interview with her royal highness. This was accordingly granted: the Princess received him in the kindest manner, in a house where she usually saw visitors, conversed with him familiarly, and said to one of her attendants, "This is a good Breton, faithful and devoted without bounds."[2]

[2] Mem. de la Duchess de Berri, 87, 93; L. Blanc, iii. 585, 586.

As he was not made acquainted at this interview with

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the Princess's place of retreat, Deutz solicited and obtained a second interview, which was fixed for the 6th November. Of this place of meeting he informed the police; and to enhance the value of his treachery, he endeavoured, though without effect, to persuade Marshal Bourmont to accompany him, in order that they might both be taken at once. The Princess, however, came, and immediately after the house was surrounded by troops, and the police officers, with pistols in their hands, entered it. Her royal highness had only time to take refuge with Mdlles. de Korsabice, Mesnard, and Guebourg, in a little space formed behind her apartment, in the angle between two walls, the entrance of which was behind the chimney-piece. The police searched the house in the most rigorous manner in vain; but meanwhile the Princess was undergoing the most excruciating suffering. So small was their place of refuge, that she and her three attendants were obliged alternately to put their mouth to a little aperture, three inches across, which was the sole communication with the external air. To add to their sufferings, the gendarmes in the room lighted, on the approach of night, a fire in the grate, which converted the space behind into a burning oven. At length, after enduring tortures for sixteen hours, the sufferings of the prisoners became so great that they were obliged to come out and deliver themselves up. "Gentlemen," said the Princess, as she emerged from her place of concealment, "you have made war on me *à la St Laurent.* I have nothing to reproach myself with: I have only discharged the duty of a mother to regain the inheritance of her son." 1*

54. Her arrest. Nov. 6.

1 L. Blanc, iii. 584, 587; Ann. Hist. xiv. 221; Cap. vi. 382, 385.

The Princess was treated by General Dermoncourt with the respect and courtesy due to her rank, and conducted a prisoner to the castle of Nantes. From thence she was embarked two days afterwards, attended by her faithful ladies, with no other effects than what she could carry in her handkerchief, on board a brig, and conducted

55. Her imprisonment in the chateau of Blaye. Nov. 8.

* Alluding to the martyrdom of St Laurent by being roasted on a gridiron.

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to the castle of Blaye, where she was guarded, like Queen Mary in Lochleven or Fotheringay, with the most jealous care, and where, like her immortal predecessor, she bore a prolonged and tedious captivity with cheerfulness and gaiety. The *dénouement*, however, of the drama, if less tragic, was more withering than that of the Scottish heroine. Unhappily, the Princess, with all the courage and chivalry of the heroic character, possessed also the ardour and *insouciance* which is so often its accompaniment. She had all the intrepidity of Clorinda, but unfortunately she had also, with the charms, the facility of Armida. It was known to the government of Louis Philippe that at this time she was *enceinte*, and with cold and calculating prudence they calmly awaited till time brought about its natural result. After an imprisonment of some months, she herself announced her pregnancy to the Cabinet of the Tuileries.* The utmost pains were immediately taken to give her every assistance which her situation required, and on the 10th May she was safely delivered of a daughter, who was declared to be the issue of the Princess and Count Hector Lucchese-Palli, Count of Campo-Franco, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber of the King of the Two Sicilies. The object of the Government was now gained; the Princess was discredited; her followers were in despair. The romance had terminated in ridicule, and she was permitted by the Government with her infant quietly to return to Italy.[1]

Feb. 22, 1833.

May 10. 1 Cap. vii. 69, 79.

56. Extreme discontent and democratic movement in Paris. May 1831.

Long before this *dénouement* of the romantic drama in La Vendée occurred, a great democratic movement had taken place in the capital, and Paris had been the theatre of conflicts so determined and bloody as to throw those which overturned Charles X. into the shade. The Republican party there had long been in a state of the

* "Poussée par les circonstances et par les mesures ordonnées par les Gouvernements, quoique j'eusse les motifs les plus graves pour tenir mon mariage secret, je crois devoir à moi-même ainsi qu'à mes enfans de déclarer m'être mariée secrètement pendant mon séjour en Italie.—MARIE CAROLINE. 22d Feb. 1833."—CAPEFIGUE, vii. 69, note.

utmost discontent, in consequence of the entire failure of their hopes from the results of the Revolution of July, and the clear evidence which was now afforded that they had only revolted to fix chains about their necks incomparably heavier, and more irremovable, than those which were around them under the former government of Polignac and his priests. The extreme suffering which had long prevailed, especially among the working classes, from the dreadful shock to credit and vast diminution of consumption which had resulted from that convulsion, had inclined nearly the whole of them to the same sentiments, and the democratic press was unanimous in ascribing the whole to the tyrannical Government of Louis Philippe, and its departure from the principles of the Government of July. So far did the agitation proceed, that a meeting of all the Opposition was held at Lafitte's, at which it was agreed to make an appeal to the nation—in other words, commence an insurrection; and a committee was appointed, consisting of M. de Lafayette, M. Odillon Barrot, M. Mauguin, and other liberal deputies, to draw up an address to the nation. But before it could be prepared, or the requisite organisation made for effecting a general insurrection, an event took place which brought on the crisis, and precipitated matters sooner than the leaders of the movement had intended. This was the death of General Lamarque, which took place at Paris on the 1st June, at the age of sixty years.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 189; Cap. vi. 192; L. Blanc, iii. 288, 289.

57. Death of General Lamarque. June 1-5.

Though one of the generals of the Empire, this respectable veteran was not so much distinguished by his exploits in the field as by the celebrity he had acquired since the Restoration by his eloquence on the popular side in the tribune. In consequence of this circumstance, Napoleon, who prized that weapon as much when wielded on his side in adversity, as he detested it when directed against him in prosperity, had recommended him on his death-bed at St Helena for a Marshal of France. Those implicated in the Hundred Days had found in him a zealous

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protector, a faithful friend; his efforts in behalf of the Poles had endeared him to every one of that ardent and chivalrous race; and the whole democratic party looked up to him as their guardian and future leader, when the final contest should commence. The *bourgeois* party had made a grand display on occasion of the funeral of M. Casimir Périer, and the Revolutionists resolved on a counter display on so heart-stirring an event as the obsequies of General Lamarque. The violent leaders were induced to make arrangements for rendering it the commencement of an insurrection, by the decree which appeared three days after in the columns of the *Moniteur*, declaring the four western departments in a state of siege. This extreme measure, always unpopular in France, made the Revolutionists regard the disturbances in La Vendée as much more serious than they really were, and conclude, not without reason, that they should not let slip the present opportunity, never likely to recur, when a formidable Royalist insurrection in the western provinces might be combined with a great democratic movement in the capital. Orders were therefore given by all the popular committees for an immense assemblage of people for the funeral, which was fixed for the 5th June; and preparations were secretly made, by the distribution of arms and ammunition to the persons who could be trusted, for making it the commencement of a general insurrection against the Government.[1]

June 3.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 289, 291; Cap. vi. 190, 193; Ann. Hist. xv. 187, 189.

58. His funeral, and commencement of the insurrection. June 5.

The funeral procession was to set out from the house in the Rue St Honoré, where the deceased had died, and proceed by the Madeleine and the Chateau d'Eau to the Place of the Bastile, in its way to the place of sepulture in the south of France. Immense preparations had been made to give it all the solemnity and magnificence possible, and calculated in every way to affect the imagination of the people. A splendid car was prepared, on which the body was to be placed, and numerous deputations from all the public bodies in Paris were to follow

the vehicle. At their head was a large part of the Chamber of Deputies, headed by Marshal Clausel, General Lafayette, M. Lafitte, and M. Mauguin, who bore the four corners of the pall. The car was covered with tricolor flags and *immortelles*. Nearly the whole of the popular societies, Les Amis du Peuple, La Société des Droits de l'Homme, La Société Gauloise, and La Organisation des Municipalités, came next. From daybreak an immense crowd collected all along the Rue St Honoré, in the Place Louis XV., and the whole way along the boulevards, where the procession was to pass, in which, in addition to the numerous and sturdy Republicans of Paris, were to be seen great numbers of ardent refugees of all nations. Among them the Poles were particularly conspicuous, by their number, daring look, and the interest which they excited among the bystanders. Banners of various devices, but all of the most decided revolutionary tendency, floated over the crowd in all directions; and from the anxiety manifest in all visages, and the eager conferences which were going on in the agitated groups in every quarter, it was evident that a great design was in contemplation, and that the huge multitude had not assembled merely to do honour to the dead, but with some dark designs against the living.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 291, 294; Cap. vi. 196, 199; Ann. Hist. xv. 189, 190.

59. Preparations of the Government.

Aware of the danger which menaced them, the Government had made preparations on the greatest scale to meet it. There was none of the infatuation and *insouciance* with which Prince Polignac and the priests had met the revolt of July. 18,000 infantry of the line, 4000 cavalry, and 2000 municipal guards were in Paris itself, with 80 pieces of cannon, ready equipped. In addition to these forces, there were 30,000 regular troops in the environs of the capital, who might be called in at a moment's notice, and the Government could rely on the support of at least 6000 of the national guard, chiefly from the *banlieue* or environs of the capital. Those of Paris were for the most part not relied on, as their known disposition

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rendered it more than doubtful which side they would take in the approaching conflict. Thus the Government had 60,000 men and 120 guns at their disposal, and they were disposed so as to occupy, or be ready on a short notice to occupy, all the most important posts and streets in the capital. But, on the other hand, the insurgents, or those inclined to side with them, were above 100,000, of whom a great proportion were old soldiers or national guards, well acquainted with the use of arms; and it was easy to foresee that, if any vacillation were to appear in the troops of the line, or any of them were to join the insurgents, the regular soldiers would soon have the whole working population of Paris on their hands.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 197, 199; L. Blanc, iii. 294, 296; Ann. Hist. xv. 191, 192.

60. Commencement of the insurrection. June 5.

The procession set out from the Rue St Honoré at ten o'clock, but from the very outset the disorder and excitement were so great, that it was evident it would never terminate without a serious convulsion. When it reached the corner of the Rue de la Paix, it was forcibly turned aside from the intended route, and obliged to go round the Pillar of Austerlitz, in the Place Vendôme, by a crowd of enthusiastic young men. The troops at the Hôtel de l'Etat Major in the Place withdrew when the disorderly mob approached; instantly the cry arose, "They are insulting the manes of Lamarque!" and the soldiers were forced to turn out and salute the car to avoid an immediate collision. Cries of "*Vive la République!*" were now heard, and the sombre menacing aspect of the immense crowd too surely presaged an approaching storm. The general indignation was roused to the highest point by the appearance of the Duke de Fitz-James at the balcony of his hôtel, with his hat on his head, as the cortège passed; a volley of stones drove him quickly back, and broke every window in his hôtel. The crowd increased at every step as they proceeded in their course along the boulevards towards the Chateau d'Eau. Several police officers, stationed along the line marked out for

the procession, were desperately wounded by the people. Arms were seen in many hands, and in a transport of enthusiasm, numbers climbed up the trees in the boulevards to break off branches that might serve as weapons of offence. It was plain to every one that an insurrection was approaching; things had not looked so threatening at the commencement of the Revolution of July; the fidelity of the troops was evidently wavering, and there were few in the multitude who did not think it was all over with the Government of Louis Philippe. "Where are they leading us to?" cried a voice from a group of students in one of the most crowded parts of the boulevards. "To the Republic!" answered the leader of a division decorated with the medal of July; "rest assured, we shall sleep to-night in the Tuileries."[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 296, 297; Cap. vi. 198, 200; Ann. Hist. xv. 191, 192.

61. Commencement of the insurrection.

An hundred and fifty scholars of the Polytechnic School, who had forced their way out of their establishment, joined the procession at the corner of the Rue du Temple, near the Chateau d'Eau, and their arrival, which was received with loud cries of "*Vive la liberté!*" "*Vive les élèves de l'École Polytechnique!*" roused the people to a perfect climax of enthusiasm. No one doubted of victory, now that these renowned champions of July had arrived to range themselves by their side. It was only a question when the insurrection should begin; many thought it was too long delayed. They went on, however, in the utmost disorder; the huge car drawn by enthusiastic bands, shouting "*Vive la République!*" "*à bas Louis Philippe!*" "*Vive Lamarque!*" as far as the Bridge of Austerlitz, where the funeral oration was to be pronounced, and the ceremony was to close, preparatory to the departure of the body for the place of sepulture in the Pyrenees. General Umenski and M. Mauguin pronounced the speeches. "Lamarque," said the former, "worthy representative of the people, you were ours; you belonged to the human race. All people who love freedom will shed tears at your tomb. In rais-

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ing your noble voice for Poland, you served the cause of all nations as well as France. You served the cause of liberty, that of the interests dearest to humanity; you defended it against that Holy Alliance which grew up on the tomb of Poland, and which will never cease to threaten the liberties of the world, till the crime which cemented it shall have been effaced by the resurrection of its unfortunate victim. You have deserved, Lamarque, the eternal gratitude of the Polish people." "Before we separate," said Marshal Clausel, "for ever from the mortal remains of Lamarque, allow me to inscribe, in the name of the army, a last homage on his tomb. We will feel his want when the work, as yet imperfect, has need of all hands; and the fall of Lamarque, gifted with such prodigious powers of labour, resounds through the world like the fall of many men. Adieu, Lamarque! Adieu in the name of soldiers of all grades. I bow before your coffin." [1]

[1] Cap. vi. 201, 203; L. Blanc, iii. 296, 297; Ann. Hist. xv. 190, 191.

62. The insurrection breaks out.

It may be conceived what enthusiasm these eloquent words, addressed at the moment of separating from the mortal remains of their beloved leader, produced in the people. Such was the general agitation, that Lafayette called for his carriage, and hastily entered it. Instantly the crowd unharnessed the horses, and began to draw the vehicle, amidst cries of "*Vive Lafayette! Vive la République!*" He was urged to go at once to the Hôtel de Ville and establish a provisional government; but his habitual indecision withheld him at a moment when he might have overturned the throne. The carriage was still moving forward with difficulty through the prodigious crowd which choked up every part of the Place, when the cry arose, "The dragoons, the dragoons!" and the glittering helmets and breastplates of the cuirassiers were seen in dense array advancing through the throng. Instantly the cry arose, "To the barricades!" "*Vive la République!*" and the front rank of the soldiers, unable to force their way

in line through the compact crowd, was broken into small bodies, and soon engaged in single combat with the most daring of the Revolutionists. Blood flowed on all sides; and so dense was the mass of the populace, and so determined the front which they presented, that the cuirassiers, after several attempts, found themselves unable to pass through. Orders were therefore given for a retreat; and the withdrawal of the military was the signal for a general insurrection. In the twinkling of an eye, the whole of the faubourgs St Antoine and St Marceau, so well known in the worst days of the Revolution, were in motion: the boulevards from the Place of the Bastile to the Passage du Saumon were filled with ardent multitudes preparing for the conflict; and before intelligence of what was going forward could reach the Tuileries, barricades were already erected in the narrow streets in the centre of the city, and above a third of the metropolis, embracing its most densely inhabited quarters, was in the hands of the insurgents.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 203, 205; L. Blanc, iii. 498, 502; Ann. Hist. xv. 204, 206.

63. Vigorous measures on the part of the Government.

Foreseeing that a conflict was approaching, the King had left St Cloud in the morning, and sat in council with his ministers in the Tuileries all forenoon. At three in the afternoon, intelligence arrived that a prodigious crowd filled the boulevards, that seditious cries had been heard, and soon after that the contest had commenced, and appeared to be very serious. At Marshal Soult's suggestion, orders were in consequence immediately despatched for all the troops within thirty miles of Paris to march upon the capital, and the whole national guard of the city and its environs called out. Before nightfall the *générale* beat in all the streets, and all Paris was in motion, some hurrying to their rallying-points assigned by Government, some to the posts occupied in strength by the insurgents.[2] By this means it was calculated that by noon on the following day, Government would have at its disposal 50,000 troops of the line, and an equal number of national

[2] Cap. vi. 204, 206; L. Blanc, iii. 297, 300; Ann. Hist. xv. 191, 193.

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guards; and if the latter remained faithful, it seemed impossible that the insurrection could maintain its ground against so prodigious an armed force.

64. Mysterious meeting at Lafitte's at night.

Everything, however, depended on the fidelity of the troops of the line and the national guard, for the capital was in such a state of effervescence that the most determined resistance from the working classes might confidently be expected, and the defection of even a few regiments might neutralise the rest, and might overturn the Government. During the evening and night of the 5th, everything appeared to prognosticate success to the insurgents; indeed, the contest seemed well-nigh decided. Nearly a half of the city was in the undisputed possession of the insurgents; barricades were rapidly rising in the centre of the city; the armourers' shops had been generally broken into and pillaged; and a considerable number of the national guard in the suspected quarters had already joined them. At nine o'clock a mysterious meeting was held at M. Lafitte's, who might truly be called, like the Last of the Barons, Warwick, "the Knocker-down and Putter-up of kings." It was not numerously attended: the majority awaited the course of events before declaring themselves; but by such as did come the most violent sentiments were uttered. The word "Dethronement" was openly pronounced; and to complete the resemblance to the similar meeting in the same room which had directed the movement which overthrew Charles X., M. de Lafayette arrived before midnight to "discuss the situation of affairs." These were ominous words, coming from such a quarter, and they were accordingly discussed in every view. An address to the King, a movement in the Chambers, a change of government, of dynasty, were alternately brought into review; but at length the majority ranged themselves with the opinion of M. de Lafayette, that they should await the course of events, and declare for that side which the future should prove to be in the ascendant.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 209, 210.

65. Progress and alarming aspect of the insurrection.

During the night, however, the insurrection made very great progress on both sides of the Seine. Several posts were stormed, and the arms they contained distributed to the people; and in some encounters between detached parties of the military and the insurgents, the latter had proved victorious. Before ten at night the Republicans were masters of the Arsenal, of the posts of the Galiote, and the Chateau d'Eau; they were in entire possession of the Marais and the eighth arrondissement; the manufactory of arms in the Rue Popincourt had fallen into their hands, with twelve hundred muskets; they had advanced to the Place des Victoires, and were preparing to assault the Bank, the Post-office, and the Barrack des Petits Frères. But the great centre of their strength was in the Rue St Martin and the adjoining streets, which were all strongly fortified with barricades, and where the headquarters of the insurgents had been established. The dragoons had been defeated by the people, in attempting to retake that post, and it remained in their hands; the Halle aux Vins had been passed, and all the southern bank of the river as far as the Pantheon had fallen into their hands. But the great points of the Tuileries, the Louvre, the Hôtel de Ville, the Post-office, and the other public offices, were still in the hands of the Government, which remained in possession of the entire city to the westward of the Place de Grève.[1]

[1] Rapport du Marechal du Camp Darriule; Ann. Hist. xv. 192, 193; L. Blanc, iii. 504, 505.

66. Moral chances on either side.

While the advantages of position were thus, after the first day's encounter, so nearly balanced between the contending parties, a similar equality prevailed in the moral influences by which the struggle was still more likely in the end to be determined. The insurgents had committed what turned out to be a grievous mistake in the outset, by hoisting the *drapeau rouge* and displaying several *chapeaux rouges* in the crowd when the disturbance first began. The fatal ensign stamped its character upon the insurrection, and in most places deterred the middle ranks

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and national guard from joining it. On the other hand, the working classes, especially in the centre and eastern quarters of the city, were in such extreme misery, from the effects of the Revolution of July, that it might reasonably be expected that they would, if the contest was prolonged, nearly all join the insurgents; the national guard in many quarters were notoriously disaffected, and not a few of their uniforms were to be seen in the opposite ranks; and the regular troops, shaken by the events of July, and the rewards then bestowed on those who had violated their oaths, were in a very vacillating state, and some of them, particularly the sappers and miners in the Rue Sainte Catherine, had openly joined the insurrection. Even where they did obey the *générale*, which beat in every quarter of Paris, the national guards turned out in very small numbers, and with evident reluctance; the horrors of civil warfare were present to every mind; wives, mothers, and sisters were indefatigable in their efforts to keep them at home; and such as did appear at their rallying-points came with downcast looks and anxious visages, rather like martyrs going to the stake than the defenders of their country marching to victory.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 505; Cap. vi. 215, 216; Ann. Hist. xv. 193.

67. Measures and forces of the Government. June 6.

The measures taken at the Tuileries in this crisis were characterised by vigour, tempered by prudence. The King and Ministers sat in council all night, and at six on the morning of the 6th, when accounts had been received on all sides of the rapid progress of the insurgents, the question was proposed by the King, whether the capital should be declared in a state of siege? Many members of the council thought it should; but the King, who was always averse to decisive measures, declared that, in his opinion, so extreme a step should be reserved for the last extremity, that they should await the course of events, and in the mean time measures of repression only should be attempted. As it was known also what had taken place the preceding night at Lafitte's, several mem-

bers of the council strongly urged the arrest of Lafayette and Lafitte; but this too the King opposed as too bold a measure—a sort of *coup d'état*, which was unnecessary, as the former was a vain garrulous old man, incapable of taking a vigorous resolution, and the latter was, he knew, in secret attached to himself. Orders were, however, given for the arrest of M. Garnier Pagès, M. Corbet, and M. Laboissière; and three important decrees were agreed to, which immediately appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*. By the first, the artillery of the national guard of Paris was disbanded; by the second, the military Veterinary School of Alfort was disbanded; by the third, the Polytechnic School was dissolved, the scholars ordered to be sent to their homes, and the few who had remained faithful directed to form the nucleus of a new establishment. Orders had previously been given to the police to enter the printing-offices of the *Tribune*, the *Quotidienne*, the *Courrier de l'Europe*, the *National*, the *Courrier Français*, the *Journal du Commerce*, and the *Corsaire*, and break their presses to pieces, lest they should be used to throw off proclamations addressed to the workmen; and this was accordingly done. This was the very thing most complained of on the part of the Polignac Administration, and which had brought on the Revolution of July; but Louis Philippe was doomed in every stage of his career to be the author of the justification of Charles X.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 7, 1832, ordonnance du 6 Juin; Cap. vi. 210, 212; Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195.

68. Marshal Soult's military measures.

It was not, however, by decrees on paper that the formidable insurrection which had broken out in Paris was to be put down; and in devising measures for this purpose, Marshal Soult displayed all his wonted vigour and capacity. His plan was to act as they had done at Lyons—destroy all the barricades at once, and crush the insurrection in its centre by a vast and converging attack of military force. Probably all will agree that this is the proper way to act when you have such a force: the difficulty is, what to do when you have it not, or it

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proves traitor in your hands. To carry out this plan, every preparation was made as for a pitched battle, as with the whole military strength of Prussia or Austria, and the force employed was equal to that which conquered at Jena or Austerlitz. The whole national guard of Paris, except the artillery, which had been disbanded, was summoned; that of the *banlieue*, for a circuit fifteen miles round the capital, was marched in with the utmost expedition; and all the troops within twenty miles received their orders over-night, and came rapidly in on the morning and forenoon of the 6th. But the national guard of Paris, as usual, failed at the decisive moment; many of its battalions never made their appearance at all; of those which did come, nearly two-thirds were absent. Not so the national guard of the *banlieue;* they presented themselves early at the place of rendezvous in the Carrousel in great and unexpected strength. Not 6000, but 10,000 had obeyed the summons of the generals, and their determined looks, serried ranks, and loud cheers, as they marched past the King at the gate of the Tuileries, proved that there were men in France who could be relied on in the hour of danger. Living in the country, and engaged in agricultural pursuits, they were strangers to the passions and changes of the capital, and the opinion was universal amongst them, that Paris was in the hands of a set of assassins and plunderers, who, after sacking it, and destroying the market for their produce, would end by imposing a *maximum* on the price of agricultural productions, as their predecessors had done in 1793. Altogether, Marshal Soult found himself, at ten o'clock on the 6th, at the head of 60,000 regular troops, of whom 6000 were cavalry, with 120 guns, besides 20,000 national guards, more than half of whom might safely be relied on in the approaching conflict.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 212, 215; Moniteur, June 7, 1832; L. Blanc, iii. 506, 507; Ann. Hist. xv. 195, 197.

Great as these forces were, they were by no means incommensurate to the danger which threatened, for

69. Great successes of the insurgents, and consternation of the military chiefs.

the progress of the insurgents during the night and early in the morning had been immense. Before nightfall they had forced one of the bridges, and opened up the communications between the southern and northern quarters of the city; they had carried with great slaughter the posts of the Bastile, the Marché St Martin, and the Blancs Manteaux; and at seven in the morning they had erected a strong barricade across the entrance of the Petit Pont de l'Hôtel Dieu, defeated a part of the 25th regiment sent to destroy it, and surrounded on all sides the prefecture of police, which was hourly expected to fall into their hands. Steadily advancing from the eastern parts and centre of the city, and fortifying every street they carried with barricades, they were rapidly approaching the Hôtel de Ville and Post-Office, and might soon be expected in the Place des Victoires around the Palais Royal, and in front of the Louvre. The intelligence of these events excited the utmost alarm at the Tuileries; consternation was painted in every visage; the throne of the Citizen King seemed to be crumbling before the very forces which had created it. The palace no longer presented its wonted crowded aspect; there was no throng in the ante-chamber; numbers were slipping away. The persons in office were already secreting their most valuable effects: it was openly proposed in the council that the Tuileries should be abandoned. Were they to remain there till a sudden panic seized the troops, or the defection of a single regiment gave them an entrance, as on the 29th July 1830? What was most dreaded was that General Lafayette or Marshal Clausel should join the movement, and give it the weight of their military and political influence. Certain it is that Armand Carrel had a mysterious interview during the night with Marshal Clausel; but he found him undetermined, and unwilling to commit himself till some of the troops had revolted.[1] Strange to say, the advice to abandon the Tuileries came from Marshal Soult himself, and was opposed by M.

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 306, 309; Cap. vi. 215, 216.

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Gisquet, the head of the police; and nothing is more certain than that, if either Clausel or Lafayette had joined the insurgents, a part of the troops would have gone with them, and it had been all over with the monarchy of the Citizen King.

70. Forces on both sides, and theatre of the combat.

But although politically timid, Soult's military measures were characterised by vigour and resolution. To secure the fidelity of the national guards, he intermingled their battalions among the troops of the line, and the forces thus united were placed in enormous strength on either side of the centre of the insurrection. Thirty thousand men were stationed on the boulevards, from the Porte St Denis to the Place of the Bastile, and an equal force along the quays, from the Bridge of Austerlitz to the Pont des Arts. Between these two arms of iron Soult hoped to crush the insurgents, who, although not inferior in number if their forces had all been concentrated, were not yet all collected, and were by no means equal to the regular troops in arms or equipment, and were entirely destitute of artillery. Finding themselves, by this immense accumulation of forces, reduced to the defensive, the insurgents strengthened themselves as much as possible in the densely-peopled part of the city which they had selected for their stronghold, where the height of the houses, generally of five or six storeys, gave every facility for a dropping fire of musketry, and the narrowness of the streets rendered easy the construction of the most formidable barricades. Their headquarters were re-established in the CLOISTER OF ST MÉRI, which became famous in the desperate conflict which ensued; and all the streets leading to it on either side, especially the Rue des Arcis and the Rue de la Verrerie, were barricaded in the strongest manner. There the insurgents resolved to maintain the conflict to the very last extremity, in the hope that the national guards might refuse to assault their barricades,[1] or that the defection of one or two regiments of the line might, as on the former

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195, 197; Cap. vi. 216, 217; L. Blanc, iii. 308, 315.

revolt, open them the path to victory, the Tuileries, and empire.

The order for a general attack upon the insurgents was given at seven in the morning, and immediately commenced with great vigour and immense numbers. The first assault was made on the barricades of the Bastile and of the Faubourg St Antoine, and they were carried after an obstinate resistance. Steadily advancing as they cleared the streets of the obstructions, the victorious troops gained ground to the westward as far as the Rue St Antoine and the Barrière du Trône, and penetrated into the narrow streets flanked on either side with lofty stone buildings, which form the centre of Paris. The Bridge of Austerlitz was at the same time stormed, and the troops cleared the quays and narrow streets running into them. Still the central position of the insurgents in the Rue St Martin and at the Cloister de St Méri remained in their hands; and though the combatants there were not numerous, they held a very strong position, and they were animated with the most heroic resolution. All the houses were filled with musketeers, who kept up a deadly dropping fire upon every column which approached them, and the strength of the barricades, solidly constructed of stone, seemed to defy the discharges even of the heaviest artillery. The desperate resolution with which the insurgents had defended themselves in several quarters, particularly in a house near the Passage du Saumon, where they combated to the last man, presaged a bloody encounter in this their last stronghold. The tocsin incessantly sounded from the summit of the church of St Méri to call the Republicans to the decisive point, and they were not wanting to the appeal. Young women, children of twelve years of age, old men tottering on the verge of the grave, flocked to the scene of danger, and stood side by side with the manly combatants.[1] Never had there been in the long annals of the revolutionary conflicts such universal enthusiasm

Successes of the troops.

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195; Rapport de Darriule; L. Blanc, iii. 317, 327; Cap. vi. 215, 217.

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and determined resolution on the part of the Republicans.

72. Storming of the cloister of St Méri.

The troops first brought up to assault this formidable position were some battalions of the national guard of Paris, which, ignorant of the strength of its opponents, advanced gaily as to certain victory. Assailed by a close fire from the barricade in the Rue St Martin, the front rank first hesitated and then recoiled: a plunging fire of surprising accuracy from the windows next threw the whole column into disorder. In wild confusion they fled back to the quays, throwing their arms and shakos away, and dispersed in all directions. Upon this Soult brought up several pieces of the heaviest field-artillery, and gave the insurgents ten minutes to surrender at discretion. When the time had elapsed, without any tender of submission, the guns opened and battered the barricades for some time with the utmost violence. When they appeared to be ruined by the fire, several battalions of the national guard of the *banlieue* were moved forward, and formed in close column close behind the guns, while howitzers in their rear threw bombs over their heads into the space behind the barricades. After a general discharge, and before the smoke had cleared away, the whole rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and succeeded, though with heavy loss, in scrambling over the barricades. The insurgents upon this retreated into the adjoining houses, but there with desperate courage they fought to the last. Sixty in a corner house at the junction of the Rue de St Méri and Rue des Arcis, maintained the contest till their last cartridge was exhausted, when nearly the whole of them perished under the bayonets of the infuriated assailants. Scarcely any quarter was either asked or given, and many savage deeds disgraced the triumph of the soldiers of order. This bloody triumph closed the contest and extinguished the revolt.[1] In the last resort the throne of the Citizen King was saved, neither by the valour of its regular infantry, nor the

[1] Rapport de M. Darriule; Ann. Hist. xv. 194, 195; Moniteur, June 7, 1832; L. Blanc, iii. 324, 327; Cap. vi. 215, 217, 230, 232.

chivalry of its steel-clad cuirassiers, but by the courage of the national guard of the *banlieue*, composed of the market-gardeners and milk-hucksters of Paris, who, untainted by the passions of the capital, and exasperated by the stoppage of the sale of their humble produce in its markets, flocked to the theatre of conflict, and were hurried over the barricades almost before they knew what they were doing.*

73. The King rides along the boulevards: results of the conflict.

Physically brave, the politically irresolute Louis Philippe acted a noble part on this occasion. He insisted on the Queen and the Princess Adelaide, who were the prey to the most dreadful apprehensions, accompanying him from St Cloud to Paris when the insurrection began; and at mid-day on the 6th, before the firing had yet ceased in the central parts of the city, he set out on horseback, accompanied by his sons and chief officers, to review the troops. The courageous act, as is generally the case on such occasions, excited general admiration, and the cortège was loudly applauded as it proceeded along the Rue de Rivoli, the Rue de la Paix, and the boulevards, to the Place de la Bastile, and back by the quays to the Louvre. The King was not actually under fire; but in the crowded streets and excited state of the population, he ran no small risk of being assassinated by some of the political fanatics with whom the capital at that time abounded. The garrison of Paris had 55 killed and 240 wounded in this combat; the national guard, chiefly of the *banlieue*, 18 killed and 104 wounded.[1] The loss on the side of the insurgents was never distinctly known: but 93 dead bodies and 291 wounded persons were brought to the public hospitals—probably not more than a half of the real sufferers on the occasion, who were withdrawn as much as possible, after the revolt failed,

[1] Moniteur, June 7, 1832, and June 12, and June 22; Ann. Hist. xv. 195, 196; Cap. vi. 217, 218.

* The Author visited the theatre of this conflict shortly after. The walls were all perforated by grape-shot or cannon-balls, the windows and doors smashed to atoms, and marks of the most desperate strife in every room. The only surprising thing appeared to be how any one, either of the assailants or defenders, survived such a dreadful conflict.

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from public sight by their relations. Fifteen hundred of the insurgents were made prisoners.

74. Deputation of the Chamber to the King.

A meeting of the liberal deputies was again held at M. Lafitte's, on the morning of the 6th, to discuss the "*eventualities*" which might occur. Beyond all doubt, they assembled to deliberate on the dethronement of the King, but the course of events induced them to alter their views. When the display of troops proved that revolt was hopeless, and the discharge of cannon told that the Cloister of St Méri was in process of being stormed, they quietly slipped over to the other side, and sought only to mitigate the victors' wrath. A deputation, consisting of M. Arago, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Lafitte, was appointed to wait upon the King, *congratulate him on his victory*, and implore him to temper justice with mercy in the moment of triumph. The deputation, which forcibly recalled that of which the same Arago had formed a part to Marmont two years before, during the revolt of July,[1] arrived at the Tuileries immediately after the King's return from his progress through the city. They could not have arrived more inopportunely than when the monarch had just witnessed with his own eyes the extremities to which the violence of factions had reduced his capital. In vain M. Odillon Barrot represented, with all the eloquence of which he was master, that the excesses all originated in the coercive system commenced by M. Casimir Périer and the cabinet of 13th March; that it had led to revolts within, loss of influence and consideration without; that it had induced the insurrections of Grenoble and Lyons, the putting four departments in the west in a state of siege; in fine, in a rebellion which had bathed Paris in blood. "We beseech you, Sire!" he concluded, "to shut your ears to those who would counsel measures of violence in the moment of victory. In that career, allow us to say, it is difficult to stop when you have once entered.[2] You have triumphed in the name of the law; but the triumph

[1] Ante, c. xvii. § 78.

[2] L. Blanc, iii. 527, 528; Cap. vi. 219, 221.

is for ever to be deplored, for it has been purchased by the blood of the French."

"Who is responsible for these disorders?" interrupted the King; "who must answer for the blood which has been shed? The miserable wretches who took advantage of the funeral of General Lamarque to attack the Government by open force—to fire on the troops of the line and the national guard? My duty was traced out in characters which cannot be misunderstood. The cannon you have heard is that which has demolished the barricades of St Méri: the revolt is terminated. I do not know what can lead you to suppose that violent measures are to be adopted, but, rely upon it, they are loudly called for. During my ride through the city I repeatedly heard the cry, 'Sire, a prompt justice.' That is enough: but I trust justice will be able to resume its course without violence of any sort. I see nothing in my conduct which should make me lose my popularity, if it is not the violence of the opposite factions. I know the press is constantly endeavouring to destroy me, but it is by the aid of falsehood. I ask you, Is there any person of whom you have ever heard against whom a greater torrent of calumny has been poured forth than myself?" The conference broke up with no other result but increased exasperation on both sides; and it soon appeared that the King had abated nothing of his firm resolution by their endeavours. Next morning there appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* an ordonnance, dated June 6, declaring Paris in a state of siege, and the most rigorous measures were adopted by the police against the secret societies and the printing-offices of the liberal journals.[1]

75. Answer of the King, and Paris declared in a state of siege.

[1] Ordonnance, June 7, 1832; Moniteur, ibid.; Ann. Hist. xv. 196, 197; L. Blanc, iii. 317, 329; Cap. vi. 220, 224.

How necessary soever the ordonnance of June 6th, proclaiming the state of siege, may have been in this excited state of the metropolis, it met immediately with the most impassioned resistance from all parties. Republicans, Legitimists, Carlists, Napoleonists, united in con-

76. Resistance to the state of siege, and legal decision on its effect.

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demning it as harsh and unnecessary, seeing the revolt had already been suppressed before it was issued. It was a more extreme measure than the ordonnances of Polignac, for it superseded, in all cases connected with the insurrection, the ordinary tribunals, substituted courts-martial for juries, and, as explained by an ordonnance on the following day, applied also to delinquencies of the press.* This ominous declaration excited the utmost indignation in that numerous and influential body who, in a highly civilised state of society, live by inflaming the passions of the moment, whatever they are. The storm was universal, and violent in the extreme ; and it was no easy matter for Government, resting on the support only of the military and civil *employés*, to make head against it. The general excitement was increased by the cool way in which the Prefect of Police, M. Gisquet, carried into execution the intentions of Government, striking on the right and the left without distinction; multiplying arrests of suspected persons of all parties, on very slight grounds, including several deputies, and breaking to pieces, without mercy, all the printing-presses of the Opposition journals, whether Carlist or Republican. All that had been made the subject of such reproach to M. de Polignac, when *attempted*, was now *done* by his successor, but done with tenfold severity and vigour. It was only necessary to substitute the name of M. Montalivet for that of M. de Polignac, and the indictment against the one would apply to the other.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 239, 241; Ann. Hist. xv. 197, 199; L. Blanc, iii. 332, 337.

To give an air of impartiality to their proceedings, and

* "Par la déclaration de l'état de siége l'autorité militaire est de droit investie des attributions qui, dans l'état ordinaire, appartiennent aux autorités civiles tant administratives que judiciaires. Toutefois l'intention du gouvernement du Roi est que, dans cette circonstance, l'action de la Justice militaire s'applique seulement aux cas spéciaux ayant rapport à l'insurrection, au soulèvement, à l'embauchage, à la séduction des troupes, aux provocations à la révolte, et autres circonstances constituant la complicité, et enfin aux faits tendant à troubler l'Etat par la guerre civile, l'illégal emploi de la force armée, la dévastation et le pillage public. Quant à la presse, les provocations à la révolte faites par cette voie et les attributs de l'ordre public *sont des crimes justiciables des conseils de guerre*."—*Ordonn.*, 7th June 1832 ; *Moniteur, ibid.*

77. Arrest of MM. de Chateaubriand, Fitzjames, Hyde de Neuville, and Berryer.

represent the insurrection as the combined work of the Republicans and Carlists, the Government, at the same time that it ordered the arrest of MM. Laboissière, Cabet, and Garnier Pagès on the side of the Democrats, apprehended also MM. de Chateaubriand, Fitzjames, Hyde de Neuville, and Berryer as the leaders of the Legitimists. The arrest of so many noble characters, especially on a charge of which all the world knew they were entirely innocent, excited the utmost indignation in Paris. The Government journals, in particular the *Journal des Débats*, were loud in its condemnation. M. de Chateaubriand had resigned all his appointments, and refused to take the oath to Government; but every one knew that he was incapable of engaging in a conspiracy, and least of all with the Republicans. He looked for the restoration of the elder branch of the Bourbons by a vote of the Chambers and constitutional means, and by that alone. The dignified manner in which he bore his captivity, and the delicate raillery with which he replied to the charges preferred against him, excited the admiration even of his enemies.[1] * Nothing whatever was discovered to implicate any of them in the proceedings which had taken place either

[1] Cap. vi. 243, 245; Ann. Hist. xv. 195, 196; L. Blanc, iii. 330, 335.

* "In a letter written from prison to M. Bertin, the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, M. de Chateaubriand said—" J'attendais là, mon cher Bertin, votre vieille amitié, elle s'est trouvée à point nommé à l'heure de l'infortune. Les compagnons d'exil et de prison, sont comme des camarades de collège, à jamais liés par le souvenir des joies et des leçons en commun. Je voudrais bien vous voir et vous aller remercier. Je voudrais bien aussi remercier tous les journaux qui m'ont témoigné tant d'intérêt, et se sont souvenus du défenseur de la liberté de la presse; mais vous savez que je suis captif, captivité d'ailleurs adoucie par la politesse de mes hôtes. Je ne saurais trop me louer de la bienveillance de M. le Préfet de Police. J'ai refusé tout serment à l'ordre politique actuel: j'ai envoyé ma démission de Ministre d'Etat, et renoncé à ma pension.

" Je ne puis donc être un traitre ni un ingrat envers le Gouvernement de Louis Philippe. Veut-on me prendre pour un ennemi? Mais alors je suis un ennemi loyal, désarmé, un vaincu qui supporte la necessité d'un fait sans demander grâce. J'ai fondé mon refus de serment sur deux raisons—1. La Monarchie actuelle ne tire pas selon moi son droit par succession de l'ancienne Monarchie. 2. La Monarchie actuelle ne tire pas selon moi son droit de la souveraineté populaire, puisqu'un congrès national exprès a été assemblé pour décider de la forme du gouvernement."—M. De Chateaubriand à M. Bertin, June 10, 1832; Capefigue, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, vi. 246, 247.

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in Paris or La Vendée; and after a detention of a few weeks, during which they experienced the utmost courtesy from M. Gisquet, the Prefect of Police, they were all liberated.

78. Proceedings of the courts-martial.

Upon the proclamation of the state of siege, two councils of war were formed, to whom the cognisance of the cases connected with the insurrection was committed. The officers summoned, however, evinced from the first the utmost repugnance at their invidious office, and they were so strongly supported by public opinion that it was more than doubtful whether their appointment would lead to any result. Two persons brought before the first council of war were acquitted; but an artist, named Geoffroy, accused of having taken a part in the insurrection of the 5th, and borne the *chapeau rouge* on that occasion, was convicted, and condemned to death. This sentence, however, was brought under the review of the Court of Cassa-

June 22.

tion, by which it was set aside on the ground of the illegality of the constitution of the court by the ordonnance of June 6th. This decision made an immense sensation, as a victory over the Government; and it was so entirely supported by public opinion that Louis Philippe bent before

June 30.

the storm. By an ordonnance of June 30th the courts-martial were declared dissolved in the capital, and retained only in the western provinces, where the Royalists were to be prosecuted. Nothing remained now but to bring the accused before the ordinary courts, where they fell under the cognisance of juries, and twenty-two of the leaders of the conspiracy were put to the bar in July. Sixteen were acquitted, including a young heroine named Louise Antoinette, whose courage had been signalised at the barricades; and six were convicted, and sentenced to various periods of transportation and imprisonment. They evinced the greatest heroism and intrepidity during the trial, and on receiving sentence: most of them bore the medal of July on their bosoms.[1]* To the honour of the

[1] L. Blanc, iii. 337, 339; Ann. Hist. xv. 199, 202; Cap. vi. 240, 248.

* "The following *procès verbal* of the examination of Jeanne, one of the leading conspirators, will illustrate the indomitable spirit with which they were animated: "Le 5 Juin vous assistiez au convoi?—Oui, monsieur. Sur les cinq heures n'étiez vous pas au carrefour St Mary?—Oui, avec l'arme que j'étais allé

Government, it must be added that no capital sentence was pronounced, and that one of the most serious insurrections recorded in French annals was suppressed without the shedding of human blood.

79. War to the knife with the press.

Disappointed in their expectations of crushing the spirit of insubordination in Paris by the rude, though effective, method of military commissions, the Government had recourse to the slower but not less efficacious methods of continued detentions of accused persons in prison, and multiplied prosecutions against the press. Strange to say, amidst all their declamations in favour of freedom, the French had never thought of laying the first foundation for it in the limiting the power of imprisonment at the instance of the Government; and Louis Philippe took advantage of this omission to detain the persons arrested for the insurrection of June, eighteen hundred in number, for the most part eighteen months or two years in prison, without bringing them to trial. Nor was the war against the press, by means of prosecutions, less active. The number of these prosecutions, and the anxiety with which they were conducted, exceeded anything previously witnessed, not merely in French, but in European history. The restrictions so much complained of during the Restoration were as nothing compared to it. From the accession of Louis Philippe to the 1st October 1832, a

prendre chez moi. Vous avez travaillé à la barricade?—Oui, deux gardes nationaux ont été tués pres de moi sur le boulevard; on avait tiré sur nous sans provocation; je courus à mes armes. Navez-vous pas le premier commandé le feu?—Non, une balle venait de m'atteindre au milieu des reins et m'avait renversé. Je me suis levé toutefois et j'ai tiré un coup du fusil, un seul, car ils avaient fui. N'êtes-vous pas resté toute la nuit sur la barricade?—Oui, et je faisais feu. Ne distribuiez-vous pas des cartouches?—Oui, quand ils en avaient besoin. Le lendemain vous avez tiré toute la journée?—Toute la journée. N'êtes-vous pas un de ceux qui tiraient des croisées de la maison No. 5 à la fin de l'attaque?—Oui, quand on se rendit maitre de la barricade nous n'avions plus de cartouches, sans cela nous y serions restés. Nous nous sommes retirés en traversant à la baïonnette la troupe de ligne." He was sentenced to transportation.—It is difficult whether, in this interrogatory, the *leading* feature of the questions put by the presiding judge is most to be condemned, or the courage and candour of the accused in answering them is to be admired. Jeanne's mother, a Spartan matron, sat by her son the whole time of the trial, encouraging him by her words and example to persevere in his heroic demeanour.—L. BLANC, iii. 338, 339.

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period of little more than two years, there occurred in France 281 seizures of journals, and 251 judgments on them. No less than eighty-one journals had been condemned, of which forty-one were in Paris alone. The total number of months of imprisonment inflicted on editors of journals during this period was 1226; and the amount of fines levied, 347,550 francs (£14,000). This is perhaps the hottest warfare, without the aid of the censorship, ever yet waged, during so short a period, against the liberty of the press. The system of Louis Philippe was, to bring incessant prosecutions against the parties responsible for journals, without caring much whether they were successful or not, hoping that he would wear them out by the trouble and expense of conducting their defences, whether the prosecutions terminated one way or the other;—an astute and sagacious policy, and perhaps the only one which promised any prospect of success, when the passions on all sides were so strongly excited, that the voice of reason or truth had not a chance of being heard. But it appeared not a little strange when coming from the councils of the Citizen King, the monarch of the Barricades, and showed how little the cause of real freedom had gained by the success of that convulsion.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 205, 207; Cap. vi. 252, 253.

80. Increased consideration of the French Government by the suppression of the revolt.

The Government of Louis Philippe was both greatly strengthened within, and acquired great additional consideration without, by the suppression of the revolts of May in La Vendée, and June in Paris. His Government had at length met its most formidable antagonists face to face, and proved victorious in the strife. The heroism of Marie Caroline and the chivalry of the Royalists had not succeeded in rousing a general insurrection in the western provinces; the intrepidity and enthusiasm of the Republicans had failed in sustaining one, when commenced under the most favourable circumstances, in the metropolis. This double victory produced a great impression on men's

minds, both in France and the adjoining States. The capitalists and manufacturers of Paris and the chief towns of France, began to feel confidence in the stability of a Government which had withstood so rude a shock: the sovereigns and diplomatists of foreign States came to think the dynasty of the Citizen King might remain permanent, and that it would be well to conciliate by negotiation a power which might yet acquire a lead in Europe. The effects of this change of opinion, externally and internally, were immediately conspicuous. Capital began to reappear from its hiding-places, industry to resume its labours in the workshops, purchases to be made in the bazaars. The day after the insurrection had been put down, all the shops in Paris were open, the streets were perfectly quiet, and a confidence unknown for months before was felt. All men had previously been aware that a conflict was approaching; all now saw it was over.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 208, 210; Cap. vi. 254, 259.

81. Improved condition of the country and the revenue.

The effect of the King's victory appeared soon in the increased returns of the revenue, and the improved condition of the people. The public funds rapidly rose: the Five per Cents, which had been ninety-two in January, rose in the end of June to ninety-seven, in July to ninety-eight, and in August to ninety-nine, at which high level they remained for the remainder of the year. The produce of the taxes, though still below what it had been before the Revolution of 1830, rose considerably, and exhibited for the last six months of 1832 an increase of 28,000,000 francs over the corresponding months of the preceding year. The loan of 150,000,000 (£6,000,000), authorised by the vote of the Chambers to be raised for the public service, was contracted for on August 8, at 98.50, for a rent of 5 francs, or somewhat above 5 per cent; a very favourable contract for the public, for in the preceding year a loan of 120,000,000 had only been got at 84 francs. Industry sensibly revived in the metropolis; many workshops which had been closed since the Revolution of July were reopened.[2] Sales were more fre-

[2] Moniteur, Aug. 9, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 208, 209, and Doc. Hist. 101.

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quent in the shops, and the symptoms of general prosperity began to reappear. The working classes had been ruined by their victory; the first dawn of hope opened to them from their defeat.

82. Marriage of Leopold, king of Belgium, to the Princess Louise of France. Aug. 9.

An auspicious event at the same time took place in the family of the Citizen King, of much importance, both as extending his connections and influence, and demonstrating the good understanding which existed between the Cabinets of the Tuileries and St James's. On the 9th August, Leopold, the new King of Belgium, was married to the Princess Louise-Marie, daughter of Louis Philippe. The marriage ceremony was performed according to the forms of the Lutheran Church, to which Leopold belonged, by the Protestant minister, and by the Bishop of Meaux, with royal pomp and magnificence, according to the Catholic ritual. After the ceremony was over, the royal pair set out for Brussels, and Louis Philippe and his family returned to St Cloud, amidst tears and lamentations on both sides; for the royal family were sincerely attached to each other—the more so, as the peril in which they were all involved since his accession to the throne had drawn closer the bonds of domestic love.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 211; Moniteur, Aug. 10, 1832; Cap. vi. 263, 264.

83. Changes in the Ministry, and new creation of peers. Oct. 11.

The double shock which the Government had undergone from the Carlist and Republican insurrections, and the narrow escape it had made from total shipwreck on occasion of the last, had, however, been too severe to pass over without a change in the Ministry. The leading part which Marshal Soult had played in that crisis, and the necessity of military vigour and capacity to secure a Government now resting almost entirely on military force, pointed him out as the proper head of the Administration. By an ordonnance, accordingly, of October 11, he was appointed President of the Council; the Duke de Broglie, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Hermann, of Finance; M. Thiers, of the Interior; M. Guizot, of Public Instruction. This Cabinet, with the exception of its military head, was entirely composed of the Doc-

trinaire party. M. Montalivet was removed from the Ministry of the Interior to the head of the Civil List. A far more exceptional step was taken two days after by the creation of SIXTY-THREE new peers, making in all NINETY-NINE since the accession of Louis Philippe. The predictions of the Royalists were already verified; the Revolution of July 1830, and the subsequent abolition of the hereditary peerage to which it had led, had destroyed the independence and influence of the Upper House, and reduced it to a crowd of titled and salaried partisans of a Ministry, holding their dignities only for life, and pledged to its support.[1] *

1832. Oct. 11.

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 9 and 11, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 213, 215.

84. Preparations for a war with Holland by England and France.

It soon appeared that the marriage of the widower of the Princess Charlotte of England to a daughter of France was not to be the only result of the intimate alliance, or *entente cordiale*, as it was called, which had now grown up between the two nations. Political consequences, also, of the strangest and most unexpected kind, followed the alliance, and the prodigy was presented to the astonished world of an English fleet and a French army combining to wrest the great fortress, which Napoleon had erected for our subjugation, from its lawful sovereign, and restore it to revolutionary influence and the sway of the tricolor flag. ANTWERP was the point from whence, for centuries, the independence of Great Britain had been most seriously menaced. When the Duke of Parma received orders to co-operate in the invasion of England by the Armada, it was there he collected the fleet which was to convey the veterans of Spain to the British shores. The first efforts of Marlborough after the victory of Ramilies were directed to wresting it from France. When Napoleon arrived at supreme power in 1800, his first care was to make a journey to the Scheldt to examine its capabilities. His eagle eye

* The peers were now 288 in number, of whom 99, or above a third, had been created by Louis Philippe. Four more were created on 8th November, making his creations 103 in two years and a quarter.—*Ann. Hist.*, xv. 215.

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soon discerned its vast importance as the outwork of France against England. He gave orders immediately for the construction of magnificent docks under its guns, and a fleet of forty sail of the line. The right wing of the Army of England was to have embarked, when the invasion was attempted, from its quays; and so strongly was the danger to Britain felt from so great a naval and military establishment being formed in its close vicinity, that the greatest armament which ever left the British shores was in 1809 directed for its subjugation. Napoleon every day felt more strongly the inestimable importance of this great stronghold for the prosecution of his designs against this country; he often said Antwerp was worth to him a kingdom; amidst all his misfortunes he clung to it with invincible tenacity; he refused peace at Chatillon rather than consent to its relinquishment; and when the mighty conqueror was struck to the earth, his right hand still held the citadel of Antwerp.[1]*

[1] History of Europe, c. lxxxvii. § 109.

85. Convention between France and England for cession of Antwerp to Belgium.

It is one of the most extraordinary circumstances recorded in history, that after having twice over, as the fruit of the victories of Marlborough and Wellington, wrested this great and menacing fortress from France, and after having been fully taught by her inveterate enemy its paramount importance, England should have entered into a compact with France for its RESTORATION to the dependant of that power, and rendered it again the advanced work of the tricolor flag! Were Great Britain now, after having wrested Sebastopol from Russia, to enter into a convention with the Cabinet of St Petersburg to restore it to the arms of the Czar, it would be a less act of suicidal folly, in proportion as the Crimea is farther from the British shores than the Scheldt, and the command of the Black Sea less vital to our independence than that of the British Channel. So it was, however; the thing was

* "If I could have made up my mind to abandon Antwerp, I might have had peace at Chatillon."—NAPOLEON *in* O'MEARA, i. 247.

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done, and is not now likely to be ever undone. On 22d October 1832, a convention was signed at London between M. de Talleyrand and Lord Palmerston, to the effect "that the kings of Holland and Belgium should be summoned to take, before the 2d November, measures for withdrawing their troops from the places which they respectively held within each other's territories, as fixed by the treaty of 15th November 1831. In the event of this evacuation not being agreed to by King William on the part of Holland, an embargo was immediately to be placed on all Dutch vessels in the harbours of France and England, and an English and French squadron was to be fitted out, which was to arrest all Dutch vessels on the seas. Should Dutch troops still be found on the Belgian territory on the 15th November, a French army was to enter Belgium to expel the Dutch troops from the citadel of Antwerp and the neighbouring forts." Though ostensibly directed against *both* the contending powers in Flanders, this convention was in reality levelled at Holland alone, since the Belgian troops occupied no part of the Dutch territory. And in order to carry it into immediate effect, a powerful French army, under Marshal Gérard, was ordered to be in readiness on the frontier of Flanders, while a strong English squadron was collected at Spithead. This decisive resolution was taken by the Cabinets of London and Paris alone; the northern powers declined to be parties to it; and as it brought the five powers to the very edge of a general war, it in a manner broke up the London conference.[1]

1832. Oct. 22.

[1] Convention, Oct. 22, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. app. 49, 219, 220; Cap. vi. 409, 410.

86. Negotiations on the subject.

As might have been expected, the King of Holland returned an answer in the negative to the summons to evacuate the most important fortress in his dominions; and this to all appearance brought matters to a general war—France and England on the one side, Austria, Prussia, and Russia on the other. Again, as in 1793, the advance of the French to the Scheldt was to be the signal for a universal conflagration; but this time Eng-

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land was on the opposite side to that she had formerly espoused: she interfered now to give Antwerp to France, not to keep it from that power. Such marvels had the Revolution of July in France and the Reform Bill in England already achieved! The danger was imminent that this alliance would produce a corresponding counter-league among the northern powers, and that Prussia in particular would take the alarm at the close approach of danger to her Rhenish provinces. Every effort accordingly was made by the French and English diplomatists to calm the apprehensions of the Cabinet of Berlin, and prevent the cannonade of Antwerp from lighting up the flames of a general war. To the Prussian minister in London they confidentially represented, "That Prussia had nothing to fear from the aggressive movement of France in the Low Country—that it had been stipulated in secret articles that the French troops should not remain in Belgium—that the Cabinet of London would confine their operations to the siege of Antwerp—that there was a precise engagement to that effect—and that England was as much interested as Prussia in the faithful execution of that convention." The Cabinet of Berlin, however, was far from being satisfied with these assurances, and, regarding England and France as now united in a league to revolutionise the other states in Europe, they haughtily announced, "that not only would they be no parties to the attack on Holland, but they would oppose it by all the military means in their power." At the same time orders were given to form an army of 70,000 men on the Meuse, and the landwehr of the whole kingdom was called out. It was well known that in this language and these measures Prussia was entirely supported by Russia and Austria, and she openly spoke in the name of the German Diet; so that if the western powers persevered, there did not appear a chance of preserving the peace of Europe.[1] *

[1] Cap. vi. 413, 415; Protocole de la 46e Séance de la Diète Germanique, Dec. 6, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 177.

* "Ainsi qu'il est déjà à la connaissance de la sérénissime diète, la Grande Bretagne et la France ont l'intention d'employer des mesures coërcitives contre

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87. Want of preparations in England, and great preparations for war in France.

When the two western powers in this manner threw down the gauntlet to the rest of continental Europe, England was, as usual after a long peace, wholly unprepared for war. No preparations whatever had been made for it; her forces by sea and land had been brought down by the incessant clamour of the House of Commons for economy to the lowest point, and it is impossible to over-estimate the disasters which might have ensued, if, in this unprotected state, she had been suddenly precipitated into hostilities with the whole of Germany and Russia. But it was far otherwise in France. Separated only by the waters of the Rhine from the Germanic Confederacy, which could bring 300,000 men into the field, and aware that it was the object of general continental jealousy and distrust from its revolutionary origin, the new Government of France had made the most herculean efforts to increase its war establishment, and it had now attained a most formidable degree of magnitude and consistency. Never, not even in the memorable years 1793 and 1813, had so great a number of men been enrolled in so short a time under the national standards, and never was a more powerful army ready to commence opera-

la Hollande, pour faire exécuter les 24 articles adoptés par le traité de Londres du 15 Nov. de l'année dernière, tels que ceux qui ont été modifiés par des négotiations postérieures. Quoique ces mesures coërcitives soient limitées à la prise de la citadelle d'Anvers, il est impossible en cas de résistance de la part de la Hollande, de concevoir cet état de choses comme n'étant pas la guerre, et de considérer cette guerre entre la Hollande et ces deux puissances comme n'étant pas dans le cours des évènemens, et d'un extrême danger pour la paix de l'Europe.

" l'Autriche, la Prusse, et la Russie n'ont pas manqué de prendre des moyens pour s'opposer à ces mesures de coërcition contre un Etat indépendant, et en même temps ces trois puissances ont refusé d'y prendre part ou de les approuver. Néanmoins comme la Grande Bretagne et la France d'après leur position et leurs relations avec la Belgique croient avoir des motifs de persister dans leur résolution, le soussigné représentant de la Prusse a été autorisé à faire inscrire dans le protocole de la Diète, que des ordres ont été donnés par le roi son maître afin que le septième corps d'armée, qui jusqu'ici a été stationné en Westphalie, passe le Rhin et prenne position entre Aix-la-Chapelle et Gueldres, dans le but de couvrir ses frontières sur la rive droite de la Meuse, vis-à-vis la Belgique et la Hollande, et en même temps que le huitième corps stationné sur le Rhin serve de corps de réserve à l'autre."—*Protocole de la 46e Année de la Diète Germanique du 6 Dec.* 1832; *Ann. Hist.*, xv. 177; *Doc. Hist.* To this protocol Austria, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and all the other German powers, gave in their adhesion.—*Ibid.*

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tions. From an official statement published in the *Moniteur*, it appeared that in the beginning of December in this year, when the siege of the citadel of Antwerp was going on, France had 396,000 regular troops ready to take the field, besides 1,231,000 national guards, armed, disciplined, and equipped, of whom more than half might be immediately rendered movable, and put in a condition to take the field. This immense force was armed with 908,000 muskets and bayonets, and 240,000 sabres, and it was provided with 185 companies of artillery, besides 630 pieces of cannon, placed on the ramparts of the principal fortresses of the kingdom.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 24, Dec. 3, 1832, and Ann. Hist. xv. 285.

88. Preparations of England and France for the siege of Antwerp.

Self-confident in their resources and strength, France, from the immensity of the military means at its disposal, and England, from its insular situation, naval power, and former fame, the western powers resolved, notwithstanding these alarming appearances, to prosecute the siege of the citadel of Antwerp. Great preparations were made by both powers for the approaching conflict. An army of 48,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 6000 artillery and engineers, was assembled on the Belgian frontier, under Marshal Gérard, forming above 60,000 effective combatants, while 40,000 more were stationed on the Moselle, to watch the Prussian army, which was grouped on the right bank of the Meuse. At the same time, a British squadron of five ships of the line, accompanied by a French one of three, with five frigates, made sail from the Downs to blockade the Scheldt, and join in any warlike operations where they could be rendered serviceable.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. xv. 285, 286; Ann. Reg. 1832, 368; Cap. vi. 412, 413.

89. Description of the citadel of Antwerp.

Ever since the rupture between Belgium and Holland, the *town* of Antwerp had been in the hands of the Belgian troops, but the citadel remained in the possession of the Dutch, who, to the number of 5000 men, under General Chassé, held its formidable ramparts. This celebrated stronghold, which is separated from the town by an esplanade, is situated on the right bank of the Scheldt, above the town, but commanding the harbour, and has

always been considered as one of the strongest places in Europe. It was built by the Duke of Alva during the war between Spain and the United Provinces in the sixteenth century, to command the navigation of the Scheldt, and be the chief frontier fortress towards Holland. Its strength was largely added to by Napoleon when he made Antwerp the great pivot on which his designs against Great Britain were to be rested. To the west it is protected by the river, which is very deep there, and by an advanced work, called the "Tête de Flandre," which effectually bars all progress up the river. The ditches of the citadel are on the same level as the Scheldt, and kept constantly full from its waters, which are prevented from escaping with the receding tide by means of flood-gates, which are opened when it rises and shut when it falls. On the western or land side, the fortress is covered by several strong outworks, of which the lunette of St Laurent, the fort of Montebello, and the fort of Keil, are the most considerable; and the rampart is strengthened by immense bastions, among which the bastion of Toledo stands conspicuous. The garrison, which consisted of 5000 men, under the resolute veteran General Chassé, was composed of brave and experienced soldiers; 180 guns, most of them of very heavy calibre, armed the works; and ample casemates and covered lodgings were constructed behind them, to protect the troops from the effect of a bombardment. In addition to this, the King of Holland had raised his army to 120,000 men, and called out the whole landwehr, so that everything presaged a desperate conflict.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 285, 286; Cap. vi. 416, 418.

90. Commencement of the siege. Nov. 1832.

The French troops, to the number of 60,000, with an immense siege equipage, crossed the frontier of Belgium at Charleroi on the 18th November, and directed their steps in the first instance to Brussels. In doing so, they of necessity passed over the very centre of the field of Waterloo. The streets of Genappe, the hamlet of La Belle Alliance, the farmhouse of La Haye

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Sainte, the Church of Waterloo, the Forest of Soignies, were successively passed by armed multitudes in the pride of apparently irresistible strength, and burning with the desire to efface by victory the defeat there inflicted on their arms. Such was the excitement produced by the scene, that several of the battalions could not be restrained by their officers from discharging volleys at the artificial hill surmounted by the lion, erected by the King of the Netherlands to commemorate that immortal triumph. In the end of November, the French troops, in great strength, arrived before the citadel of Antwerp, and the preliminary work of getting up gabions and fascines having been accomplished, a curious correspondence ensued between Marshal Gérard and the Dutch governor, as to the mode in which, and the limits within which, the siege operations were to be carried on. General Chassé insisted that the French should not make use of the works of the city against the citadel, expressing his determination, if this was attempted, to consider the town as taking part in the siege, and bombard it accordingly. Both the Belgian government and those of their allies were anxious to avoid an alternative so obviously fraught with ruin to the interests of commerce, and those of the infant kingdom of Belgium. At first, however, the negotiations wore a very unpromising aspect; and every preparation was made in Antwerp for hostilities, by barricading and unpaving the streets, which diffused universal consternation among the inhabitants, and led to great numbers of the more affluent leaving the city. At length the voice of reason and humanity prevailed, and it was agreed that the town, with all its outworks, was to be regarded by both parties as neutral; that the approaches of the besiegers should be confined to the open country to the south-east of the citadel, and the fire of the besieged be turned only in that direction.[1]

Nov. 30.

[1] Cap. vi. 418, 421; Ann. Hist. xv. 287, 288.

Ground was broken on the night of the 30th November, and the approaches were pushed forward with the

greatest activity. It could not be called war, for peace reigned around the combatants in every direction; and even when hostilities were going forward, they were on a single front of the fortress only. It was rather a *besieging tournament* for the amusement of Europe. Although the weather was very unfavourable, and storms of wind and rain prevailed, the approaches, under the direction of the Duke of Orléans, made rapid progress, the great numbers of the besiegers enabling them to supply the trenches with perpetual fresh relays of labourers. The second parallel was commenced on the night of the 3d, under a heavy fire of canister and grape from the ramparts, and on the 4th the bombardment commenced from eighty-two pieces of heavy artillery and twenty-two mortars, against the lunette St Laurent. Despite an incessant and well-sustained fire from the citadel, the besiegers made sensible progress; the third and fourth parallels were completed against fort St Laurent, and a mine having been run under one of its principal bastions, it was sprung on the night of the 14th December, which made a practicable breach in the walls. Three French companies of the 65th regiment immediately advanced to the assault, passed the ditch without firing a shot, and with fixed bayonets carried the breach. At the same time a corps of grenadiers, during the tumult consequent on springing the mine, got in by escalade on the opposite side; and the small garrison of two hundred and eighty men, finding themselves beset on all sides, withdrew into the citadel, with the loss of sixty prisoners, after having made a gallant defence.[1]

91. Progress of the siege, and capture of the lunette St Laurent. Dec. 14.

[1] Depêche du Maréchal Gérard, Dec. 15, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 290; Cap. xv. 423, 424.

This was a very important success, for it gave the besiegers a solid foundation near the ramparts, and enabled them to bring their approaches to the very edge of the ditch, on the summit of the counterscarp. The Dutch, under their resolute general, made a gallant defence, but the superiority of the resources and fire of the besiegers became every day more conspicuous. Night and day the

92. Gallant defence, and fall of the citadel.

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bombardment was continued with indefatigable activity, and with such vigour were the destructive projectiles poured into the fortress, that as many as fourteen bombs at once were frequently seen traversing the air from the besiegers' lines. Nothing could afford a secure shelter against the flaming tempest; the casemates were broken through by the weight of the falling bombs; and some even penetrated into the hospital, constructed in the strongest manner to guard against them, with six feet of earth placed above transverse beams of immense thickness, strongly supported, and exploded in the midst of the unfortunate inmates. The garrison, daily diminishing in number from the effects of the fire, were worn out by incessant toil: night and day they were obliged to stand to their guns, many of which were dismounted, and the embrasures injured; while forty heavy guns, mounted on the edge of the counterscarp, battered across the ditch at the bastion of Toledo, against which their converging fire was directed with unerring precision. The brick-walls, though of great height, speedily gave way before the ceaseless crash of the bullets, and soon the bastion was so shaken that it became little more than a heap of ruins, upon the summit of which the Dutch gunners, with heroic perseverance, still maintained an indomitable defence. General Chassé, however, now wisely judged that the defence could no longer be maintained. Everything was prepared for an assault, which the wearied and weakened garrison were in no condition to resist; and on the morning of the 23d, having prolonged the defence as long as military honour or state policy required, the white flag was hoisted. The fire immediately ceased, and the terms accorded to the garrison were without difficulty arranged. They were to surrender the citadel, with the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek, which, some miles farther down, commanded the navigation of the Scheldt, and to be permitted to retire into Holland with their colours and arms. When this capitulation came

to be submitted to the King of Holland for his ratification, he refused to give up the forts, on the ground that they were not under Chassé's orders at the time of the capitulation. Marshal Gérard, upon this, offered to allow the garrison to retire into Holland upon the simple obligation not to serve against France or Belgium during the continuance of hostilities; but Chassé, not feeling himself able to implement the terms of the original capitulation, preferred retiring with his gallant army into France, where they were followed by the admiration of all Europe.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 291, 292; Cap. vi. 427, 429.

93. Reflections on this siege.

The siege of the citadel of Antwerp, in a military point of view, is one of the most memorable of which the annals of Europe make mention. Such had been the intrepidity of the governor and the courage of the garrison, that five thousand men kept sixty thousand at bay during twenty-four days of open trenches, during which the fire, both of artillery and small-arms, was incessant, and besiegers and besieged were alike standing to their guns day and night during the severities of a rude season, in the depth of winter. It is hard to say whether, in such circumstances, there is most to admire in the vigour and perseverance of the besiegers, or the devotion and constancy of the besieged. Both sides made the utmost efforts during the continuance of the operations. The besieged opened up 14,000 fathoms of trenches, the artillery discharged 63,000 shots, and they took 5000 men by capitulation. The Dutch lost 90 killed, 349 wounded, and 67 prisoners, during the siege. But the losses of the besiegers were much more considerable: they amounted to 608 killed and 1800 wounded.[2]

[2] Chassé's Official Report, Dec. 24, 1832; St Cyr's Report, Dec. 31, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 291, 292, and 93, 94, (Doc. Hist.)

The capture of the citadel of Antwerp made an immense sensation in France, and went far to reconcile the Republican party to the government of Louis Philippe. They took it as an earnest that a new system was to be

* The Author hurried over to Antwerp on occasion of this siege, and many of the foregoing details are given from his own observation.

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pursued; that submission to despotic tyrants was to be exchanged for revolutionary propagandism, and that France was to seek its natural allies among all people disposed to throw off the yoke of legitimate monarchs. They said, with truth, that the cannon-balls of Marshal Gérard were directed more against the Holy Alliance than the citadel of Antwerp; and that they had made a wider breach in the defences of the conservative system than in the bastion of Toledo. Visions of the restored frontier of the Rhine, and of the renewed glories of the Empire, flitted before their excited imaginations. In England, strange to say, this important event excited very little attention. Intoxicated with their Reform triumph, and dreaming only of the unbounded social and individual advantages which they expected to realise from its acquisition, the people of Great Britain could not be prevailed on to bestow even a passing thought on the events of the Continent, and turned a deaf ear to the thoughtful few, who in vain represented that they had lent the aid of their arms to undo the work of Marlborough and Wellington, and restore to the son-in-law of France, and the sway of the tricolor flag, the great outwork which Napoleon had created at so vast a cost for our subjugation, and which he deemed so vital to that object that he lost his crown rather than abandon it.[1]

94. Effect of this success in France and England.

[1] See Foreign Affairs, Blackwood's Magazine, Feb. 1833.

95. Causes which forced the Continental powers to remain quiet.

The Continental powers were by no means so blind as the people of England to the vital importance and probable ultimate effects of this entire change of policy; but circumstances obliged them to remain passive, and devour their mortification in silence. The moment for successful action had passed away. "England and France," says Chateaubriand, "like two enormous battering-rams, shook all the adjoining states, and the monarchs of Europe were afraid to come within the reach of their strokes." The strength developed among the warlike inhabitants of France had been prodigious; and though England was in a military point of view still unarmed,

yet the prestige of her name was great, and her navy could soon be brought into a condition to blockade those of all the other powers in Europe. Austria, disquieted about her Italian possessions, and seriously alarmed at the disposition evinced in Hungary in favour of the Polish insurgents, was in no hurry to commence hostilities; Prussia, doubtful of the support of Russia, and in a great measure dependent on her foreign trade, was fearful of throwing down the gauntlet to two powers, the one of which might blockade her harbours, and the other endanger her Rhenish provinces; and Russia herself, exhausted by the Polish war, which had both deranged her finances and occasioned a prodigious loss of men, was not in a condition to undertake a distant crusade for the extinction of the revolutionary principle in western Europe. Then the Dutch government, how firm and resolute soever, felt that they could not rely on the active support of the northern powers; and as the French army, after the reduction of the citadel of Antwerp, made it over to the Belgian troops, and immediately returned into France without attempting any farther hostilities, the main cause both of alarm and prolonged warfare was at an end. They were no longer threatened in their own country; to regain Antwerp or Belgium single-handed in the face of the combined forces of France and England, was obviously out of the question. On the other hand, Belgium was not less interested in coming to an accommodation; for as long as hostilities continued, its commerce was almost entirely interrupted in Holland, which had the command of the mouths and lower parts of the Scheldt and the Meuse, the principal arteries of the State.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 133, 134; L. Blanc, iii. 468, 469.

From these circumstances arose a greater facility in the negotiations relative to the Belgian question. It had in effect been resolved in all substantial points by the French invasion, which prevented the King of Holland from regaining the throne in 1831, and the capture

96. Treaty of May 19, 1833, between Holland and Belgium.

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of Antwerp in 1832. The negotiations accordingly were resumed, and came to turn chiefly on the lesser points of trade and commerce, in which the Dutch government evinced great determination. At length, however, all the difficulties were overcome, and on the 19th May 1833 a convention was agreed to, and signed by all the parties, which brought this protracted and anxious dispute to a termination. Without going back on the separation of Belgium and Holland, and the limits of the two kingdoms, which it assumed as definitively settled by the treaty between the five powers signed at London on the 15th November 1831, this convention was directed to the adjustment of the differences still existing between the contending parties, and this it did in a manner extremely favourable to Belgium. It was provided that all the Dutch vessels which had been seized by English or French cruisers should be forthwith released, and restored with their cargoes to their respective owners, and that all Dutch prisoners, either by land or sea, should be immediately set at liberty. On the other hand, Holland engaged not to recommence hostilities against Belgium, and to leave the navigation of the Scheldt open, as it had been prior to November 1, 1832. The commercial navigation of the Meuse, of which Holland commanded the lower part, was also opened to vessels bearing the Belgian flag, on condition of paying the duties fixed by the tariff of Mayence for the states of the German Confederation. The contracting parties engaged immediately to commence negotiations for the conclusion of a definitive treaty, which could not be a matter of any difficulty, as the whole matters of importance in dispute between them were already adjusted.[1]

May 19, 1833; ratified May 29.

[1] Convention, May 19, 1833; Moniteur, May 25; Ann. Hist. xvi. 133, and 339, 340, (Doc. Hist.)

When the new kingdom of Belgium was in this manner so completely brought under French influence, and made in fact to owe its existence to French protection, the importance of the barrier-fortresses against that power was no longer felt. Flanders having become, not the

barrier of Europe against France, but the outwork of France against Europe, the gigantic fortresses in its territory, which had been erected to act as a curb upon the ambition of that power, were no longer felt as necessary on either side. They had ceased to be a protection to Europe; they were not required as a protection for France. Her own triple line of fortresses was sufficient for her defence; and such was the strength of the German Confederation, that the states belonging to it did not feel the want of any extraneous protection. Thus, by common consent, the famous barrier against France, which England and Holland had so earnestly contended for in former days, and which had been the object of such costly war, was abandoned, and the treaty for its preservation was rescinded. By a convention concluded at London between France, England, and Belgium, on 6th March 1832, the latter power was relieved from the burden of upholding five of the principal barrier-fortresses on the frontier towards France, and the two former powers agreed to their demolition. Stronger evidence of the immensity of the change produced by the Revolution of 1830, and the Reform Bill, could not be conceived, for the barrier thus abandoned had been constructed by the Whig government of Queen Anne and the Tory government of George IV., and it had been won by the victories of Marlborough and Wellington.[1]

97. Abandonment of the barrier treaty. March 6, 1832.

[1] Treaty, March 6, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 497, (Doc. Hist.)

98. Great addition to the power of France by these events.

This convention closed the convulsions in northern and central Europe which had arisen from the Revolution of July, and the overthrow of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon in France. Immense had been the effect it had produced, both externally and internally, and it is only on a calm retrospect at this distance of time that its vast importance can be appreciated. The shocks of the earthquake still continued to be felt beyond the Pyrenees and in the Levant; but in central Europe, where alone a serious conflict was to be apprehended, the concussion was

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at an end. Great beyond all anticipation had been the addition which they made to the power of France. The revolution of Belgium and capture of Antwerp, followed by the marriage of Leopold to the daughter of Louis Philippe, restored Flanders to French influence nearly as completely as Poland was subjected to that of Russia. A revolutionary state, it could only look for support in a dynasty having a similar origin. The siege of Antwerp had restored that great outwork against England to its service; and the general excitement and real danger to the national independence, from a revolution which placed it in a state of antagonism with Europe, had enabled the Government to augment enormously the national armaments. Four hundred thousand regular soldiers were prepared to carry the tricolor flag into Germany or Italy, while a million of national guards protected the soil of the great nation from invasion. Single-handed she had braved Austria in Italy, and by the occupation of Ancona she held that power in check beyond the Alps; with the support of England she had thrown down the gauntlet at Antwerp to Prussia and Russia, and they had not ventured to take it up. The French, who expected an immediate restoration of the splendours of the Empire from a revolution which freed them from the sway of the Bourbons and the trammels of the Holy Alliance, were dissatisfied because greater external advantages had not been gained; but whoever considers the matter impartially, must see that they were great and lasting, and Europe is still experiencing their effects.

99. And of Russia.

The addition made to the power of Russia, by the effects of the same convulsion, was still more considerable. As on every previous and subsequent occasion, an outbreak of the revolutionary spirit added to the weight, and put additional arms into the hands of the Colossus of the North. Hardly had the national acclamations at the defeat of Turkey and Treaty of Adrianople subsided, when the Russian arms achieved the entire subjugation

of Poland, and annexed the last remnant of Sarmatian nationality to their mighty dominions. The addition thus made to the unity and physical resources of the empire, though by no means inconsiderable, was the least part of the advantage gained. The addition to the moral influence of, and terror inspired by, the Czar, was a much more material advantage. Russia had now, since England had gone over to the other side, openly taken her place at the head of the conservative powers of Europe, and the uniform success which had attended her arms spread a halo round her name, which added immensely to her political influence. Men despaired of resisting a power which had defeated Napoleon at the head of five hundred thousand men; and the German states in particular, who lay nearest to the Muscovite frontier, and would be the first to be reached by her arms, hastened, by secret alliances or proffered submission, to avert the hostility of a power which they felt themselves unable to resist.

100. Influence on England's power.

Had England not been convulsed by a revolution in her own bosom—in consequence, in some degree, of the fall of Charles X.—there was no reason why her political weight or influence should have been materially affected by that event. She might change sides, indeed, and be more exposed to danger; but she might have been as much dreaded and respected as the head of the movement, as she had been as the bulwark of the Conservative party in Europe. But the Reform Bill having invested a new party in Great Britain—the holders of shops or houses rented from £10 to £20—with the government of the State, the result was very different, and such as soon exposed the very existence of the nation to the greatest hazard. The influence of that class of men was incessantly and perseveringly exerted in one direction, and that was, to *reduce the national expenditure and diminish taxation*, without any regard to the ultimate effect of their reduction. This was done to such an extent, that

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the forces of the State by sea and land became wholly inadequate to the defence of the empire, or the assertion of its due weight in public affairs; while, at the same time, the recollection of its past and recent greatness would permit of no abatement in the tone its Ministers took in diplomatic intercourse. Thence several narrow escapes in the next quarter of a century, and disasters, when hostilities did break out, of mournful magnitude, redeemed only in a glorious way by the unflinching courage of her soldiers and the heroic leading of their officers.

101. Vindication of Polignac's coup d'état by subsequent events.

Whatever difference of opinion might have existed at first as to the necessity of the *coup d'état* which proved fatal to Charles X., no doubt can remain on the subject when the annals of the next two years are taken into consideration. The Citizen King vindicated, without intending it, the memory of the legitimate monarch; the revolt of the Cloister of St Méri and state of siege of 1832, justified the ordonnances of 1830. It is not to be supposed from this that these ordonnances were not a violation of the constitution, as the people of this country would have understood it, or that the citizens who opposed them had not a good ground for their resistance. The conclusion to be drawn is, that the constitution, such as it was, was not adapted for the French people, at least after revolutionary confiscation had destroyed the mediating power of the nobles; and that the sovereign and popular power left alone in the country, and in a state of continual antagonism, could not coexist. One or other of them must be destroyed. It was like a legal submission, in which the two arbiters differed in opinion, and no power of choosing an oversman was given: the arbitration would necessarily fall to pieces. "To attempt to construct a constitutional monarchy," said Napoleon, "without an aristocracy, is a problem as insoluble as the direction of balloons." Experience has since abundantly proved that the observation of this great man is well founded, and that the fourteenth clause of the charter,

which gave the sovereign a sort of dictatorial power, in extreme cases, at variance with the ordinary working of the constitution, was indispensable for its occasional extrication from the dead lock arising from the collision of opposite and irreconcilable powers. Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon have successively found it so: their reigns are the best vindication of the attempt of Charles X. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that the French people are by nature unfitted for freedom, but that the sins of the Revolution have been such that they have rendered them, as matters now stand, incapable of enjoying that blessing; and that if we would avoid a similar penalty, we must eschew the like transgression.

CHAPTER XXX.

FRANCE FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE INSURRECTION IN THE CLOISTER OF ST MÉRI, IN JUNE 1832, TO THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE BY THE ELECTIONS OF JUNE 1834.

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1832. I.

Results of the double victory of Louis Philippe over the Royalists and Republicans.

THE great strife of parties which had distracted France since 1814, and one of the convulsions of which had overthrown the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, was for the time closed by the double victory of Louis Philippe in 1832. The suppression of the Royalist movement in La Vendée, headed by the Duchess de Berri, had extinguished the hopes of the Legitimists, the victory over the revolt in the streets of Paris had proved the weakness of the Republicans. The liberal Revolution which had seated the Citizen King on the throne, had led to no other result but a vast augmentation of the power of the Crown, and a proportionate increase of the burdens of the people. Placed now in a state of sullen and ill-disguised hostility with the Continental powers, the necessity of a great increase to the standing army was so apparent that its duplication had been not only acquiesced in, but called for by all classes of the people. The Republicans loudly demanded it, in the hope of realising their dreams of universal revolution, regaining the frontier of the Rhine, and re-establishing their ascendancy in Germany: the Royalists acquiesced in it, in the hope that the vast armament would ere long pass out of the hands which had raised it,

and restore the power of the Crown to the possession of its lawful owner: the burghers submitted to the burdens which it entailed upon the country, in the hope that it would secure them from the spoliation of the Jacobins, and in the mean time provide for their sons by commissions in its ranks. Thus these different classes, though from opposite motives, concurred in the great increase of the regular troops; and when the crisis which they all looked for in calling for it arose, all, save the adherents of the Citizen King, were disappointed. The Royalists in La Vendée, and the Republicans in Paris, alike found determined foes in the regular soldiers, and experienced to their cost that their strength was now wielded by very different hands from the "feeble arms of confessors and kings." Strengthened by the vast addition to the military force of the nation, protected by its fidelity, and strong in the double victory which it had gained, the throne of Louis Philippe now seemed established on a solid foundation, and the hopes of the Royalists and Republicans alike melted away from the consequences of the very measures which they had recommended.

2. Force and corruption the principle of the Government.

The Government of France, however, notwithstanding this seeming security, in reality rested on a very insecure foundation, and the causes of future ruin were beginning to operate even in the very moment of its triumph. The basis on which it of necessity rested was rotten. The generous feelings on all sides had burnt out or been exhausted. The noble chivalry of loyalty had perished, and was reduced to a few powerless cavaliers; the lofty spirit of freedom had been overthrown, or retired in despair from a hopeless contest. What then remained to form the moral basis of a Government wielding such vast material powers? Much remained,—SELFISHNESS REMAINED; and this indelible principle, which invariably rises into supremacy when a crisis, political or military, has passed, was skilfully appealed to by the Government, and formed the basis on which it rested for the

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next sixteen years. It is so after all revolutions: the selfish and cautious invariably in the end obtain the command; and they do so for this plain reason, that the ardent and generous on all sides have disappeared from the effects of their own devotion, as the brave perish in the front rank of battle, and the dastardly camp-followers emerge from the dark to gather its ensanguined spoils. Guizot admits that selfishness was the principle appealed to by the Government of Louis Philippe, and that force and corruption were the means by which its authority was maintained, and he defends it on the ground of absolute and overbearing necessity. There was no other basis left on which the Government could be established.

3. General policy of the Government.

The manner in which, in practice, this principle was worked out, was this: the middle class, by whose efforts the throne of the Citizen King had been established, were retained in their allegiance by a sedulous attention to their material interests, incessant praises of their patriotism and virtue, and constant appeals to their public spirit to avert the dangers with which society was threatened from the machinations of the anarchical faction. The army was held together, even without the excitement of war, by the substantial benefits of good quarters and rations, frequent and magnificent military pageants, and the opening the path of promotion to non-commissioned officers of every grade, and privates from the ranks. The utmost efforts were made to secure a majority in the Chambers by a lavish distribution of the immense patronage of Government, not only among the members of the legislature, but among the constituents by whom they were returned. The democratic press, how violent soever, was to be worn out and subdued by incessant prosecutions, which, whether successful or not, would always be attended with expense and trouble to the parties concerned, and might come to exhaust the profits which constituted its main principle of action. The populace in

Paris and the great towns were to be kept in employment by continuing all the public works set on foot by preceding governments, and commencing new ones, and in good-humour by splendid spectacles at the theatres, the more licentious the better, supported by large contributions from the public purse. The vast expense with which these internal measures were attended was to be provided for by preserving external peace, and the good-will of the Continental sovereigns to be secured by cautiously repressing the spirit of propagandism which had been so powerfully excited by the Revolution of July, and diffused such universal consternation in the neighbouring governments. And in the midst of all this policy, so adverse to the principles which had seated the Citizen King on the throne, those principles were to be constantly announced and loudly proclaimed in public acts and by the members of Government,—proceeding thus on the maxim of Augustus, that men will willingly submit to the reality of slavery, provided they are deluded by the language of freedom.

4. Its danger in the end.

It was said by a minister well versed in the ways of the world, that "every office he gave away made one ungrateful and three discontented." The maxim is true, and of general application; and it unfolds the real reason why, in popular governments, which must always in the long-run more or less rest on the influence of patronage, discontent generally succeeds popularity, and the sway even of the most powerful administration is short-lived. How great soever may be the number of offices at the disposal of government, it cannot for a length of time keep pace with the demands of its supporters, far less disarm the hostility of its opponents. If it limits itself to the first, the basis of influence is never extended, and ere long it contracts; if it attempts the last, discontent is generally produced among its friends, and gratitude is seldom awakened among its enemies. Envy is sure to fasten upon those who bask in the sunshine of govern-

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ment favour, discontent to spread among those who are excluded from its rays. The greater the intelligence and intellectual activity of the people, the greater is the difficulty with which government has to contend from this cause, because the greater is the number of aspirants who must be disappointed, of conscious ability which must be kept in the shade. Whoever considers the influence of these causes, will cease to wonder at the practical difficulty of establishing a stable authority in highly educated communities, or the frequent changes of administration which in them paralyse the action of government, and imprint a character of vacillation and inconsistency on its measures.

5. Liberation of the Duchess de Berri. June 8.

A gracious and well-judged act first signalised the confidence felt by Government from the victory of June 6 in Paris. On the 9th June the *Moniteur* announced that the Duchess de Berri had, on the 8th, been liberated by order of the Government from the Chateau of Blaye, and embarked for Palermo. Upon being questioned in the Chamber whether this had been done in consequence of any foreign interposition, the Ministers answered that it had not, and that any such interference would only have prolonged the Princess's captivity. She arrived in safety at Palermo shortly after. Government acted wisely in this act. They did exactly what Napoleon said the Convention should have done when Louis made the attempt at evasion by the journey to Varennes. The heroic but frail Princess had been morally slaughtered by what had occurred in the Chateau of Blaye; it would have been the worst policy to have restored her fame, as that of Queen Mary had been, by the scaffold of Fotheringay.[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 9, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 270, 271.

The Duke of Orléans returned soon after from an extensive tour through the south of France. His partialities and prepossessions were all for the liberal side, and his words on all occasions bespoke the ardour of his patriotic feelings. In giving a standard to the artillery of the

national guard of Marseilles he said, "On the 30th April* you have trampled under foot *the white flag, the standard of ignominy;* here is the standard of honour. I have come to Marseilles to make a paction with the patriots. I should be glad to shed the last drop of my blood for freedom." Strange words in the mouth of a descendant of Henry IV., and the inheritor of his throne! In addressing many of the municipalities, however, he received rude and even insolent answers; and he returned to Paris deeply impressed with the republican spirit which even in the south had infected the middle class, which in the towns had got possession of the municipalities. "Two years," said the magistrates of Aix, "have destroyed all our illusions: the patriots imprisoned, the Carlists flattered, caressed, filling the offices of administration. The conduct of all local authorities has produced its wonted fruits: our souls are divided, our enemies are united." "We owe the truth to princes," said the council of Draguignan, "and you are worthy to hear it. We say with all the fervour of our hearts, that there is *not one man faithful to the Revolution of July*, or who has courage enough to repudiate that false system under which we live, and of which the happiness of France, so dear to your heart, absolutely requires the change." So violent were the addresses he received that the young Prince had no small difficulty in answering them without compromising the Government; and in truth he could not have done so were it not that he bore no ostensible part in the Administration, and that, in Bossuet's words, "the heir-apparent is separated from the crown by the whole breadth of the kingdom."[1]

6. Journey of the Duke of Orléans through the south of France.

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 241; Cap. vi. 260, 262.

The theatres and romances of Paris, during the lull of political excitement which followed the victory of June, gave melancholy proof of the extent to which the public mind had become depraved, and the strength of that craving for excitement which, deprived of its former vent,

7. Licentiousness of the romances and theatres of Paris.

* The day when the Duchess de Berri landed.

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now sought one in private licentiousness. The Opera was crowded nightly to see the splendid exhibitions of "La Tentation" and "Robert le Diable," in the first of which a beautiful female was exhibited on the stage, at first in a state of absolute nudity, and latterly with a thin gauze only, to enhance the charms of nature; while, in the last, a choir of nuns are represented in a ruined church rising from their tombs, who immediately began waltzing in their transparent *soi-disant* grave-clothes. The dramatised romance of Victor Hugo, *La Tour du Nesle*, founded on the most frightful tales of systematic profligacy and subsequent murder which the middle ages had transmitted to our times, attracted prodigious crowds to one of the minor theatres. Such was the temper of the times that ladies of the highest rank went to see these extraordinary exhibitions, affording thus the clearest proof of general licentiousness in the oblivion of the safeguards of virtue even by those who had never transgressed its bounds.[1]

[1] Personal observation at Paris in 1833.

8. Trial of the St Simonians.

These feelings produced in one extreme sect such extraordinary results as led to a prosecution by Government, however little inclined to interfere with excesses which did not threaten itself. The leaders of the St Simonians, MM. Enfantin, Rodrigues, and Michel Chevalier, were indicted for having formed a society of more than twenty persons, professedly for literary purposes, but which had propagated doctrines subversive of morality. The accused, accompanied by their friends of the same persuasion, marched to the place of trial in the Palais de Justice, clothed in the theatrical costume of the order. Among their attendants were a number of women elegantly dressed in blue, the distinctive mark of the association, and whom the accused requested might be permitted to sit near them at the trial, to aid them by their counsels "in a matter peculiarly affecting the rights of women." The principal matter of accusation against them was,

that they inculcated the abolition of marriage, and general establishment of a promiscuous intercourse of the sexes. The prisoners did not deny the charge, but they justified it. Casting his eyes on the galaxy of beauty which surrounded him, M. Enfantin exclaimed, "I tell you, gentlemen, what importance we attach to the forms, to the looks of beauty. It is in their eyes that we seek the inspiration which is to defend us. It is not in solitary meditation, but in the enthusiasm which they awaken that we seek for wisdom. If an army is to be formed, every one exclaims, 'The carabineers must be fine men!' It is to love, and be loved, and introduce order into things now abandoned to disorder, that we are associated. It is the fair whom I would free from their fetters—beauty from its stains. The emancipation of woman is our main object. *Marriage is the prison in which the jealousy of man has confined her.* Can you deny this, you who boast of your '*bonnes fortunes*,' which is just an effort to back it, and a secret admission of the necessity of adultery? Like you, we wish a period to be put to these scandals: but a different method must be adopted from that which has hitherto been practised." In the close of these strange discussions, which, as an index to general feeling so strangely perverted, are more deserving of serious thought than ridicule, the accused were sentenced to a year's imprisonment; a result which, with the revelations made at the trial, had a material effect in checking these disorders. It is a curious proof of the tendency of extravagance in political thought to produce corresponding wildness in public morals, that doctrines of precisely the same kind emanated from the enthusiasm of the first Revolution, and induced the frightful laxity of manners which characterised the periods of the Convention and the Directory.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 278, 281.

No sooner had the Government recovered from the shocks by which it had been assailed in the beginning of

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summer, than Louis Philippe began to look around him for a new combination, to give greater strength and consideration to the Administration of Marshal Soult, which had been constructed in haste to meet the exigencies of the past crisis. To effect this object he endeavoured to form a Ministry embracing persons of all shades of political opinion, but vesting the majority in the Doctrinaires, whose political opinions were more especially in accordance with those which had placed and could alone retain him upon the throne. Soult was President of the Council, Minister at War, and Prime Minister; the Duke de Broglie received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; M. Hermann, that of the Finances; M. Thiers, of the Interior; and M. Guizot, that of Public Instruction. M. de Montalivet, the former Minister of the Interior, was degraded to the position of Administrator-General of the Civil List, a very subordinate situation. Finally, an ordonnance appeared next day *creating sixty new peers*, besides seven nominated since the close of the last session —a fresh inundation, which completed the degradation of the dignified portion of the legislature. These repeated creations, which so effectually destroyed the consideration and weight of the peerage in the sister kingdom, leave no room for doubt that if the same measure, which was so anxiously pressed upon the King of Great Britain by the Liberal party, had been carried into effect, it would have effectually destroyed our mixed constitution, and forced us either into a despotic monarchy or an elective republic.[1]

9. Changes in the Ministry, and creation of peers. Oct. 11.

Oct. 12.

[1] Moniteur, Oct. 12 and 13, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 214; Cap. vi. 281, 284.

10. Marshal Soult's circular to the prefects. Oct. 13.

The accession of the new Ministry was followed by a remarkable circular, drawn up by M. Thiers, but addressed by Marshal Soult to the prefects, explanatory of the principles on which his Government was formed. "The political system of my predecessor," said he, "shall be mine; it is the national system; the Chambers have declared it. The maintenance of the monarchy and of the charter is the

first condition of public liberty ; but that liberty cannot be secured till it is regular. It honours and secures itself by respect for the laws. Order within and peace without will be the best guarantees for its duration. France, therefore, may rely on my efforts to maintain order and peace. Within, the Government has need of all your courage and wisdom. Every attempt at disorder should be energetically repressed. Measures are in progress which will effectually efface every trace of disorder in the western departments. Anarchy has been conquered in Paris, on the 5th and 6th of June, by the courage and devotion of the troops of the line, and of the National Guard. The factions in those deplorable days have unveiled at once their audacity and their weakness. None of their projects are either unknown to the Government or feared by it. Sedition will find the country unanimous in the desire to give to Government all the support of which it stands in need. In concert with the powers in alliance with us, we will press forward the solution of the great European questions. Our armies, ardent but docile, lend to moderation the support of force. Europe knows it ; but it knows, at the same time, our fidelity to our engagements, and our firm determination to preserve the peace of the world. Government will not be wanting to its duty ; but it is in the country above all that it has confidence. If success crown our efforts, it will be owing to its patriotism. It is my old custom to refer everything to the honour of France."[1]

[1] Circulaire du M. Soult, Oct. 13, 1832; Cap. vi. 368, 370.

11. State and views of the Republicans.

The Republicans meanwhile, though defeated, were not subdued, but the disaster they had met with induced, as usual in such circumstances, a change in their system of attack. Conquered in the public streets, they took refuge in secret societies and the affiliation of clubs. Republicanism had then its catacombs, as Christianity, from the same cause, had had during the persecutions of the Roman emperors. These secret societies had existed both in

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France and the neighbouring states during the Restoration; but they had fallen into comparative disuse during the license of open hostility which followed the Revolution of July. Now, however, that the strength of the Government had been felt, and its existence seemed likely to be prolonged, the democrats resumed their efforts by means of these affiliated societies; and it was by means of them that the contest was chiefly conducted during the remainder of the reign of Louis Philippe. Their efforts, however, were now less shrouded in secresy than formerly; they included a greater number of persons, and were directed chiefly to extend in the manufactories and workshops their principles, and gain there the supporters who might overturn the Government. The great organ of these secret societies was the Liberal press; and every Sunday it spoke in language sufficiently intelligible, but still not cognisable by the law—the language of measured agitation and legal treason.[1]

[1] See, in particular, Le Bon Sens, Sept. and Oct. 1832.

12. Death of the Duke of Reichstadt. July 22, 1832.

Everything at this period seemed to favour Louis Philippe, and promised stability to his reign. Hardly had the catastrophe of the Chateau of Blaye confounded the Legitimists, and the suppression of the insurrection in Paris dashed the hopes of the Republicans, when a new event occurred, which deprived the third great party in the State of its natural head and most formidable prestige. On the 30th July the telegraph announced that the Duke of Reichstadt, only legitimate son of Napoleon, had expired at Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, on the 22d of that month. This amiable and interesting young man, born to such destinies, involved in such a fall, had, since his transference on the removal of the French Emperor to Elba, been under the care of his grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, by whom his youthful years had been kindly and sedulously tended. He retained, however, a faint recollection of the scenes of his infancy, and the catastrophe which had precipitated his father from the throne;

and when he reached the years of adolescence, and read the story of the immortal hero whose blood ran in his veins, much of his father's spirit reappeared in his character, despite all the prudence and precautions of his Austrian educator. He had already received a regiment from his grandfather, and had worn the *Austrian* uniform: but his heart was with the French; and his youthful cheek fired with enthusiasm when he read the accounts of their glorious achievements, when led by his father's genius. He early evinced a strong predilection for military operations, and no small amount of military talent and enthusiasm; but these very qualities, coinciding with a feeble and consumptive constitution, shortened his life. In the end of 1831, the symptoms became so alarming that he was removed from Vienna to Schoenbrunn, and during the spring of the following year, he was so weak that he could only enjoy the fresh air by being drawn in a garden-chair through its charming pleasure-grounds. When the last hour approached, he received the sacrament, according to the custom of the imperial family, with his mother and all his relations, dressed in white as for a bridal day; and on the 22d July he calmly breathed his last, amidst his weeping relatives, with a smile, even in death, still on his features. He carried with him to the tomb the greatest inheritance of modern times, and was interred in the family vault of the house of Hapsburg, in the convent of the Capuchins at Vienna. A simple Latin inscription on his tomb records his glorious destiny, striking qualities, and premature end;[1] but they would perhaps be better expressed in the brief and plaintive inscription of the Courtenay family,—

[1] Moniteur, July 30, 1832; Cap. vi. 356, 357; Ann. Hist. xv. 343, 344.

"Quomodo lapsus! quid feci?"

The session of the Chambers opened on the 19th November, and the King, who presided in person, was loudly applauded in going and returning from the hall.

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An attempt at assassination was, however, made by a desperado at the extremity of the Pont Royal, who fired at the King. Happily the shot did not take effect; and the King said calmly, "It is nothing; there is no mischief done," and continued his progress as if nothing had occurred. In the speech from the throne, after alluding to the Legitimist insurrection in the west, and the Republican in Paris, he observed, "A recent event, decisive for the public peace, has destroyed the hopes of the former party." He dwelt with just pride on the brilliant display at Antwerp, where the flags of England and France floated together at the mouth of the Scheldt, and in which his two sons bore a part; and concluded with these words, entirely in harmony with the circular of the Prime Minister: "Yet a few efforts, and the last traces of disquietude, inseparable from a great revolution, will be effaced. The feeling of *stability* will re-enter all minds; France will regain confidence in its future, and then will be realised the dearest wish of my heart—that of seeing my country raised to the pitch of prosperity to which it is entitled to aspire, and of being enabled to say with truth, that my efforts have not been wholly without effect in working out its destinies."[1]

13. Opening of the Chambers, and King's speech. Nov. 19.

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 20, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 225.

The first trial of strength, as usual, took place on the choice of a president for the Chamber; and the vote then showed how much strength the Government had gained by recent events. M. Lafitte, the Opposition candidate, had only 136 votes, while M. Dupin, who was the Ministerial, had 234. The election for the vice-presidents was equally decisive: MM. Berenger and Delessert, who were supported by Government, had 270 and 255 respectively; while MM. de Schonen and Dupont de l'Eure, the Opposition candidates, had only 179 and 136. The orator of Government, M. de Sade, expressed, in the debate on the address, the general feeling, and the causes which had led to this large majority, in these words:—

14. Trials of strength in the Chamber.

"As to the exterior, it is with Belgium alone that we have any concern. What did the Opposition say last autumn? They said that in spring a general war was inevitable. Has it yet broken out? They said that in nourishing the hope of a treaty with England, they were indulging in chimerical ideas. That treaty has been concluded. They said that we would never succeed in effecting the evacuation of Antwerp; at the moment when I now speak, the French army is before Antwerp, and the cannon have probably already begun to sound. (Great sensation.) In the interior, the Republic and anarchy vanquished on the 6th June; the counter-revolution beat down and conquered in the west; peace, in fine, secured, and the honour of France intact: these are results accomplished or impending, which may be regarded as certain, and of which no one can deny the importance. Of these results, prepared by M. Casimir Périer and his colleagues, some may be claimed by the last Administration, some by the present. Thus, gentlemen, if we have the candour to admit it, everything announces that France approaches the last period of its agitations and its disquietudes. Already the fever of men's minds is calming down, interests are reassured, prosperity revives. Exhausted by so many agitations, worn out with such disorders, the nation asks only for repose under a Government which may restrain and punish the factions instead of caressing them; which may struggle with courage against the bad passions, instead of flattering them; which, in a word, may govern instead of being governed."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 29, 1832; Ann. Hist. xv. 239, 240.

15. Project for the fortification of Paris.

The most interesting matter which came before the Chamber of Deputies this session, was the very important one of the *fortification of Paris*. This project had first been conceived by Vauban after the reverses of Louis XIV., when the Hulans and Pandours threatened the Palace of the Grande Monarque. It was subsequently taken up by Napoleon *after* the victory of Austerlitz, and when the easy capture of the Austrian capital had for-

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cibly brought before his far-seeing mind the corresponding perils to which, on a similar reverse of fortune, his own capital might be exposed. He did not venture, however, to carry into execution his designs, for fear of spreading alarm among the Parisians, and lessening their confidence in his star; and bitterly did he regret the want of such bulwarks when the evil day arrived, when the cross march to St Dizier in 1814 left the capital for a few days to its own resources, and he was precipitated from the throne in consequence. In 1826, M. Clermont Tonnerre, then minister-at-war, formed a plan for the fortification of Paris, specially designed to meet the case of a serious domestic insurrection, but not of a foreign attack, then deemed little probable.* But now that Europe was again in a state of antagonism with France, and experience had proved that internal revolt was not less to be apprehended, it became necessary to devise a system which should provide against this double set of dangers. To accomplish this object, the plan adopted, after mature deliberation by the Cabinet of the Tuileries, was to form a circle of vast citadels around Paris, so near each other as by their cross fire to command every approach to the capital, and so near its interior that the fire from them

* This was a very remarkable memoir by M. Clermont Tonnerre. It bore, "Quand Napoleon s'établit dans le palais du nos Rois, il sentait la nécessité d'isoler la demeure du souverain, et de le mettre à l'abri des attaques d'une immense population qui se souleverait contre le gouvernement; ce fut dans ce dessein qu'il entreprit de construire la nouvelle galerie qui doit enceindre, dans le Palais même, une immense place d'armes ayant des débouchés sur toutes les faces, qu'il isola le jardin des Tuileries, et fit percer la Rue de Rivoli dont le prolongement doit aller jusqu'à la colonnade du Louvre, afin de dégager entièrement l'enceinte du palais. Mais il ne se contenta pas d'isoler le palais et de le placer dans de longs espaces que le canon ou des charges de cavalerie peuvent balayer avec la plus grande facilité; il ajouta à ces premières dispositions une précaution de détail, qui merite d'être remarquée, en réservant en face du pavillon Marsan un petite place de retraite, dont le but est évidemment de pouvoir au besoin réunir et mettre à couvert une réserve de troupes et d'artillerie, et par l'acquisition du terrain qu'il fit jusqu'à la Rue St Honoré, il s'assura des moyens d'établir cette importante communication; on sait enfin qu'il refusa constamment de dégager la façade de St Roch, où il avait acquis, le 13 Vendémiaire, la preuve que le peuple pouvait trouver un point d'appui redoutable, afin que du haut de cette citadelle on ne puisse pas prendre de vues sur les Tuileries, ou déboucher facilement de cette butte St

might command every part of its extent. By means of these detached forts, perfect military command might be obtained of the metropolis without quartering a soldier within its bounds; a secure place of refuge provided for the sovereign, without giving him the appearance of distrusting his subjects; and the most effective means of coercing a rebellious population provided, without awakening its suspicions, and under pretext of sheltering it from the assaults of foreign despotism.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 168, 172; Ann. Hist. xvi. 294, 296.

16. Violent opposition which it encountered, and it is adjourned.

How skilfully soever this project may have been devised, and with whatever art its real object was concealed, its tendency did not escape the penetration of the leaders of the Opposition. They saw at once, that if a circle of these forts were established round Paris, each entire, and capable of standing a siege by itself, and yet all combining by their cross fire to command the most central parts of the city, the power of the metropolitan democracy was at an end, and it would be no longer possible, by raising mobs in the streets, to effect revolutions in the State. Paris would be as completely ruled by its surrounding girdle of forts, as Genoa, Turin, or Naples had been; or as Warsaw was becoming, under the auspices of the Emperor Nicholas. They organised, accordingly, the most formidable opposition against the proposed measure,

Roch près du château sur la Rue de Rivoli. Voyons jusqu'à quel point il avait porté la prévoyance du danger, que peut faire au chef d'un état une population d'un million d'âmes. Il annonça le projet de former ce qu'il appela le palais du Roi de Rome, et voici en quoi consistait le projet. Le palais placé sur la hauteur en face de l'école militaire, dominant le pont de Jéna, enfilant le cours entier de la rivière d'une part, et tout le dévelopement de la Rue de Rivoli de l'autre, devait être construit de manière à remplir toutes les conditions d'une véritable forteresse; mais pour lui donner toute la valeur dont elle était susceptible, il embrassait dans ses dépendances tout ce grand plateau qui s'etend de la Barrière de l'Etoile, et de la hauteur des Bons Hommes jusqu'au Bois de Boulogne et la route de Neuilly. Sur ce plateau il devait établir un immense jardin entouré de fortes murailles, on de fosses profondes qui en faisaient au besoin un vaste camp retranché auquel arrivaient par toutes les routes, et sans être obligées d'entrer dans Paris, les troupes de Versailles, de Courbevoie, et de St Denis, et en un mot la garde entière." A curious development of the "pensées intimes" of the great conqueror regarding his faithful citizens of Paris in the moment of his highest popularity!—CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 169, 171.

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resting their resistance on the expense with which it would be attended, and the tremendous weapon which it would place in the hands of despotism. Cries of "*A bas les forts detachés!*" "*A bas les bastilles!*" were heard on all sides, and ominous groups began to be formed in the streets. So violent did the opposition become, that Government were obliged for the time to postpone the project, how obvious soever it may have been that it afforded the best security against foreign or domestic danger. The design, however, was adjourned, not abandoned; the determination of Government to carry it into execution was fully formed; for experience had now abundantly proved, and never so much as in the last two years, that there could be no security for any government, even the most popular, which was not in possession of some arm adequate to restrain the capricious violence of the people.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 172, 173; Ann. Hist. xvii. 294, 295.

17. Large grants for public works.

Another grant of public money for internal purposes excited much less opposition, and was equally wise and beneficial. M. Thiers demanded from the Chambers, and obtained a credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) for the completion of the public works already in progress, or the commencement of new ones. This ample grant, which sounds so large to English ears, being a *full twelfth* of the whole expenditure of the year, was not suggested merely by a spirit of munificence or splendour on the part of the Government. It arose from necessity: it was a means of appeasing the public discontent. The industry of the metropolis was far from having recovered the shock received by the successful Revolution of 1830; and although the suppression of that of 1832 had done much to re-establish its credit, yet confidence was still very far from being confirmed, and numerous classes of workmen, especially those who ministered to luxuries and elegancies, were languishing from want of employment. This ample grant from the Chambers was a well-timed and graceful provision for their relief. "Every government," said M.

Thiers, in proposing the grant, "during the last forty years, impatient to imprint a trace of its existence on the soil of the country, has hastened to erect edifices, to excavate canals, to open out roads. But, more solicitous to commence works of their own than to complete those of their predecessors, they have left eternal scaffolding around our edifices in the public squares, and beds of canals still dry in our fields. The present Government has conceived the idea that its mission is to finish rather than commence. It has at least the merit of novelty, and is most conformable to the spirit of the Government of July. That Government, coming after forty years of experiments of every kind, has for its object to resume, complete, and strengthen all that has been done before it. It will only, therefore, be in harmony with itself, when it prefers completing old undertakings to commencing new ones."[1]

[1] Moniteur, April 30, 1833; Ann. Hist. xvi. 256, 257.

18. Distribution of the grant.

The proportion of this liberal grant which was allocated to the monuments of the capital, was no less than 24,000,000 francs (£960,000). It had become, however, a matter of absolute necessity to do something for their prosecution, for the greater part of them were in a state of ruinous dilapidation, going rapidly to decay from the action of the weather on their unfinished materials; and several millions of francs were required annually, not to go on with the works, but to prevent them going to total ruin. The world has no reason to regret these liberal grants, for they led to the completion of the Arc de l'Etoile, whose gigantic mass closes the superb avenue of the Champs Elysées, of the beautiful peristyle of the Madeleine, and of the noble pile of the Pantheon, which still remained, solitary, untenanted, in the midst of the busy concourse of the capital. But it was not merely the monuments of the metropolis which shared in this splendid national munificence: works of utility, and beneficial to industry, were equally attended to. No less than 44,000,000 francs (£1,800,000) were voted for canals; 12,000,000

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francs (£480,000) for roads in La Vendée, and 17,000,000 francs (£680,000) for other roads in France, and 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) for light-houses on the coasts. Nothing was ever more wise or expedient, even for the Government's own interests, than these splendid grants. It was by a similar policy, in a great measure, that the Romans so long retained the empire which the legions had conquered; the sway of the emperors was felt chiefly by the munificent grants in aid of public works in the provinces, which flowed from the imperial treasury. It is painful to think how blind the selfishness of ruling power so often renders it to the expedience, for its own sake, of this wise and magnanimous policy; and how strong is the tendency of those in authority in the metropolis to concentrate the benefits of taxation upon themselves, and leave only its burdens to the distant parts of the empire.[1]*

[1] Moniteur, April 30, 1833; Cap. vii. 179, 180; Ann. Hist. xvi. 257, 258.

19. Income and expenditure of 1833.

The finances of France experienced a sensible amelioration in the course of this year; but the great military armaments which were still kept on foot, and the immense grants to public works, brought the public expen-

* The credits adopted by the Chamber for the Public Works were as follows:—

	Francs.		
Arc de l'Etoile,	2,070,000	or	£84,000
Eglise de la Madelcine,	2,600,000	...	104,000
Panthéon,	1,400,000	...	56,000
Museum d'Histoire Naturelle,	2,400,000	...	96,000
Eglise de St Denis,	1,350,000	...	52,000
Ecoles des Beaux Arts,	1,900,000	...	76,000
Hôtel du Quay d'Orsay,	3,450,000	...	137,000
Monument de la Bastille,	700,000	...	28,000
Chambre des Députés,	270,000	...	11,000
Institution des Sourds et Muets,	150,000	...	6,000
Collége de France,	650,000	...	26,000
Pont de la Concorde,	300,000	...	12,000
Travaux de Canalisation,	44,000,000	...	1,800,000
Routes Royales,	15,000,000	...	600,000
Entretiens des Routes,	2,000,000	...	800,000
Routes dans l'Ouest,	12,000,000	...	480,000
Phares et Fanaux des Côtes,	2,500,000	...	100,000
Etudes relatives aux Chemins-de-Fer,	500,000	...	20,000
	93,940,000		£3,768,000

—*Annuaire Historique*, xvii. 257; and CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 179, 180.

diture to a very high level. The budget, as finally arranged, presented an income of 1,133,870,547 francs (£45,900,000), and an expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1,120,394,804 francs (£45,800,000); exhibiting a trifling balance in favour of the exchequer, which, as usual in such cases, was brought out only to keep up appearances, and was more apparent than real.* A more solid ground of confidence was afforded by the details of the receipts, which exhibited a marked and gratifying

* Income and Expenditure of France for 1833, 1834, and 1835.

INCOME.			
	1833.	1834.	1835.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
Direct taxes,	353,526,673	363,417,990	365,680,614
Stamps,	196,011,000	196,944,745	199,978,527
Woods,	16,000,000	22,853,755	24,231,124
Customs,	161,000,000	159,619,524	162,191,715
Indirect taxes,	169,200,000	188,183,480	192,218,084
Post-Office,	35,790,000	36,157,954	37,106,155
Lottery,	10,000,000	5,583,790	7,764,925
Miscellaneous,	25,343,474	31,021,893	22,724,316
Loans and extraordinary resources,	167,000,000	28,280,010	9,046,333
	1,133,870,547	1,042,193,157	1,051,880,927

EXPENDITURE.			
	1833.	1834.	1835.
	Francs.	Francs.	Francs.
National Debt,	218,195,549	195,964,033	195,913,630
Sinking Fund and Floating Debt,	130,793,430	54,552,463 76,050,000	55,272,463 80,175,750
Pensions,	17,370,600	17,257,100	17,032,900
Justice,*	18,351,365	54,660,284	55,355,849
Foreign Affairs,	7,197,700	7,355,700	7,960,700
Public Instruction,	4,985,000	13,275,673	13,734,990
Interior and Public Worship,	41,499,005	74,941,276	74,818,882
Commerce and Public Works,	129,580,200	54,497,878	57,480,277
War,	305,547,288	226,299,942	238,914,486
Navy,	66,206,518	65,000,000	66,215,917
Finances,	23,378,401	21,509,460	20,365,629
Charges of Collection,	115,075,668	120,250,985	121,832,341
Drawback, &c.,	41,910,831	57,704,134	58,596,085
	1,120,394,804	1,039,318,931	1,063,669,937

* After this year, Public Worship was united to Justice.

—*Ann. Hist.* xx. 67, App. 1r Partie; and xxi. 87; *Doc. Hist.*, 1r Partie.

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increase in all the principal branches of revenue, indicating the immense benefit which had been conferred upon the nation by the defeat of the Republicans, and the establishment of the Government upon a more solid foundation. But the shock of recent events was still painfully felt; and the income required to be brought up to the expenditure by loans to the amount of 167,000,000 francs (£6,700,000), contracted during a period of general peace.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 90, 94; Doc. Hist. 1re Partie.

20. King's journey to Normandy, and felicitous answers to addresses.

The King made two journeys this year—one to Normandy, and one towards Calais; and in the course of these progresses, several answers he made to addresses presented to him were singularly indicative of the soundness of his judgment. The mayor of Rouen having contended, in his speech, for the absolute freedom of commerce, Louis Philippe replied: "I am disposed on principle to wish that commerce should enjoy the greatest possible freedom: I wish it was possible to emancipate it from every restraint; because I believe that its liberty is one of the chief means of *augmenting capital, of founding great fortunes*, and of increasing the general prosperity by means of their circulation. Nevertheless, we cannot advance in that path but with great circumspection; we must hear and consult all interests; and all I can say at present is, that the subject occupies my most anxious consideration." The president of the civil tribunal of Bernay having addressed him on the attachment of the people to liberal institutions, and the necessity of truth reaching the ear of princes, the King replied, with dignity: "Yes! without doubt it is fitting that truth should reach the ears of kings, but it is fitting it should reach those of nations also. Now, nations have their flatterers as kings formerly had; and these new flatterers know well how to pervert the truth by flattery, or to intimidate it by insult, or obscure it by calumny.[2] It is for time and public reason to do it justice; and it is only by rejecting the eyes of passion and of partiality

[2] Cap. vii. 191, 192; Ann. Hist. xv. 302, 303.

that the public mind can succeed in arriving at a sound judgment, and discerning its true interests. It is then, also, that it can appreciate justly the real advantages which it enjoys, and learns not to put them in hazard by pursuing chimeras, and recalling the misfortunes which they have caused to weigh upon France."

21. New form which the spirit of propagandism assumed.

What pains soever the French Government may have taken to repress the spirit of insubordination, to the triumph of which it owed its origin, it could not extinguish it, and the more it was kept down in France itself, the more it sought vent in foreign states. The spirit of propagandism, however, now took a new direction. It sought out different channels for its operations. It no longer organised open revolt; insurrections in the streets were laid aside. It was by secret committees, public meetings called ostensibly for other purposes, and extensive correspondence, that the new system was to be carried out, and sedition nurtured without incurring its pains. The Polish emigrants, ardent, intrepid, and enterprising, inspired with the most violent hatred at the monarchical party of which Russia was the head, were the chief agents in every part of Europe of this new species of propagandism. Infatuated, as exiles in general are, with the prospects and power of their adherents, they did not see that, in throwing themselves in this manner without reserve into the arms of the Republicans, they were inflicting a wound on their country worse than any it had received from the arms of the Russians, because they detached from its side all the monarchies of Europe, even the most liberal, who with reason apprehended more danger from such allies than from the strides of the Colossus of the north.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 196, 198.

In common with other great cities, a Polish Committee was appointed in Paris, which was soon in close correspondence with those in London, Brussels, and elsewhere, and initiated into all the designs of the Republicans in every part of the world. Naturally it excited

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22. Remonstrances of Russia and Prussia against the Polish committees.

the disquietude of the Russian Government, which represented that the existence and tolerance of such a committee in Paris was a standing menace to the northern powers, and open to all the objections so strongly urged by Lafayette and the National Assembly against the assemblage of Royalist nobles at Coblentz in 1792. To these remonstrances of the Russian ambassador, Count Pozzo di Borgo, the Prussian minister added others which belonged exclusively to the Germanic Confederacy. He represented that the Diet had been under the necessity in the preceding year of taking some steps to repress the spirit of propagandism which had appeared so strongly, especially in the lesser states, and that this danger was immensely increased by the Polish and Republican committees so generally established. A secret memoir was at the same time presented by a diplomatic agent of the Court of Berlin to its Cabinet, which portrayed with truth the political state of Germany, and foreshadowed the part it was destined to take on the political theatre of Europe. "For centuries," it observed, "Germany has been regarded as the heart of Europe. So long as the ideas of preserving the balance of power were in vogue, it was generally felt that it was the central weight which made the balance incline to whichever side it adopted. Napoleon in the outset of his career hastened to base his power on the Confederation of the Rhine: it was when it turned against him that he was overthrown. In the beginning of 1832, Germany was in a very unsettled state. French emissaries never ceased to traverse the country from state to state, and their influence was in an especial manner felt in the capitals of the smaller powers, at Munich, Dresden, Würtemberg, and Baden, and in general from the Rhine to the frontiers of Prussia. These facts are sufficiently notorious: several of these agents have been seized in Berlin itself, and sent out of the kingdom.[1] The new theories have in an especial manner penetrated the lesser states, and nothing has con-

[1] Cap. vii. 201, 203.

tributed so much to their diffusion as the weakness of government in the Ecclesiastical States, where the innovating doctrines of the French Revolutions have brought forth numerous complaints against not only real but imaginary abuses."

23. Revolutionary organisation in Germany, 1832 and 1833.

It was not without reason that this sagacious observer expressed himself thus on the political condition of the lesser states of Germany. A committee had been in existence in Paris ever since 1830, at the head of which was General Lafayette, the object of which was to spread affiliated societies and committees through the whole states of Western Germany. In the first months of 1832, it assumed a more definite form and organisation, under the name of the "Union for the Liberty of the Press." Societies under this name, corresponding with each other, and taking their directions from the central committee in Paris, were formed at Deux-Ponts, and all through Rhenish Bavaria, at Mayence, Frankfort, Cassel, Leipsic, Nuremberg, Munich, Würzburg, Stuttgart, Manheim, and Fribourg. Fêtes were periodically given in all these towns, the object of which was to excite and perpetuate this revolutionary spirit; and such was the effect they produced upon the ardent and universally educated youth of Germany, that had this proceeding been conducted with a little more moderation, the effects might have been incalculable. But the French agents pushed matters so far that they roused the old Teutonic jealousy of Gallic influence; and several of them, in particular Boerne and Theodore Heine, produced a great reaction against the unmeasured strides of French usurpation over the country which had emancipated itself from its military power. The attention of the Diet also was at length aroused to the danger of the existing conspiracy.[1] A violent explosion took place at Frankfort on the 3d April 1833, headed by the students; in consequence of which the Germanic Diet adopted, on 13th April, a series of resolutions, the object of which was to establish additional

April 13, 1833.

[1] Decree, June 20, 1833; Moniteur, June 28; Cap. vii. 205, 207, 212.

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restrictions on the license of the press; to bind each other to reciprocal aid in the event of tumult in their respective states; to prohibit meetings having a political tendency; to prevent the inhabitants of any State from resisting the payment of losses agreed to by its Diet; and to lend the whole strength of the Confederacy against any refractory State.

24. Efforts of the propagandists in Switzerland and Italy.

The efforts of the French propagandists and Polish refugees were not less serious in Switzerland and the north of Italy. Great numbers of the latter had taken refuge in the land of freedom after the fall of Warsaw in 1831. They had received a notification that they must leave France. They had even gone so far as to address a formal demand for hospitality and protection to the "rulers of the land of Tell and Winkelreid."* They received permission accordingly, and six hundred of them immediately emigrated from France, and sought an asylum in the Helvetic territory. Their appearance there excited the jealousy of Austria and Prussia, and the ministers of these cabinets at Berne soon addressed energetic notes demanding their immediate expulsion from the Swiss territory. This requisition occasioned no small embarrassment to the Swiss government; for, on the one hand, they were in no condition to resist the demand of the German powers, and on the other, if they complied with it, they lost even the semblance of independence. In this dilemma they had recourse to the usual resource of the weak—procrastination—and referred the matter to the general diet of Helvetia. Before any determination, however, could

April 16, 1833.

* "Représentants de la libre Helvétie, ennemis de l'arbitraire, prêts à braver toutes les vicissitudes du sort en servant la cause des peuples, nous nous sommes vus forcés de quitter la France et de réclamer votre protection généreuse. Les services que notre nation a rendus à l'Europe, nos malheurs, parlent en notre faveur, et le caractère Polonais, l'honneur du soldat de la liberté, est la plus sûre guarantie de notre conduite dans votre patrie. Nous attendons votre réponse, et nous sommes convaincus qu' elle sera celle des dignes descendans de Tell et de Winkelreid, nous l'attendons persuadés que les victimes du despotisme ne peuvent être repoussées de ce pays qui a été de tout temps le foyer de la liberté. 10 *Août.* 1832."—Cap. vii. 219, 220.

be come to by that body on the subject, a vast conspiracy of Liberals was discovered in Piedmont, the object of which was to overturn the government; and as a great number of French as well as Poles were implicated in it, the Cabinet of Louis Philippe interposed in favour of the accused persons. The government of Turin was now placed in the same embarrassment as that of Switzerland had been. Lying midway between the aristocratic and democratic powers, it knew not to which to incline, and could not yield to the one without incurring the enmity of the other. The Piedmontese government, however, succeeded in asserting its independence, and taking cognisance of its own criminals, who were tried, convicted, and executed.[1]

[1] Moniteur, May 12, 1833, and May 14; Cap. vii. 224, 235; Ann. Hist. xvi. 479, 484, 497.

25. Congress of Muntz-Graetz between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Sept. 9, 1833.

Although the affairs of Belgium had been all but settled by the convention concluded in London between France and England on May 21st, and accepted by the Dutch and Belgian governments, yet a definitive treaty had not yet been concluded. A considerable degree of jealousy had sprung up in the northern powers in consequence of the open assumption by France and England of a right to dispose, at their own pleasure, of the conflicting interests of the independent states. Out of this jealousy sprung the Congress of MUNTZ-GRAETZ, in Bohemia, which for the first time gave open token of the schism between the eastern and western powers. The Emperor Nicholas was attended by Count Nesselrode, the Emperor of Austria by Prince Metternich, and the King of Prussia by M. d'Ancillon. It may readily be supposed that such great personages did not assemble from such distant quarters for light purposes, and that Nicholas had not come from St Petersburg into the heart of Germany merely for the sake of amusement or festivity. Great interests were at stake; and it was there for the first time that the old alliance which had overthrown Napoleon was dissolved, and the severance rendered irreparable which had arisen from the Revolution of 1830 in France,

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and that of 1832 in Great Britain. Although this separation was inevitable, and might naturally have been expected from these decisive events, yet it was so open a departure from former usages that it excited no small disquietude in the courts of London and Paris; and the sovereigns of these realms could not avoid feeling a certain chagrin at seeing a congress sitting avowedly for the settlement of the affairs of Europe, from which their representatives were excluded.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 384, 386; Cap. vii. 237, 242.

26. Real objects of that Congress.

In truth, however, the jealousy felt at the Congress of Muntz-Graetz, though natural on the part of the cabinets of France and England, had no solid foundation so far as their immediate interests were concerned. There was no thought there of restoring the ancient dynasty in France; it had proved too weak and incompetent when the crisis arrived to excite any sympathy in the Continental powers. Grave questions were at stake; material interests of the highest importance were to be secured. On the Eastern Question the apprehensions of Austria were allayed by the assurance of the Emperor Nicholas, that the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was merely a defensive act, that it was only intended to protect the weakness of Turkey, and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see Turkey, by the aid of the good offices of Austria, apply for its termination, when everything would return to the *status quo*. With regard to Holland and Belgium, it was agreed to accept the separation of the two kingdoms, to recognise the crown of Leopold, and to use their best endeavours to arrange the conflicting claims of the two kingdoms in matters relating to the frontiers or finance, and to give instructions to their respective ambassadors at London and Paris to do their utmost to bring about this object. It was stipulated that the *casus belli* should only be held to have arisen if the interests of the Germanic Confederation were seriously compromised, in particular if the grand-duchy of Luxembourg were refused to be included within its limits.[2] To meet the possible

[2] Cap. vii. 240, 243; Ann. Hist. xvi. 385.

contingency of a war, a very curious and valuable table was prepared by the sovereigns at the congress, of the military forces at their disposal; and in the event of a war, Russia agreed to support Germany with 120,000 men.*

27. Resolution of the Congress regarding the propagandism.

A more serious matter for discussion at this Congress, and which in reality brought the sovereigns together, was that connected with the system of propagandism, which was still, though underhand, making alarming progress in Europe. The first question considered, and upon which, in truth, all the rest depended, was whether France was *sincere* in her endeavours and professed wish to repress the spirit of rebellion and disorder in France and Italy? Contrary to expectation, Prince Metternich decidedly supported the affirmative of both propositions. "We have proof of the disposition of the French Government to repress anarchy in its daily communications,

* The military statistics of the Allied Powers furnished to the Congress of Muntz-Graetz were as follows:—

	Men.
I. Russia.—Infantry, including Guards,	285,000
Cavalry,	68,000
Artillery, 960 guns,	30,000
Total,	383,000
Besides Cossacks and irregulars, 100,000 more.	
II. Austria.—Infantry, including Guards,	250,000
Cavalry,	49,000
Artillery,	22,000
Total,	324,000
Besides 140,000 Landwehr and frontier corps.	
III. Prussia.—Infantry and Guards,	132,000
Cavalry,	32,000
Artillery,	16,000
Total,	180,000
Besides 168,000 Landwehr of the first ban.	
IV. German Confederacy.—	
Bavaria,	50,000
Saxony,	18,000
Würtemberg,	18,000
Baden,	14,000
Hesse,	8000
Lesser States,	43,000
Total,	151,000

—Capefigue, vii. 243-245.

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in its efforts to exercise a surveillance over the refugees. We must have patience with it, for it has a rude task to perform. Born of revolution, it is called on to repress its excesses; the creature of rebellion, it can with difficulty detach itself from its side. Surrounded by a net of secret societies, it has, however, resolved to break loose from them, and this year it has not only obtained the victory over them in a pitched battle, but it has succeeded in getting laws passed against the press and the associations." In these views the Prussian minister concurred; and at the same time secret information was communicated to the French Government as to the wish of the Citizen King to detach himself from the revolutionary party, and enter, in good faith, into the European alliance. In consequence of these assurances, the congress separated without coming to any resolution of a military nature, and contented itself with a convention, that persons convicted of high treason or sedition in any of the three monarchies, should find no asylum in the territories of the others.[1]

[1] Ordonnance, Jan. 4, 1834; Cap. vii. 245, 247.

28. Affairs of Algeria. 1830-1834.

The colony of ALGERIA continued to maintain its ground during this period of distraction in France, though it had a severe conflict to maintain with the warlike and formidable tribes by which it was surrounded. The Bedouin horsemen proved as formidable enemies to the Gallic as their ancestors, under Jugurtha, had done to the Roman invaders. The French force, which at first consisted of twenty-nine thousand men, of whom five thousand only were horse, under Marshal Clausel, during the two first years of the occupation, with difficulty maintained its ground against the clouds of Arabs by whom it was surrounded, and, in fact, could hardly be said to possess anything beyond the military posts of Algiers, Oran, and Bona, on the sea-coast. Like the Turks in Europe, they were encamped in Africa, and were masters only of the ground on which their tents stood. To Marshal Clausel succeeded, in May 1831,

the Duke of Rovigo (Savary), who endeavoured to extend the basis of the colony by occupying, as the Romans had done before him, the fertile plain of the Metidjah, and establishing strong camps there to protect those who might choose to settle from the incursions of the Numidian horse. The necessities of Government at home, however, having rendered it necessary to reduce the army of occupation to twenty thousand, it became extremely difficult to do this, the more especially as the burning heat of the climate exposed the troops to various maladies which daily diminished their strength.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 397, 405; Ann. Hist. xvi. 306, 307.

29. Origin of the Zouaves in Algeria.

Such was the state of the colony when Marshal Soult became War Minister; and he at once perceived that this diminished force was totally inadequate to its protection, and yet that the precarious position of France in reference to the European powers rendered it impossible in any material degree at the present moment to augment it. Thoughts were at first entertained of abandoning the colony as a useless and burdensome offshoot of the monarchy, bequeathed to it by the ambition of the Restoration; but this idea was on reflection abandoned, as implying a sense of military weakness, and depriving the State of a valuable nursery for its soldiers, as well as vent for its turbulent activity. It was resolved, therefore, to retain it, but to augment its military strength, by the establishment of a large auxiliary force, in imitation of the Romans in Europe in ancient, and the English in India in modern times. For this purpose it was determined to establish two auxiliary corps—one of six thousand men, composed of military refugees of all nations, who now swarmed in France, whose absence would be as great a relief to that country, as their presence would prove a service in its beleaguered colony. The other was to be composed, so far as the privates were concerned, of natives of the colony itself, French settlers, Arabs, and Turks, mingled in such proportions as should render treachery impossible. The officers of all grades were to

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be entirely composed of young Frenchmen, the most distinguished for their courage, zeal, and activity. A smaller body were to be mounted, armed, and equipped in the light fashion, suited for contending with the desultory bands of horsemen who in every age have constituted the strength of Africa. Both these projects were immediately carried into execution with the happiest effect, and in a short time fifteen thousand of these admirable light troops were added to the military force of France in Africa. Such was the origin of the ZOUAVES and the CHASSEURS D'AFRIQUE, so justly celebrated in a subsequent war, whom Marshal St Arnaud, not without reason, styled "the best soldiers in the world," and who shared with the English the glories of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann!—One of the most interesting results of history, in the tracing out the chain of causes and effects, unceasingly going forward, but eluding contemporary observation, which connect the events of one age with another, and which are, on the retrospect, found to have been the agency of Providence for rendering the acts of free agents the means of carrying out, without their intending it, the objects of Divine administration.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 404, 406; Ann. Hist. xv. 306, 307.

30. Military successes, and establishment of the colony.

By the aid of those powerful auxiliaries, and of large reinforcements which the increased military strength of France put at their disposal, the limits of the colony were rapidly extended. The fertile fields of the Metidja, long the granary of Rome, were brought under the plough; cultivation spread towards the foot of Mount Atlas; and the Arab tribes, taught in several encounters the superiority of European arms and discipline, began to relax in their incursions, and abstained from ravaging a district where they met with wounds and death rather than plunder. Such was the confidence which before the expiry of two years was established between them and their powerful invaders, that several of the blockhouses were intrusted to their arms, which still, as in a country imperfectly subdued, protected the stations of the troops.

Some of the nations, however, were not so tractable; and when they extended into the interior, the French were brought in contact with various warlike tribes, particularly the Hadjoutes, Garabats, and Kabyles, who were not subdued but by repeated and severe actions. The last of these inroads was made by nine thousand horsemen and one thousand foot-soldiers, headed by ABD-EL-KADER, a chief of vast resources, unwearied activity, and indomitable courage, who long maintained the standard of independence against all the forces of France, and was subdued at last, not in open warfare, but by fraud and a breach of faith unworthy of the nation by which it was perpetrated, and which would never have been committed in the days of its chivalrous honour.[1]

Sept. 10, 1832; May 8, 1833; May 29, 1833; July 27, Oct. 10, and Dec. 2, 1833.

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 307, 310, 316.

31. Extreme violence of the press in Paris in 1833 and 1834.

The decisive victory which had attended the Crown in the conflict with the Republicans in 1832, and the entire failure of their efforts to obtain a parliamentary majority in the session which followed, induced a marked change in the system of the Opposition and the language of the press in the course of the succeeding year. It is impossible to describe in sufficiently forcible language the virulence of the Republican press during the whole of 1833 and 1834. It was not the impassioned eloquence of a party conscious of right, and contending for victory; it was rather the fierce denunciations of a band of brigands arrested in the midst of their depredations, or the envenomed diatribes of a woman thwarted in her schemes of conquest. Future ages would not give credit to the virulence, at that period, of a large part of the Parisian press, did not the journals to this day remain, attesting its extraordinary acrimony. Many home-truths highly distasteful to the ruling power were there told, amidst great exaggeration of language, and many false principles. An open division of property was constantly inculcated as the only remedy for the evils of society. But how violent soever the press may have been, the Government was not less determined in its prosecutions; scarcely a

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morning elapsed without its being announced that twenty or thirty Republicans had been seized in their beds on the preceding night; and ere long the accumulation of prisoners became such that the prisons were unable to contain them, and a huge hospital near the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise was converted into an additional place of detention.* Faithful to its system, the Government was noways discouraged by failure of its prosecutions, which very often occurred, but went on indicting fresh parties, without regarding the shouts of triumph raised by the Liberals at every acquittal. Meanwhile Paris virtually remained in a state of siege, although it had terminated nominally within two months after the insurrection of June 1832. Sixty thousand regular troops in the capital or its immediate vicinity precluded all possibility of successful insurrection; and patrols of military at every hundred yards in the streets prevented any attempt even at the most pacific assemblage.[1]

[1] Personal observation during autumn 1833.

32. Opening of the Chamber of 1834, and violence of parties.

The debates in the Chambers shared in this personal and envenomed character. They degenerated into violent personal altercations between individuals, in the course of which thrusts with poisoned intellectual rapiers were exchanged, and in one instance an actual duel took place between General Bugeaud and M. Dulong, in which the latter was unhappily slain. M. de Lafayette continued

* "Yesterday evening twenty-eight persons, accused of seditious practices, were arrested and sent to prison by the agents of the police. Never did tyranny advance with such rapid strides as it is doing at the present moment in France."—*Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1833.

"Yesterday night eighteen more persons, accused of seditious practices, were sent to prison. How long will the citizens of Paris permit a despotism to exist among them, to which there has been nothing comparable since the days of Napoleon?"—*Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1833.

"More barracks are in the course of being erected in the neighbourhood of Grenelle. If things go on at this rate, Paris will soon contain more soldiers than citizens—more barracks than houses."—*Tribune*, Aug. 23, 1833.

"It is in vain to say that it was Napoleon, or the Restoration, or Louis Philippe, who extinguished freedom in France: it was the overthrow of Robespierre which was the fatal stroke. We have never since known what liberty was: we have lived only under a succession of tyrants. Impressed with these ideas, a band of patriots have commenced the republication of the speeches of

at the head of the real, though concealed, leaders of the conspiracy, which sat in permanence, though shrouded in mystery, and cautiously avoiding committing themselves, watching an opportunity to overthrow the Government. Ostensibly, the war in the Chambers was directed against the Ministers alone; really, against the King. The speech from the throne, at the meeting of the deputies on the 23d December 1833, was moderate and conciliatory, both in so far as regarded external and internal affairs; but the language of Opposition was in the highest degree recriminatory, and breathed the bitterness of a party which in a great public movement had found the whole fruits of victory wrested from them by a third power, which had appeared in the field at the close of the fight. "Gentlemen," said M. Garnier Pagès, "I declare—for I have a right to express what I feel—that society is not established on a basis that can be durable. Justice, humanity, no longer exist: Government is nothing but a deception: the whole of society is out of the pale of the law. Woe to the nation which is placed without the only foundation of pure morality—that is, universal equality—and which is crushed under the yoke of an exceptional legislature."[1] On this occasion M. Thiers with candour admitted the erroneous view of the Revolution of 1789 presented in his History; "a work,"

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[1] Séance, 3 Jan. 1834; Moniteur, Jan. 4, 1834.

Robespierre, St Just, and Marat, which will be rendered accessible to the very humblest of the people, by the moderate price of a sous a number, at which it is sold. We earnestly recommend the works of these immortal patriots to our readers. They will find everything that philosophy could discern, or learning reveal, or humanity desire, or learning enforce, in their incomparable productions."—*Tribune*, Aug. 20, 1833.

"The tyranny of the rich over the poor is the real plague which infests society—the eternal source of oppression, in comparison of which all others are as dust in the balance. What have we gained by the Revolution? The substitution of the Chaussée d'Antin for the Faubourg St Germain: an aristocracy of bankers for one of nobles. What have the people gained by the change? Are they better fed, or clothed, or lodged, than before? What is it to them that their oppressors are no longer dukes or counts? Tyranny can come from the bureau as well as the palace. There will be no real regeneration to France till a more *equal distribution of property* strikes at the root of all the calamities of mankind."—*Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1833.

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he added, "begun at the age of twenty-three, with the effervescence of youth, and which does not contain what should have been said on the subject."

33. Correspondence between France and the allied powers on the subject of a general disarming.

At this period the ruling desire, both on the part of the French Government and the European powers, was to effect a reduction of the immense military armaments which for two years had been kept on foot on both sides, and which produced a strain on all their finances which they were little able to bear. M. de Broglie, on the part of the Cabinet of Louis Philippe, made repeated representations on this subject to the ambassadors of the allied powers; but M. de Metternich replied, "We desire nothing more ardently than a general disarmament; like France, we have need of it; but the first step must come from yourselves. Re-establish order in your own country: you have a propagandism which devours us; secret societies fully organised; a press which respects nothing. At the tribune, even, declamations are incessantly launched against our policy and our acts. Begin with repressing that, and the disarmament will follow as a matter of course." To this M. de Broglie replied, "Give us time, and with prudence you will obtain all that Europe desires. It is impossible to control an independent Chamber, ridiculously enamoured of revolutionary ideas, after the manner of a government master of itself, and in possession of all its powers." These remonstrances, however, produced a great effect on the French Government. Sensible of their justice, and that no general disarmament could be expected in Europe till the spirit of propagandism was checked in their own country, two important measures of repression were prepared in the Cabinet, which were ere long submitted to the Chamber, and constituted the great *cheval de bataille* between the parties for the remainder of the session.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 345, 347.

The project consisted of two laws, one against public criers of seditious and immoral publications in the streets of the capital—an evil which had risen to such a height,

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as to have scandalised even the most violent supporters of revolutionary ideas; the other imposing a restraint upon pamphlets and short publications. By the first, no crier was to be allowed to hawk or distribute pamphlets in the streets without a license from the police; by the second, a stamp duty was imposed on pamphlets under twenty pages. Both these measures were a mere recurrence, like the proclamation of the state of siege by Marshal Soult after the revolt in the Cloister of St Méri, to the laws of the Restoration; a homage unintentionally offered by the Citizen King to the wisdom of his royal predecessors, and another proof among the many which history affords, that conservative measures do not belong in a peculiar manner to any one dynasty or form of government, but are forced upon all, after a certain period of existence, by the necessities of their situation.[1]

34. Laws against public criers, and imposing a stamp duty on pamphlets.

[1] L. Blanc, iv. 212, 213; Cap. vii. 353, 354; Ann. Hist. xvii. 99, 101.

35. Law against associations. Feb. 25.

The evils which these laws were intended to abate were so flagrant and well known, that they excited very little resistance in the legislature, although they were not carried into execution without some violent and disgraceful contests between the police and those numerous classes in Paris which made their livelihood by hawking obscenity, scandal, and sedition through the streets of the capital.* But it was far otherwise with the law proposed against associations, the second measure of repression, which encountered the most vehement and impassioned resistance, both in the Chamber and over the country. In truth, it well-nigh brought on a third revolution. To understand this subject, it must be premised that by article 291 of the penal code of Napoleon, every association consisting of more than twenty persons was prohibited, if not autho-

* "Les crieurs lancés sur les places et dans les rues par les ennemis du pouvoir ne furent souvent que les colporteurs du scandale, que les hérauts d'armes de l'émeute. Dans les libelles qu'ils distribuaient, la mauvaise foi des attaques le disputa plus d'une fois à la grossièreté du langage, et à je ne sais quelle flagornerie démagogique. Flatter le peuple est une lâcheté, le tromper est un crime. Que le Gouvernement fût intervenu pour mettre fin à un tel désordre il le devait."—Louis Blanc, *Histoire de Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, iv. 211, 212.

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rised by the Government. M. Guizot and the Doctrinaires had violently opposed this law during the Restoration, and to elude its operation the secret societies were divided into sections, each of which consisted only of nineteen persons. The new law brought forward by the Government extended the prohibition to associations consisting of more than twenty persons, *whether divided into sections or not;* it extended to associations not having periodical meetings, which the former did not; it extended the penalties to all the members, while the former applied only to the office-bearers; and it devolved the cognisance of offences against the law, if they amounted to high treason, to the Chamber of Peers—if to sedition only, to the courts trying by jury; but if the offence amounted only to an infraction of police regulations, to the police courts.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 102, 103; L. Blanc, iv. 214, 215.

36. Violent debates on it in the Chamber.

How moderate soever it might be in its provisions, this law excited the most violent opposition on the part of all shades of the Liberal party, and led to the most violent recriminations in the Chamber of Deputies. "It is absurd," said M. Barthé, the orator of Government, "to act on the principle *laissez faire, laissez passer*, for that which you despise soon becomes strong: contempt is very proper for individuals for certain classes of injuries, but Government has other duties; it owes to society that of protection." "You must," answered M. Garnier Pagès, "accustom the people to read and hear everything." "Would you, then," replied M. Chapuis Montlaville, "bring back the guillotine and the massacres *en masse?*" "The cause of our disorders," rejoined an oppositionist, "is to be found in the disastrous system which the Ministers have hitherto pursued. Why were such dangerous and indecent publications so long allowed to be cried through the streets?" "The right of association," said M. Ludre, "has its foundation in Christianity not less than in the rights of man. What is the Government's object in suppressing them? It is because it can submit to no popular control; it would proscribe the rights of

man, because they constitute a democratic power; disturbances spring not from associations, but from discontent." "The proposed law," replied M. Barthé, "in no way infringes on the charter; clubs are never once mentioned in it. Here is the history of political clubs: they sow disorder; they reap carnage. M. de Ludre offers us battle; the Government must accept it; there is no other part to take, after so many bravadoes." "You would proscribe political associations," replied M. Garnier Pagès, "but in doing so you proscribe the whole past life of your own statesmen. It is from these societies that the King has chosen his councillors. The society of 'The Rights of Man' does not conspire; it is the Government that conspires for it." [1] *

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 20, 27, 29, 1834; Cap. vii. 358, 359.

When these violent recriminations had in some degree given place to real argument, it was powerfully pleaded by M. Odillon Barrot and M. Garnier Pagès: "What! shall we make that outrage to civilisation, to human reason,

* M. Dupont de l'Eure at this juncture resigned his seat in the Chamber of Deputies, and his letter to his constituents on the occasion is valuable as a manifesto, from an able leader, of the sentiments at that period entertained by the Republican party. "Depuis longtemps j'ai pris la résolution de quitter la Chambre des Députés, en voyant le Gouvernement et les Chambres oubliant leur commune origine, s'éloigner de la Révolution de Juillet, en méconnaître les principes, en répudier les auteurs et les soutiens naturels, revenir au contraire avec une inconcevable prédilection aux traditions et aux hommes de la Restauration; et faire pour l'administration du pays ce que ne ferait aucun père de famille pour l'administration de sa fortune particulière. Cependant cette fausse direction donnée à nos affaires était tellement contre nature qu'il était permis d'espérer encore qu'elle ne pourrait se soutenir longtemps, et que le Gouvernement ramené par la force des choses et par son propre intérêt se replacerait sur la large base de notre Révolution, c'est à dire, sur la base de la souveraineté du peuple en renonçant à la légitimité elle même. Mais, en conscience est—ce-là ce que nous avons obtenu? Ce que nous avons vu s'établir c'est l'état de siége pour la capitale, la juridiction militaire pour de simples citoyens et députés, la police la plus inquisitoriale et la plus oppressive, substituant parfois son action à celle de la justice et créant même au besoin des prisons d'état telles que celle du château de Blaye, pour des personnages privilégiés. Joignons à tout cela un budget d'un milliard, renforcé d'éternels crédits supplémentaires, une armée de quatre cent mille hommes, qui nous ne donne ni la guerre, ni la paix; une diplomatie trop largement dotée, qui nous donne, Dieu sait, quelle attitude à l'etranger, et demandons nous, la main sur la conscience, si c'est bien là ce que nous avait promis la Révolution de Juillet? DUPONT DE L'EURE. 2 Fevrier, 1834."—*Moniteur.* CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, vii. 354, 355.

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37. Argument against the measure.

as to declare annihilated by a law a right without which society could not exist—a right which is, of all necessities, the most imperious, the most indispensable! What! are we to go back to that 291st article, born of the despotism of the Empire, and which, under the Restoration, was felt as so oppressive! Is this what we have gained by a revolution, conducted in the name of liberty? Does the Government ask this to secure its existence? Can it not live without destroying the principle which generates society itself? Does the necessity of subjecting the right to some restraint, imply the right to extirpate it; and are we, like certain savages, to cut down the tree to reap its fruit? Are we to submit to previous authority the right to license associations? That is to vest an immense, an arbitrary power in the executive—a power before which all our liberties may be swept away—the charter, the guarantees which it stipulates, the electoral right, the liberty of the press. The moment the citizens meet together to come to an understanding on the candidate to whom they are to give their suffrages, they fall under the law against associations. When a few citizens, to set up a journal, subscribe the requisite funds, and mutually communicate their thoughts, there is an association. Are the Opposition electors to be compelled to elect a Ministerial candidate? If so, farewell to the rights of electors. Is the yoke of a previous license to be imposed on the writers who combine to set up a journal? There is an end of the liberty of the press. The project of Government then, in its full extent, is of unheard-of insolence. It is, further, of impossible execution. This much at least was to be said for the 291st article, as it originally stood, that the material fact of an assemblage of more than twenty persons, the element of periodical meetings, and the limitation of the right of prosecution to the office-bearers of societies, were some limitation on despotism. But what limit is here imposed to the right of prosecutions? An indefinite number of persons may be indicted.[1] The project

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 129, 130.

of Government, brutal in theory, will be found, when applied to practice, to be puerile and insensate."

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38. Answer of the Ministerialists.

"Every right in civilised society," said M. Guizot and M. Thiers in reply, "requires to be regulated by law. A previous license is required in anonymous societies or associations for the purposes of beneficence. On what principle, then, is it not reasonable to require it in political associations, the cradles of sedition, the schools of discord? The power of Government, in a country embracing 32,000,000 of inhabitants, does not consist in its authority over a few thousand functionaries, or two or three hundred thousand soldiers, but in the right which it possesses to make its will penetrate everywhere, to act in concert by means of a hierarchy wisely constituted; to be, in a word, present everywhere. To vest individuals with so precious a prerogative, is to displace power to their advantage—to give to them the power of government. The danger of this is incalculable. The State is lost if regularity is allowed to enter into revolt, discipline into anarchy. The law against association is therefore a law essential to the public safety. It cannot be less stringent than the one proposed; the mere power to close existing associations which are deemed dangerous, would lead to their being immediately dissolved, and reconstituted under a different appellation. The apprehensions expressed as to the possible abuse of the law, are entirely chimerical. Government has no interest to interdict associations for the purposes of religion, beneficence, science, or literature; it is concerned only in the putting down of political associations, the strongholds of the factious, the intrenched camps of treason."[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 27, 1834.

39. Rejoinder of the Opposition.

"How," replied M. Garnier Pagès, "are you to distinguish innocent from dangerous societies? Who is to be the umpire between them? If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to unite with others to strengthen and propagate Christianity, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to unite

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with others to extend works of beneficence to the working and humbler classes—to workmen without employment, without bread—I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, desires a wide diffusion of acknowledged truths, of sound doctrines, of those lights which sustain morality and prepare the future happiness of mankind, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. If a Frenchman, a worthy man, wishes to secure for his country the independence of elections, and to oppose the shameless venality and corruptions of electors, I am his man, despite your ministers and your law. The willing servant of all just laws, the determined enemy of all unjust ones, we will never hesitate. We will never yield an obedience to man which would render us apostates to God, to humanity, to France. We will disobey your law to obey that of our own consciences." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 131, 132.

40. Passing of the repressive measures, and changes in the Cabinet.

These violent recriminations decided nothing, and are only valuable as indicating the extreme asperity of party feelings which now distracted France, and the irreconcilable divergence of opinion between the Government and the democratic faction alike in the Chambers and the country, to whose efforts it had owed its elevation. The false position in which the Citizen King was placed was now apparent to all, and to none so much as to his own Ministers; and it required all the versatile talents of M. Thiers, and all the learning and weight of M. Guizot, to maintain them in it. The repressive measures demanded by the Cabinet were, however, carried by large majorities in both Chambers;*—so strongly had the necessity of the case presented itself to the ruling majorities in them, and so imperious was the law of self-preservation which had compelled the Government to repudiate its bastard origin, and revert to the principles of legitimate monarchy. The strife of parties, however, was so violent, and the difficulty of the position of its adherents in de-

* Viz., by 246 to 154 in the Deputies, and by 127 to 64 in the Peers.—*Ann. Hist.*, xvii. p. 133.

bate so great, that some modification of the Cabinet, and considerable changes in the administrative department of the Government, were felt to be indispensable. They were made accordingly, and by the sole authority and decision of the King, who on this as on other occasions acted as his own prime-minister. The Duke de Broglie and General Sébastiani resigned their situations; and their retreat was soon followed by those of M. d'Argout and M. Barthé. The ostensible cause of these resignations was a hostile vote of the Chamber on a credit of 25,000,000 francs, asked by the Government for a debt due by Government for the losses sustained by the American subjects in consequence of the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, which was rejected by 176 to 169. These resignations, however, were in reality voluntary: they arose from dissensions in the Cabinet; and in particular, from the general animosity of the other members at M. Thiers, whose ambition, as had been that of Mr Canning in the English Cabinet, was generally dreaded, but whose influence, nevertheless, was such that he could not be dispensed with. To such a length did these animosities go, that it was only at the personal request of the King that M. Guizot was prevailed on to retain his situation; and when he did so, he remained the sole representative of the Doctrinnaire party in the Cabinet. It was evident that any arrangement concluded under these circumstances could be temporary only; and in these new appointments the King had in view merely to get over an immediate difficulty. M. de Rigny, who was transferred from the Ministry of Marine to that of Foreign Affairs, belonged to the school of M. de Talleyrand; M. Thiers was raised to the office of Minister of the Interior; Baron Roussin made Minister of Marine; M. Persil, Keeper of the Seals; and M. Barthé, who formerly held that office, transferred to the Presidency of the Court of Accounts, vacated, from extreme old age, by the veteran and able financier M. de Marbois.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 152, 161; Ordonnance, April 4, 1834; Moniteur, Oct. 2; Cap. vii. 367, 371.

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41. General resistance to the law against secret societies.

The changes in the Cabinet consequent on the shock of parties in the metropolis, were but a faint type of the dissensions which tore the country. A law against secret associations, brought forward by the Government, in an especial manner excited the indignation of the Republicans: they felt that this stroke was levelled at the centre of their power, and they resolved to resist it to the last extremity. Everywhere they announced this intention in the most unmeasured language: the societies, so far from yielding obedience to the law, openly threatened to resist it to the utmost of their power.* In order to give greater consistency and strength to this resistance, three committees were formed in Paris, at the head of which were MM. de Lafayette, de Ludre, de Cormenin, and André de Puyraveau, the *ostensible* objects of which were, the establishment of the liberty of the press, of individual freedom, and public instruction. To these objects no reasonable man could take any exception; but their secret and real ends were very different, and pointed, not obscurely, to a future resistance to, and subversion of the monarchical form of government. Their secret aim was

* "Citoyens! On s'accorde à penser généralement que la loi sur les associations aura pour résultat de détruire la *Société des Droits de l'Homme*, ou de la rendre secrète. Néanmoins cette société ne renoncera ni à son nom, ni à son organisation, et avisera aux moyens de se poser d'une manière plus imposante. Nous vous ferons connaître ces moyens. Pour le moment, ralliez autour de vous vos sectionnaires, prenez ou faites-vous accorder un pouvoir discrétionnaire afin d'agir avec plus de promptitude et d'ensemble, à l'instant de la lutte qui paraît tres rapprochée. Salut et fraternité signé 'Cavaignac.' Le comité central, et les chefs de section de la société des droits de l'homme de Marseille, considérant que la loi sur les associations outrage à la fois la justice, et la liberté, en plaçant au dessus des droits sacrés de l'humanité *la tyrannie la plus odieuse et la plus détestable*, considérant qu'elle condamne l'homme de la misère et du travail, à vivre craintif et solitaire auprès de sa famille sans pain; considérant enfin qu'elle a pour but de satisfaire aux exigences oppressives de la sainte alliance, en nous dépouillant de la souveraineté au profit de quelques privilégiés corrompus dont la devise a toujours été 'diviser pour régner,' 'isoler pour détruire,' arrête ce qui suit. 'La Société des Droits de l'Homme et des citoyens de Marseille, s'engage *sur l'honneur à désobéir et à résister à la loi*, pour n'obéir qu'à la conscience.' Suivent 150 signatures. Tous les comités de la Société des Droits de l'Homme firent des protestations semblables contre la loi sur les associations."—*Lettre du Comité Central de Paris au Comité de Lyon.* CAPEFIGUE, vii. 372, 374.

to cause democratic principles, in a manner, to filtrate through and penetrate all classes of society, especially the lowest and most numerous; to increase to the utmost of their power the circulation of the democratic press through the country; to defend and succour all persons prosecuted by the Government; and to establish festivals for the annual celebration of the most remarkable epochs in the Revolution, from the storming of the Bastile to the ascendant of Robespierre.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 377, 380; Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, i. 120, 126.

42. Secret societies; their organisation and objects.

To carry out these objects more completely, secret societies were everywhere established, and their organisation and blind obedience to their chiefs rendered more complete than they had hitherto been. The great parent society was divided into sections, the names affixed to which, taken from the great strife or chief assassins of the two Revolutions, sufficiently indicated what their principles and objects were.* Every member of these secret societies was bound to yield an obedience to his superior more blind than any Eastern sultan ever exacted; for he was obliged, at the mandate of an unseen and unknown authority, to commit murder, fire-raising, or any other crime, provided it was ordered by the office-bearers of the society, on any person whatever, from the highest to the lowest, in France. The "Declaration of the Rights of Man," presented by Robespierre to the National Assembly, was the text on which all their declarations and manifestoes turned. "The subsistence of the people," said they, "is devoured by a class of rich spoliators. France, out of 33,000,000 inhabitants, possesses at present scarce 300,000 artistocrats: a million, perhaps, enjoy the means of sustenance; and

* The following are some of these names, taken by hazard out of many others of the same description: "Barricade de St Méri;" "Mort aux Tyrans;" "Des Piques;" "Liberté;" "Montagnes;" "Gamelle;" "République Universelle, Egalité, Fraternité;" "Bonnet Phrygien;" "Propagande;" "Louvel;" "Purs Républicains;" "Abolition de la Propriété;" "Prolétaires;" "Guerre aux Châteaux;" "Ca Ira," &c.—*La Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes depuis* 1832.—Vol. i. pp. 124, 127.

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the remaining 32,000,000 dispute with filthy animals their daily bread and that of their children. It is against this monstrous system that the Society of the Rights of Man has raised itself: it invokes the aid of the entire world to establish the reign of primitive and Christian equality and fraternity." Such is the picture of France given by the Republicans themselves, after two successful Revolutions![1]

[1] Cap. vii. 379, 381; Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, i. 134, 140.

43. An insurrection is resolved on at Lyons.

The defeat of the revolt of June 5th had extinguished all hopes of successful insurrection in Paris; but the temporary success of the revolt at Lyons inspired the leaders of the movement there with the hope that a similar attempt might be made with greater chances of success in that great hive of manufacturing industry. "Lyons," to use his own words, "appeared to M. Armand Carrel a city peculiarly adapted to resolve a thousand provincial questions unknown in Paris." To preface this consummation, the utmost pains were taken in various journals of the manufacturing towns, especially *La Glaneure* and the *l'Echo de la Fabrique*, to mix up the disputes about the remuneration of labour, in which they were so deeply interested, with political questions, and to represent the one as entirely dependent on the other. This was no difficult matter, for the distress which had long-prevailed among the silk-weavers of Lyons and the neighbouring towns had been such that they were prepared for any change; and they were all embraced in one or other of two great societies, which presented the whole machinery required for general revolt. The first of these, entitled "Des Mutuellistes," was intended for mutual succour in sickness or old age; the second, called "Les Ferrandiniers," was a sort of free-masonry, also devoted to purposes of mutual relief, but, like it, with secret signs and tokens. Since the suppression of the great insurrection at Lyons, in November 1831, by the vigour of Marshal Soult, the operatives had remained passive and tranquil; but their ideas was unchanged. They submitted, not because they were inclined to do so, but because

they lacked the means of resistance. They watched, however, with intense anxiety the political troubles of the states around them; and those in particular in Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont in the preceding years, had awakened their warmest interest and sympathy, and they awaited only the signal from Paris to begin again the strife with the government of the Citizen King.[1]

[1] Cap. vii. 383, 387; Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, i. 162, 167.

44. Second insurrection at Lyons, and its causes. April 8, 1834.

Such an opportunity was not long of presenting itself. The working classes were still labouring under severe distress, the inevitable result, in a manufacturing district, of a successful revolution; and the demand was incessant on their part for an increase of wages to enable them and their families to subsist. A combination had been formed for this purpose, and, like all other combinations for a similar end, their whole reliance was on intimidation and violence. In February 1834, it had been determined by a small majority of the combined workmen (1297 to 1044) to strike work till a reduction of wages which had been proposed by the masters should be given up. The minority refused to obey the order, and they were immediately subjected to an amount of violence and intimidation which conquered their resistance. On the 14th February submission was universal; the twenty thousand looms of Lyons ceased to beat, and fifty thousand persons were thrown into a state of compulsory idleness and real destitution. The strike was not of long duration. Before many weeks had elapsed, it terminated, and the looms were all in motion again; but it led to proceedings which brought on the insurrection which the leaders of the secret societies in Paris had determined on.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. xvii. 166, 167; Cap. vii. 384, 387; L. Blanc, iv. 249, 250.

45. Its commencement with the trial of the leaders of the violent strike.

The instigators of this violence and the chiefs of the combination were brought to trial. Such an occurrence always excites in the very highest degree the sympathies of the workmen for whose interests the chiefs have stood forward; and it did so in an especial manner on this occasion at Lyons, as the secret societies in Paris, with

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Lafayette at their head, had resolved to make this the battle-field which was to commence a general insurrection over the country. So violent was the excitement from the very first, that the judges, who had commenced the trial without any military escort, were compelled ere long to call in the assistance of the soldiers to protect them from insult; and as even this proved insufficient, the proceedings were adjourned for four days. When they were resumed on the 8th April, a workman, who had, it was said, betrayed his faith as a *mutuelliste*, was knocked down and maltreated in open court. The military were called in to repress the outrage, and immediately the cry got up, "They won't fire; they are our brothers! *Vive la ligne!*" which was followed by a defection of part of the troops. This was the signal for a general insurrection, which had been decided on the evening before at all the clubs. In the twinkling of an eye, barricades were run up in all directions; immense assemblages of people crowded the streets, and frequent cries of "*Vive la ligne!*" told but too plainly that the military, in many quarters, instead of discharging their duty, were fraternising with the insurgents. The contest continued with various success through the whole of the 8th, and at night a large part of the city was in the hands of the insurgents. Such was the zeal of the people, stimulated by the long-continued suffering they had undergone, that the very women joined in the conflict, and the tiles from their hands fell by thousands from the roofs on the helmets of the cuirassiers and the shakos of the troops.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 259, 260; Cap. vii. 394, 397; Moniteur, April 15, 1834; Ann. Hist. xvii. 167, 168.

46. Balanced successes on the opposite side.

Such was the vigour of the insurgents, and the vacillation of a considerable part of the soldiers, that during the next two days victory seemed to have decisively declared on the side of the former. They had made themselves masters of the Faubourg la Guillotière, had intrenched themselves on the terrace of the Fourvières, and taken several pieces of cannon, with which they kept up a vigorous and well-directed fire on the Place de Bellecour, where the

headquarters of the military was established. This force was very strong; it consisted of fifteen battalions of infantry and thirty-five pieces of cannon, mustering nearly ten thousand combatants; but aided by the intricacies of the city, and supported by the general sympathy of the inhabitants, the insurgents were extremely formidable. The red flag was seen from not a few steeples; cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" were heard in every street; heavy discharges of musketry, intermingled with the deep booming of the cannon, resounded on all sides; and when night came, the combat was continued by the lugubrious light of the burning houses which had been set on fire by the mortars. Alarmed at the peril of the contest, which became hourly greater the longer it was continued, General Aymar, who commanded the military, made a concentric attack with three columns on the morning of the 12th, April 12. on the position of the insurgents in La Guillotière, which was carried after an obstinate resistance and great slaughter on both sides. By this means the communication with Paris and the north, which had been closed for three days, was reopened; and from the vantage-ground thus gained, the troops, by slow degrees, and fighting at every step, gradually forced back the insurgents on the centre of the city, and wrested from them one by one the formidable defensive works which they had erected. Strong barriers had been erected around a church in the Place des Cordeliers, which the insurgents had made their headquarters. Its interior presented the most extraordinary spectacle, and gave melancholy token of the horrors of civil war. In one of the naves the casting of balls was going on; in another, the manufacture of powder; while the chapels around were converted into temporary hospitals for the wounded, where they were tended by those whom they loved the most. At length, after six days' hard fighting, the troops regained entire April 15. possession of the city, which wore the mournful and desolate aspect of a town taken by assault; but this advan-

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tage was not gained but with the loss of 150 killed and 400 wounded. Great exasperation prevailed in the later stages of the conflict on both sides, and many innocent persons of all ages and sexes were massacred without mercy in the houses forced by the military from which firing had issued. But some traits of generosity also occurred which redeemed the honour of human nature in those fearful scenes.[1]*

[1] Moniteur, April 20, 1834; Cap. vii. 394, 398; L. Blanc, iv. 277, 279.

47. General insurrectionary movements in France.

The insurrection which broke out with such violence at Lyons, on occasion of the trial of the chiefs of the combination, was but a part of the general movement over all France, at the head of which was Lafayette and the chiefs of the *Haute Vente* at Paris, and which was incomparably more formidable in its character, and widespread in its ramifications, than that which had overturned Charles X. Lafayette intended to have put himself at the head of the revolt at Lyons, and was only prevented by ill health from doing so; but he sent his delegates to direct the movement.† It was by the orders of the central authority at Paris that the strike at Lyons was terminated on 22d February, and the insurrection postponed till the trial of the leaders began. They wished to throw the Government off its guard, and to gain time to complete their preparations. When it did break out, however, orders were sent generally to follow it up as quickly as possible; and then appeared how widespread was the spirit of revolt in France, how complete in its organisations, how unlimited the authority of its chiefs. Between

* "Il y eut des points où, retenues prisonnières par les troupes qui bivouaquaient dans les rues, des femmes d'insurgés furent traitées non-seulement avec égard, mais avec générosité, et partagèrent le pain du soldat. Un insurgé venait de tirer à bout portant sur un officier; il le manque, se découvre la poitrine, et dit, 'A ton tour.' Alors par une admirable inspiration de *générosité*, 'Je n'ai pas coutume de tirer de si près sur un homme sans défense,' répond l'officier; 'va-t'en.'"—L. BLANC, iv. 278, 279.

† "J'éprouve un vif regret de ne pouvoir m'associer en personne aux dangers d'une aussi courageuse et honorable entreprise; mais je donnerai à ces Messieurs (MM. Armand Carrel et Cavaignac) des lettres qui leur seront utiles, et je les autorise à se présenter comme mes lieutenants."—M. DE LAFAYETTE *aux Chefs des Mutuellistes à Lyon*, March 28, 1834. L. BLANC, iv. 260.

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the 9th and the 12th of April insurrectionary movements broke out at Marseilles, Perpignan, Vienne, Auxerre, Poictiers, Chalons, Louisville, Grenoble, Arbois, and St Etienne. Government, however, had information of what was approaching: the authorities were everywhere on their guard, and the immense military forces at their disposal enabled them to crush the revolt without much difficulty. The only places where it was at all serious were at Louisville and St Etienne. In the first of these a plot had been formed by the subaltern officers in three regiments to engage them in the revolt, which was only prevented from succeeding by the vigilance of the superior officers and the steadiness of the majority of the men. In the last, appearances were at first very serious, for the whole national guard joined the insurgents, and in the outset they gained entire possession of the town. But the arrival of regular troops from the neighbouring towns, who were rapidly drawn together, enabled the prefect to regain his lost ground; the insurgent national guards were driven into the chief square, surrounded, and disarmed.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 171, 172; L. Blanc, iv. 292, 296; Cap. vii. 398, 401.

48. Insurrection in Paris. April 13.

The Republicans in Paris were not slow in responding to the signal of insurrection thrown out by their brethren at Lyons. Though deprived of part of their physical strength, and much of their moral influence, by the suppression of the revolt on the 5th and 6th June 1832, they were yet in sufficient force in the capital to occasion serious uneasiness to the Government. As usual in such cases, the most exaggerated accounts were spread by both parties, as soon as the insurrection began at Lyons, of the state of affairs; the Government journals representing the revolt as entirely put down on the very first day, the Republican as everywhere triumphant, spreading over every part of France, and having established the insurgents in a durable manner in the second city of the empire.* The evident anxiety, however, of the autho-

* "La victoire du peuple se confirme. Les Lyonnais sont maîtres de la ville; ils y ont proclamé un gouvernement provisoire, et la République. Sur toutes

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rities, and the sinister rumours which, in spite of every precaution, began to spread on the second day, as to what the telegraph had really communicated, diffused general consternation, and occasioned such excitement in the central parts of the city as rendered it evident that a revolt was at hand. On the evening of the 13th it broke out. With such vigour were the operations of the insurgents conducted, that in less than an hour after the signal had been given by Capt. Kersovie, on the part of the chiefs of the *Haute Vente*, for a general rising, the Republicans were in arms at the Porte St Denis, in the Place de la Bastille, in the Quartier des Halles, in the Faubourg St Jacques; while formidable barricades were constructed in the Rues Beaubourg, Geoffrey-l'Angevin, Aubry le Boucher, Auxours, Maubuée, Transnonain, and Grenier-St Lazare, and placards inviting the people to instant insurrection were put up in all the densely-peopled parts of the city.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 172, 173; Cap. vii. 402, 403; L. Blanc, iv. 297, 298.

49. Defensive measures of the Government.

Apprised by the intelligence communicated from Lyons by the telegraph of the real state of things there, and of what they might expect in the capital, the Government were fully on their guard, and their measures were taken with prudence and vigour. There was none of the want

les routes de Lyon, les communications sont interrompues. Le peuple a pris les armes à Chalons, à Roanne; il s'est rendu maître des autorités, les populations des environs de Lyon ont manifesté la plus vive sympathie; mais le plus grand secours est arrivé de St Etienne, d'où sont partis dix mille ouvriers armés. A Dijon le peuple s'est emparé de toutes les dépêches ministérielles, il est maître de la ville. Sur toute la ligne de Paris à Lyon l'insurrection est flagrante. Le 52ème régiment qui est en garrison à Béfort s'est insurgé, et a proclamé la République."—*Tribune*, April 13, 1834.

"A quatre heures, mercredi (le 9) l'action était finie. Quelques coups de fusil retentirent çà et là dans les petites rues du centre de la ville. Les troupes étaient au repos."—*Moniteur*, April 12, 1834.

* "Elle est enfin rompue, cette longue chaîne des tyrannies humiliantes, de perfidies infâmes, de trahisons criminelles! Nos frères de Lyon nous ont appris combien est éphémère la force brutale des tyrans contre le patriotisme Républicain. Ce que les Mutuellistes ont commencé avec tant de succès les vainqueurs de Juillet, hesiterent-ils à l'achever? Laisseraient-ils échapper une si belle occasion de reconquérir la liberté chérie, pour laquelle le sang Francais a tant de fois coulé? Citoyens! tant de généreux sacrifices ne seront pas infructueux par une lâcheté indigne.' 'Aux armes!' 'Aux armes!'"—CAPEFIGUE, *Histoire de Louis Philippe*, vii. 403, 404.

of preparation, squeamishness, and indecision, which had ruined Charles X. The forces at its disposal were immense. The regular troops in the city amounted to forty thousand men, with fifty-six guns; and to these might be added thirty thousand national guards from the capital and the *banlieue*. The first thing done was to seize the printer's presses of the *Tribune*, and issue a warrant for the arrest of M. Marrast, its editor, who was obliged to fly. Soon the *générale* beat in all the streets of Paris; the national guards were seen repairing to their rallying-points, and a little after eleven at night, the dense columns of the regular soldiers approached the barricaded district which surrounded the old Cloister of St Méri, destined a second time to become the theatre of a mortal civil conflict. M. Thiers was on horseback in the rear of the column which approached from the Rue Geoffroy-l'Angevin; its captain was soon killed, and M. de Varselles, Auditor of the Council of State, fell mortally wounded by his side: the Minister then retired, sensible that his proper place was not that of a captain of grenadiers. At the same time a column attacked the Rue Beaubourg, which was the centre of the insurrection; but it was received with so vigorous a fire that it recoiled; and it being now past midnight, the military contented themselves with encircling the barricaded district with strong bodies of troops in all directions, and postponed the final attack till the following morning.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iv. 297, 300; Cap. vii. 404, 406; Ann. Hist. xvii. 172, 173.

50. Victory of the Government, and massacre in the Rue Transnonain.

It took place, accordingly, early next day, and experienced less resistance than might have been anticipated, from the known determination and strong position of the insurgents. The plan of attack was arranged at the headquarters of Generals Bugeaud and Rumigny during the night, and it was executed at daybreak. Four strong columns began their march simultaneously from the four points of the Bastile, the Porte St Martin, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Marché des Innocens. These columns were to converge towards the centre of the city, force all

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the barricades which might obstruct their passage, occupy all the cross streets they passed with troops, and then drive back the insurrection into the narrow space between the Rue Transnonain and the Rue Montmorency, where, by a converging assault, it might be finally crushed. These orders were vigorously executed. General Bugeaud's column effected a junction with that under General Lascours, which had come up from the Porte St Martin, in the street of the same name, and both united made an attack on the barricade in the Rue Transnonain, which was the centre of the insurrection. The orders of the officers were, "to force open and search every house from whence shots issued." These orders were executed with a rigour and cruelty which makes humanity shudder. Some shots had been seen to issue from the house, No. 12, at the corner of the Rue Montmorency, in the Rue Transnonain, and orders were given to force it open, and despatch the insurgents within. The soldiers broke the door open by blows of hatchets, and, rushing in as into the breach of a town taken by assault, in a state of frenzy, put every living soul within the walls to death. Sixteen unhappy beings, for the most part unarmed—old men, women, and children—were massacred! It recalled the worst days of the first Revolution. The resistance elsewhere was soon overcome, and this frightful massacre had not even the excuse of danger or necessity, for the forces of the insurgents were small, and wholly overmatched. By noon the firing had everywhere ceased, the barricades were all levelled, and the insurrection was entirely subdued.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 172, 173; L. Blanc, iv. 300, 304; Cap. vii. 407, 409.

51. Measures of the Government upon its victory.

It was generally supposed, that after this decisive victory over the Republicans at Paris, Lyons, and St Etienne, the Government would have brought forward some rigorous measure of repression, which, in the first tumult of alarm, the Chamber might pass. They contented themselves with a law merely against the possessors, without authority, of arms and munitions of war, the necessity of which was so obvious that it passed with

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scarce any opposition. At the same time the Chamber of Peers was, by a royal ordonnance, erected into a court of high commission, for the trial of the persons implicated in the late disorders; and ulterior measures were adjourned till the public mind might be prepared for them, by the revelations which might be expected at the trials, as to the extent and objects of the conspiracy. In the mean time, however, advantage was taken of the general alarm to ask supplementary votes of credit, to the amount of 36,000,000 francs (£1,400,000), from the Chambers, in order to raise the effective force of the army to 360,000 men and 65,000 horses. The Chambers cut down the sums demanded to one-half, but enough was left to bring up the military establishment to that enormous amount, which was the more remarkable, as all danger of foreign war was at an end, and it was to be arrayed only against domestic enemies.[1]

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[1] Moniteur, April 16, 1834; Ann. Hist. xvii. 221, 223; L. Blanc, iv. 303.

52. Death of M. de Lafayette. May 20.

As if she never could be weary of showering upon Louis Philippe her favours, Fortune at this period delivered him by death from not the least determined and formidable of his enemies. On the 20th May, M. de Lafayette breathed his last in his seventy-sixth year. He expired, serene and calm, of an affection of the chest. He received a magnificent funeral from the gratitude of his countrymen: but the passions were burnt out, illusions had vanished; and though there was a great assemblage, no revolt, as at the funeral of Lamarque, followed his obsequies. It took place on the 22d, and the pall was borne by Generals Fabvier and Ostrowski, the American chargé-d'affaires, an elector of Meaux, M. Odillon Barrot, and M. Eusèbe Salvèste. The pall-bearers were thus selected to represent the various nations of the globe and interests in society, to which, during his long life, he had become endeared.[2]

May 22.

[2] Ann. Hist. xvii. 253; Cap. viii. 2, 4; L. Blanc, 307.

53. His character.

Lafayette was one of the men whose character presented such strange contradictions that it could have arisen only during the shock of a revolution. Descended

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of an old and noble family, enjoying high rank, and having mingled from his earliest years in the very first society, he was entirely aristocratic, both in his inmost feelings and manners. He had none of the *morgue aristocratique* in his heart, but all the polish of the highest breeding in his manner. These mental qualities, had he been cast in an ordinary time, would probably have rendered him a mere ordinary character, and he would have lived respected, beloved, but unknown. But in addition to these, he was strongly tinctured with one quality which, in man or woman, never exists without deeply affecting the destiny, and in his case brought him forth on the stormy theatre of revolution. He was inordinately vain, and this disposition rather increased than diminished with the advance of years. In troubled times, when the great majority of men are on the popular side, this desire can only be gratified in its full extent by embracing their principles and forwarding their views. They will give the meed of their applause, in the first instance at least, on no other condition. This was the secret of Lafayette's democratic principles, as it is of most other men of a similar excitable temperament, whose lot is cast in troubled times.

54. Continued.

He was personally brave, meant well, and was actuated by a sincere desire for the establishment of order with freedom. Hence more than once he boldly stood forth to check the excesses of the Revolution, and he was in consequence obliged to fly France, and owed his life to his fortunate confinement in an Austrian dungeon. But his thirst for popularity never failed to bring him back to the feet of the popular idol, and involved him, in the latter years of his life, in many contradictory acts and discreditable connections. He was the enemy of Napoleon, and yet at the head of all the conspiracies formed during the Restoration to overturn the government of the Bourbons; he was mainly instrumental in placing Louis Philippe on the

throne, and yet his life, from that event, was a continual intrigue to effect his dethronement. The Government was perfectly aware of this, and possessed ample proof of his treasonable practices; but they did not venture to bring him to trial: like O'Connell, he was too powerful to be punished. Like all fanatics, whether in religion or politics, he was insensible to the lessons of experience, and deaf to the voice of reason. The "hero of the two worlds" was as devout an optimist and believer in human perfectibility, and the virtue and wisdom of the working classes, in the close of life, when fifty years of trial and suffering had demonstrated the futility of these ideas, as when in its commencement the American Revolution ushered in the deceitful dawn. Yet, strange to say, while sacrificing consistency and endangering his life in the worship of the idol of popular sovereignty, he preserved to the last his aristocratic habits and inclinations: his manners under the Citizen King were still those of the *vieux régime;* he married all his daughters to men of old family; and by his testament he directed his body to be interred in the cemetery of Picpus, on the Mont Valerien, amidst armorial bearings, and at the back of a convent of nuns, as in the days of feudal pride.

55. Lamartine: his rise and character in public life.

Napoleon said in his letter to his brother Joseph, "Caress literary men and philosophers, but do not take them into your councils: consider them as you do coquettes,—amuse yourself with them, but don't marry them." Another man of great genius, who first rose into political eminence at this period, afforded a striking confirmation of this remark. LAMARTINE has already been considered in his permanent and immortal character, as a great historian and poet; but he was also a statesman and politician; and for a brief period he stood forth with prominent effect in the revolution which closed the reign of Louis Philippe, and the causes of which were already in full activity. Not less vain and ambitious of popularity

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than Lafayette, as implicit a believer in human perfectibility and the virtue and intelligence of the humbler classes, he was possessed of incomparably more genius, and rested his opinions on a more durable basis. He referred constantly to the injunctions of charity and the spirit of universal benevolence, which are to be found in every page of the gospel; and it would undoubtedly be well for mankind if these injunctions and that spirit were generally embraced in the world. But he entirely forgot, as the amiable fanatics of his description generally do, that the *corruption of human nature* is the corner-stone of the whole system of Christianity; that if we are told to love our neighbour as ourselves, we are not less constantly told that "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" and, therefore, that while the precepts of our Saviour undoubtedly point to an extension of charity and beneficence to a degree never yet practised among men, they give no countenance to the idea that men can ever with safety be intrusted with powers wider than have heretofore been found practicable in the world.

56. Continued.

But although his political opinions are all tinged with this amiable but fatal illusion, and accordingly his political career, when they came to be put in practice, was very soon terminated in blood; yet he made a great step in political science, and deserves the lasting thanks of humanity for having achieved it. He detached democracy from its most dangerous ally, TERROR. He had, like Robespierre, visions of the islands of the blessed, but they were not like his, arising out of a sea of blood. He constantly inculcated the love of mankind in the ultimate ends which the legislature had in view, but also in the means by which it was to be obtained; he did not say that evil was justifiable if good might come of it. Simple as this step appears, and entirely as it is conformable to the best precepts, both of religion and morality, it required no ordinary man to take it, and no common courage to avow it, in public. Accordingly, when Lamartine, in

March 1848, refused to put on the red cap, the emblem of blood, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, he did so at the immediate hazard of his own life, and to the eventual destruction of his own influence. The first instinct of the multitude, when they gain possession of power, whether in social or political conflicts, invariably is to secure and increase it by terror; their first weapons are too often the dagger and the torch. It is this disposition, natural and intelligible in the circumstances in which they are placed, which always renders their sway so calamitous, and causes it to be terminated, after a brief period of suffering, in joyfully-hailed despotism. Probably this disposition is so strongly founded in human nature, that to the end of the world it will never be entirely obliterated; but whoever takes the initiative in opposing it, is a friend to mankind; and whoever hazards his own life in the resistance, deserves the eternal gratitude of the species, for it is thus only that the fabric of durable freedom is to be erected.

57. His qualities as a statesman and orator.

Lamartine's legislative views and talents, as an orator, are deeply tinged by the romantic and ardent temper of his mind. He is in the highest degree eloquent. Several of his speeches in the Chamber of Deputies and at public meetings, since published in his collected works, are models of the most moving and persuasive style of oratory. He does not discard facts or practical views, but he views them all with a poetic eye, and through the bright illumination of a Claude Lorraine atmosphere. It is this which renders his speeches so influential and attractive, alike when listened to or read; the mind is carried away, as by the sound of delicious music, by the brilliancy of his ideas, the mellifluous flow of his language. They are all, however, prepared; their extraordinary beauty proves this. No man can compose such sentences extempore. He is not, therefore, and never will be, a practised debater; and his turn of mind is too imaginative and poetical to admit of his taking an interest in, or making

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himself master of, the dry details of ordinary business. He becomes active only when the feelings are roused, and then he is often great. This turn of mind disqualifies him from being a man of business or practical statesman, though it renders him only the more attractive on a few occasions; and accordingly his career in power was soon brought to a termination, and he has since been distinguished almost entirely by his works of literature and imagination.

58. Dissolution of the Chamber, and result of the elections.

The Government conceived with reason that the present would be a favourable time for dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, as the failure of the Duchess de Berri in La Vendée had demonstrated the weakness of the Legitimists, and the insurrections in Paris and Lyons had struck universal consternation into the bourgeoisie and holders of property. The Chamber was dissolved on the 25th May, the day after its prorogation, by royal ordonnance, and the new one appointed to meet on the 20th August. The elections, for the most part, came on towards the end of June, and the majority generally obtained for Government exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The Legitimists generally abstained from voting from conscientious scruples as to taking the oaths required of electors; and the consequence was, that they did not obtain more than fifteen in the entire Chamber. The Republicans were almost everywhere defeated. According to the calculations in the *Moniteur*, seventy of those in the former Chamber were thrown out, and twelve voluntarily retired from the contest. The consequence was, that the *Juste Milieu*, as it was called, which supported the Government, obtained a great majority—no less than three hundred and twenty votes out of four hundred and sixty. The Opposition, Royalists and Republicans, was only ninety, and the intermediate party fifty. The result, when matters came to the test, though not quite so favourable to Government, still showed that they had gained a decisive majority over their opponents.[1] On the divisions

[1] Moniteur, June 28, 1834, and Aug. 9; Ann. Hist. xvii. 257, 271.

for the presidency of the Chamber, the usual trial of strength of parliamentary parties in France, M. Dupin, the ministerial candidate, had 247 votes; M. Lafitte, the Opposition, 33; M. Royer-Collard, 24; M. Odillon Barrot, 3! It was evident that the *Juste Milieu* had coalesced with the Ministerialists. The Republican and Legitimist oppositions were all but extinct in the popular part of the legislature.

59. Results of the Revolution of July.

We have arrived at an important epoch in the modern history of France, and one eminently deserving of attention by all who consider politics as the subject of thought and reflection, not the mere amusement of a passing hour. Just four years had elapsed since the Government of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon had been overturned by a nearly unanimous effort of the nation, and the declared will of the people substituted for the balanced authority of legitimate descent and popular influence. A throne had been established, surrounded by republican institutions; the ruling dynasty changed; the Citizen King invested with the crown; the old family sent into exile, and the whole objects of the insurrection gained. What had been the result? Had public felicity increased, the sources of discontent been removed, the wages of labour raised, the public burdens diminished, the foundations of liberty strengthened and enlarged? So far from it, in every one of these respects the condition of the nation had been changed for the worse, the influence of the popular party diminished; and none now proclaimed this so loudly as the Liberals who had brought about the change.

60. Change for the worse which it had induced.

The public burdens had, on an average of years, been increased fully a third; the army and all its concomitant expenses doubled. Such had become the penury of the working classes, especially in the great towns, the centres of revolution, that they had been driven by sheer suffering into two desperate revolts both at Paris and Lyons,

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which had only been suppressed after a lamentable effusion of blood and fearful exasperation on both sides. The complaints of the press, so far from having ceased, had augmented tenfold; the Citizen King had become the object of far greater vituperation than Charles X. had ever been; the Government was engaged in an incessant warfare in the courts of law with the Republicans; and peace was only preserved in the capital by the presence of forty thousand soldiers, and as many national guards and armed patrols, in every street. Several thousand Republicans, chiefly in the great towns, were languishing in prison, without either the prospect of being brought to trial, or the means of forcing it on. When the Bastile was stormed in 1789, there were only eight prisoners in it! The qualification of voters had been lowered, and 180,000 electors substituted for 90,000 in the electoral colleges; but that had only made matters worse for the Liberal party. The lowered suffrage had opened the doors wider to corruption; the increased expenditure of Government had immensely extended its influence; and the first effect of doubling the number of electors had been to double the adherents of Ministers in the Chamber, and halve the strength of Opposition. A fixed opposition of 221 deputies, elected by a constituency of 90,000, had overturned Charles X.; a fixed ministerial majority of 247, elected by 180,000, seemed to give permanent sway to Louis Philippe.

61. Error of the explanation of these changes given by the Liberal party.

The Republicans exclaim that these results have ensued because their Revolution was stifled in its birth,—because an astute faction took advantage of their courage, reaped the fruits of their victory, and then, for their own selfish purposes, established a worse tyranny in the realm than that from which they had been delivered. This doctrine sounds well, and for the next twenty years it blinded a large portion of the world to the real cause of the failure of the Revolution of July in France. It was

believed that it had failed because it had been defeated, whereas it failed because it had conquered. Never was revolution so quickly decided; never was a new government installed in power so completely in accordance with the general voice; never was one more cordially supported, when in possession of it, by the moral and physical strength of the party which had proved victorious in the strife. It doubled the number of electors, and intrusted the suffrage to 180,000 electors—nearly as many as were qualified to exercise it in a country where not one in ten in the entire population could read; and they returned a Chamber with a majority of four to one in favour of the Government. It raised the army above 300,000 combatants, and it on nearly every occasion remained faithful to its oaths when the hour of trial arrived. It put arms into the hands of a million of national guards, who elected their own officers, and the majority of them supported the Crown. This is decisive. When so large a part of the population capable of bearing arms is in this manner organised in armed bands, under officers of their own selection, it is in vain to assert that the government they support is not that which, upon the whole, is consistent with the national voice, how obnoxious soever it may be to certain fractions of it.

62. How the Revolution of July failed.

In truth, a very little consideration must be sufficient to show, not only that the Revolution of July failed because it proved victorious, but *how* it was that this anomalous result came to pass. Like most other revolutions, it was a class movement, and, like all similar convulsions, it terminated in *elevating a class to supreme power*. This at once and invariably proves fatal to public liberty. When one class has succeeded in beating down all others in civil strife, it invariably makes use of its victory to advance its own peculiar interests at the expense of the rest of the community. Real freedom can never be attained but by the balancing of one class against

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the others: the victory of any one, if decisive, at once destroys it. The Revolution of July was made by the bourgeoisie, with the aid of the armed prolétaires of Paris; the Citizen King was their consul. The joint victory did not establish freedom; it established the despotism of the shopkeepers. But they proved more unfeeling and ruder masters than their predecessors had been; while at the same time, being supported by a much larger and more influential body in the State, they were not so easily shaken off. Marshal Soult and his cuirassiers proved very different antagonists from Prince Polignac and his priests.

63. Schism between the proprietors and prolétaires.

Simultaneously with this, the condition of the working classes was infinitely deteriorated by the termination of purchases and the shock to credit consequent on any successful popular convulsion: their sufferings were increased, while their complaints were disregarded, and their means of resistance destroyed. The capitalists and manufacturers, who had made the Revolution, turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the silk-weavers of Lyons, whose wages had been reduced to a third of their former amount by its effects: they answered their petitions by assurances they were prosperous—stifled their rebellion by grape-shot. The masters and traders, whose interest was to buy cheap and sell dear, were insensible to all complaints as to the ruinous fall in the wages of labour; the operatives, well-nigh maddened by suffering, readily embraced the doctrines of the Socialists, who proclaimed a common unity of goods and women as the ultimate destiny of society. Such extreme principles drove all the holders of property into the other side, and filled the ranks of the national guards, wherever it was composed of others than prolétaires, with sturdy and zealous defenders of order. Hence the profound animosity which got up between the different classes of society, and the commencement of a division in the community, which, fifteen

years later, overturned the Government of the Citizen King, and established the brief reign of "Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité" in its stead. We shall see anon whether this new Revolution proved more remedial in its consequences than its predecessor, and whether the *class government of labour* was found to be more tolerable in its effects than that of capital had been.

CHAPTER XXXI.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN 1832, TO THE FALL OF EARL GREY'S MINISTRY IN THE END OF 1834.

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1. Imminent danger of the country on the passing of the Reform Bill.

So great was the change which had been introduced into the constitution of Great Britain by the Reform Bill, that the liberties of the country, and with them the existence of the empire, stood in the most imminent peril when the victory was gained by the popular party. The contest had continued so long, the exasperation on both sides had been so great, the animosity excited so violent, the expectations awakened so extravagant, that there was no saying what length the people would go, now that they had got the power into their own hands. It was well known that the Radicals aimed at changes so great and sweeping—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, paid representatives, and an equal division of electoral districts—as would entirely destroy the influence of property in the legislature, and leave the nation and its institutions entirely at the mercy of the extreme revolutionary party. The danger was very great that the new constituencies would, for the most part, return members of this way of thinking, or at least pledged to this course of action, and that their influence on the old ones would prove such as to give a majority of them too to the innovating party. Scotland, it was well known, had been completely revolutionised by the change: Ireland was

in great part led by Mr O'Connell, whose alliance with the extreme Radicals was open and declared. To all appearance, a decisive majority of at least four to one would be returned for Ministers in the first elections under the new constituency; and if so, the whole institutions and liberties of the country lay at the disposal of a party who had recently forced through a decisive organic change in the constitution, by the threat of creating peers and the open coercion of the sovereign.

2. Assault on the Duke of Wellington and the King. June 18.

This public danger was forcibly illustrated by an event which occurred a few days after the Reform Bill passed. The Duke of Wellington had occasion to pay a visit to the Mint on the 18th June, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, and as he was returning on horseback, attended by a single groom, he was recognised by a mob of several hundred persons who collected on Tower Hill to await his return. He was loudly hissed and hooted on his making his appearance, and the crowd continued to follow him, yelling and hooting, without the Duke paying any attention to what was going on, until in the middle of Fenchurch Street, when a man rushed up to him, and, seizing the horse by the bridle, endeavoured to pull him off his horse, in which he would have succeeded but for the intrepidity of the groom, who hastened to his assistance, and the aid of a small body of police who were passing at the time. The Duke still rode on, regardless of his danger, until he came to Holborn, when the mob began to throw stones and filth at him. He thereupon rode to Sir Charles Wetherall's chambers in Lincoln's Inn, escorted by a body of benchers, who gallantly rushed out to his rescue. He remained there till a body of police arrived from Bow Street, who escorted him home. The public alarm was increased by an assault on the King next day, when attending Ascot races, who was severely struck by a stone on the forehead, on which occasion he exhibited the hereditary courage of his race. Without doubt a political party is not legally responsible for the

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acts of the ruffians who may have espoused their side; but those who take savages into their alliance must bear the moral opprobrium, as the English did in the American War, of their misdeeds. The Liberal party had good reason now, all over the world, to blush for the acts of their followers, and the earnest they afforded of the ascendant which brute strength was to obtain over intellect in reformed society. In France they held Chateaubriand in chains, in Scotland they had hissed the dying Sir Walter Scott, and in England they had tried to murder the Duke of Wellington on the anniversary of the day on which he had saved his country.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832; Chron. 76, 77.

3. Immense power at the disposal of Ministers.

No one can have lived through that anxious period without being conscious that these dangers were anything but imaginary. They had been treated as such by the Liberals during the heat of the contest; and every one was stigmatised as an "alarmist," while it was going on, who expressed any apprehension of danger to the country from the passing of the Reform Bill. But when the victory was gained, and the strife was over, the consequences of what had been done, and could not be undone, revealed themselves to the eyes, first of the most thoughtful and far-seeing, and next of the most powerful leaders of the Whig party. Obliged to laud the Bill on the hustings, and on all public occasions constrained to express before the world the most unbounded confidence in the wisdom and integrity with which their newly-acquired powers would be wielded by the people, they were in reality ere long not less impressed than their opponents with the most agonising presentiments. In the confidence of trustful friendship these apprehensions were revealed without reserve even to the most sturdy of political adversaries, forming a strange contrast to the *Io Pæans* which they chanted in public for their transcendant victory. As the private correspondence of the Whig leaders at this period is gradually brought to light, the more clear does it appear how widely these apprehen-

sions were entertained in their secret thoughts by those who had been foremost in the battle. It is fortunate it was so, for such was the fervour of the public mind at the close of the contest that the great majority of the people would have supported the Government in any ulterior projects they chose to advance, how violent soever, provided only they had a tendency to depress still farther the Conservative oligarchy who had so long ruled the nation. There is too much reason to fear that a Liberal Government so disposed might have abolished the House of Peers, established universal suffrage, destroyed the Established Church, possibly dethroned the King, if they had been wicked or insane enough to have entertained such projects. Possibly the escape of the nation from the perils with which it was then on all sides beset is to be ascribed only to the good providence of God, which had destined the British empire to a more glorious end than to perish from its own infatuation. But, humanly speaking, there were several causes which concurred at this time in averting the danger, and of these the principal were the following :—

4. Influence of the practical turn of the English mind at this crisis.

I. The first of these, and without doubt the most important, was the difference between the constitution of the British mind and that of the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, in whom the sudden acquisition of political power had produced such fatal results. In these imaginative and excitable people the seizure of absolute authority, and confirming it by durable institutions in a particular party, was the great object of ambition, to the securing of which all their efforts from first to last were directed. In Great Britain, however, a different set of objects engrossed the public thoughts. The Anglo-Saxon race, eminently practical and domestic in its disposition, was mainly bent on securing substantial and what may be called *home* benefits from its triumphs. The vague idea of liberty and equality, so powerful on the other side of the Atlantic, had little influence beside the English fireside. The English people were not less set than their

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impassioned neighbours on securing some real advantages from the victory they had gained, but the advantages were different, and of a less perilous kind. They consisted, not in establishing principles, but diminishing burdens; not in subverting governments, but in lowering prices. They had been told for years that the cost of everything would be lowered a half, wages doubled, and taxes halved, the moment the Bill was passed; and what they were now set on was to exact pledges from their representatives which might immediately secure this desirable consummation. There might be something very ridiculous in expecting such results to follow from a mere change in the representation, but it was incomparably less dangerous for the nation to follow such illusions than to be set on forcing on successive and still more perilous organic changes in the constitution.

5. The nobility were at the head of the English movement.

II. It was a matter of the very highest importance, and now proved of the most essential service, that, unlike the French, the English Revolution was headed and directed by several of the greatest and most influential families in the country, and a large part of the nobility. They began it, indeed, in entire ignorance of the consequences of their own measure, and contended for it at last rather from the dogged resolution not to be beaten, than any clear perception of the benefit it was likely to confer either upon their country or themselves. But still the passing of the Bill left them in possession of the reins of power, and holding a very great sway in the nation, from gratitude for benefits received, and the expectation of still greater ones to come. This was a matter of the greatest consequence, especially in the first moments of hallucination and triumph consequent on the passing of the Bill. It was impossible to suppose that the Russells and Cavendishes, the Greys and the Elliots, could be set on measures which went to destroy their own influence in the State, and possibly endanger the hereditary estates from the possession of which they mainly derived

their grandeur. They had cordially supported the Reform Bill in the belief that it was an important party move, which would permanently destroy their political opponents, and give themselves a long, perhaps a perpetual lease of power. To attain this object, they had entered into a temporary union with the Chartists and Radicals, and largely availed themselves of the aid which their violence or intimidation could afford. But in their secret hearts they disliked and dreaded their dangerous allies even more than the Tories; and while constantly lauding them in public, they were in reality in secret devising means to thwart their designs, and had no intention whatever of vacating in their favour the seats of power.

6. Effect of the Conservatives remaining at their posts.

III. Among the causes which tended to deaden the revolutionary enthusiasm, and avert, in the first instance, the dangers of the Reform Bill, a prominent place must be assigned to the patriotic and intrepid conduct of the Conservatives in everywhere remaining at their posts, and in many cases doing their utmost to obtain places in the legislature. Unlike the French noblesse, who emigrated *en masse*, joined their arms to those of the foreigner, and doubled the strength of the revolutionary party by allying with it the patriotic, the English aristocracy all remained in the country, and did their utmost to moderate a fervour which the greater part of them had had no share in creating, but from the effects of which all, whether supporters or opponents, were equally, to all appearance, destined to suffer. The effect of this courageous and truly patriotic conduct was immense. There is something in danger bravely dared, in obloquy voluntarily incurred, which inevitably commands respect; and however much such qualities may be disregarded or calumniated during the heat of the contest, they sink into the mind when its excitement is over. Reviled, insulted, assaulted, abused, the Conservatives were generally seen upon the hustings or the platform, opposing to the brutality of mob violence the calm resolution of intellectual strength.

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This conduct was the more dignified and impressive that it was obviously disinterested: the majority for the Liberal party under the new constitution was so overwhelming, that it was evident that for a very long period, perhaps for ever, their opponents would be excluded from power. The Liberal press contained the most violent abuse of the Conservatives, and the Radicals exclaimed that the Bill had obviously not gone far enough, "for *some Tories* had got into Parliament." But in the mean time the thoughts of many were changed—

> "Respect was mingled with surprise,
> And the stern joy which warriors feel
> In foemen worthy of their steel."

7. Moderation of Government.

IV. A place not less important in working out moderation of conduct after the Reform Bill passed, must be assigned to the conduct of the Government in striving to allay the general fervour to which they had owed their victory. This was a very delicate and hazardous thing to attempt, for the experience of every age has proved that the only way to keep the lead of a movement is to advance before it, and that the first halt in agitation is a step towards the ruin of the agitators. The Reform Ministry ere long experienced this. From the moment of their triumph their popularity began to fail, and before three years had elapsed the leaders of the movement were driven from power amidst the general obloquy of those upon whom they had conferred the greatest political benefits. It must always be recorded to the honour of Earl Grey's Administration, that they voluntarily incurred this odium, and accelerated this fall, to avert the dangers which their previous ambitious conduct had brought upon the country. By continuing the movement, they would in the end, indeed, have destroyed their country, but in the first instance they would have saved themselves: by checking it, they in the end saved their country, but in the outset destroyed themselves.

V. The subjection of the Irish Catholic members of

Parliament to the influence of a foreign power, in the Court of Rome, fraught with so many evils, on other occasions, to the best interests of the empire, on this undoubtedly worked for good. Intoxicated with the double victory it had gained in the passing, first of Catholic Emancipation, then of the Reform Bill, the conclave of the Vatican deemed the time come when they were entitled to reap the fruits of victory in the elevation of their own, and the depression of the Protestant Establishment. Thence a division among the Reformers and a schism in their ranks, from which they have never since entirely recovered. Union had constituted their strength, and that was unbroken as long as victory was doubtful; division revealed their weakness, and that appeared as soon as it was secured. Of the Reformers of Great Britain the great majority were Protestants, and not a few as sturdy opponents of the See of Rome as their ancestors in the days of the Puritans, or the Solemn League and Covenant. When the Vatican, therefore, threw off the mask, and measures were commenced evidently intended to destroy the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and open the door to the replacing the Catholic faith in these realms, not a few of the most zealous paused or became lukewarm in the cause. It was impossible to feel any sympathy with a cause, independent of religious differences, which was supported by fire-raising and murder, and forcibly retained the rural population of Ireland in a state of misery and barbarity unparalleled in a Christian state. Divisions in this as in all other coalitions were consequent upon success; and it was fortunate for the British empire that they appeared so soon, and with such serious effects. Earl Grey was overturned in two years after their united triumph by O'Connell, to whom he had opened the doors of Parliament. Had they remained united, he is a bold man who should have predicted what would have been the present state of the British empire.

8. Beneficial effect of the influence in Ireland of the See of Rome at this period.

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9. Influence of the cholera in checking the Reform mania.

VI. On one occasion, during the fervour of the first great convulsion, Pétion, looking at the watery sky, said, "You need not be afraid; there will be no revolution to-night." In effect, the rain soon after began to fall in torrents, and the assemblage destined to overturn the Girondists was dispersed. Every person must have observed how often a cloud, charged with the most dangerous electric fluid, is deprived of its alarming qualities by descending in rain. A physical visitation of Providence this year sensibly abated the Reform mania: it supplanted the passion for power in the multitude by a still stronger and more general feeling—the terror of death. The CHOLERA, whose appearance in the east of Europe and France has already been recounted, was first detected in Great Britain in the autumn of 1831, and in the spring of the following year it broke out in the metropolis, and excited universal consternation. It made its first appearance in Sunderland, from whence it spread to Newcastle and Scotland; and as long as its ravages were confined to the north it excited very little attention in the south, and nothing was done to arrest it in Parliament. But no sooner did one case appear at Rotherhithe, near Woolwich, than this apathy was cast off; in extreme alarm, Parliament *passed three Acts in one day.* The disease continued its ravages over nearly the whole country through the summer and autumn of 1832, exhibiting everywhere the same strange and contradictory features which have elsewhere marked its progress. In general, it was most fatal in the neighbourhood of stagnant waters, and in some places half the inhabitants in such localities perished. In other places, again, its ravages were most severely felt in airy, elevated, and cleanly situations, and among the richest and most orderly persons. Generally speaking, however, the mortality was greatest among the intemperate, the dissipated, and the profligate. It was peculiarly virulent in North Shields and Newcastle in England, and in Musselburgh and Haddington in Scotland. A central board of health

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was established in London, which corresponded in the most energetic manner with local boards in all parts of the country. They did little towards stopping the progress of the epidemic, which ran its course for fifteen months, and then disappeared in as mysterious a manner as it had come in; but they brought about good consequences, in awakening the public attention to sanitary measures, hitherto unaccountably neglected in the empire. The deaths in London were 5275; but they were much greater, in proportion, in some provincial towns, particularly Glasgow, Dublin, and Liverpool. In a statistical point of view, the mortality was not important, and less than in many previous visitations of typhus fever, which had excited little attention. But, politically considered, its effect at this crisis was very material, for it established a *counter irritation*, often not less salutary in mental than bodily, in national than individual diseases.[1]

[1] Cholera Returns, 1832; Mart. ii. 73; Ann. Reg. 1832, 304, 306.

Parliament was prorogued on the 16th August; but before it separated, several important measures were forced upon its attention by the exigencies of public affairs. Of these the most pressing was the state of the finances, which was so alarming as to awaken the most serious solicitude. The revenue had shared to the very full in the depression of industry and diminution of expenditure which had taken place from the combined effect of the contraction of the currency and expansion of the agitation, and this imposed a most anxious duty on Government: for, on the one hand, the distresses of the country called for a reduction of taxation, and, on the other, the lessened revenue rendered it impossible to grant it. The change in the state of the revenue since the Duke of Wellington left the helm, in November 1830, had been immense. He left his successor a clear annual surplus of £2,913,000 in the year ending 5th April 1831; but it had turned, in the year ending 5th April 1832, into a deficiency of £1,240,413; while the distressed state of the country rendered any addition to taxation impossible.

10. Distressed state of the finances. April 1832.

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This was in a great degree owing to the large reductions of taxation made in 1830, some before and some after the present Ministers came into power. In these circumstances, the only resource left to Government was an unflinching reduction of expenditure, and it was done with so unsparing a hand as in a great degree compensated the deficiency. The reductions amounted to no less than £2,500,000, making, when balanced against a small increase in other departments, an entire saving of £2,162,000; of which £1,000,000 was on the navy and £500,000 on the army, besides £1,000,000 on the miscellaneous services. These reductions, especially in the army and navy, gave the greatest satisfaction to the reforming classes, and they enabled Government, without imposing new burdens, to tide over the difficulties of the ensuing year. But they did so only by cutting off the right arm of the national strength, inducing the most terrible disasters, and rendering necessary the most profuse expenditure in future years. Then was first fully put in force that ruinous system of economical reduction, which diminished the national armaments in proportion to the increase of the national necessities,—which displaced Great Britain from its station among the nations, disabled the empire from taking advantage of the victory of the Alma, and induced the horrors of the Crimean winter.[1]*

[1] Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, July 27, 1832; Parl. Deb. and Ann. Reg. 1832, 254, 257.

* The comparative expenditure of 1832 and 1833 was thus stated by Lord Althorpe in his place in Parliament :—

	Expenditure for year ending— 5th April 1832.	5th April 1833.
Dividends,	£24,361,512	£24,340,000
Annuities,	3,319,314	3,340,000
Interest on Exchequer bills,	662,984	685,000
Other charges on consolidated fund,	1,741,384	1,971,000
Army,	7,551,024	7,087,682
Navy,	5,842,835	4,878,635
Ordnance,	1,478,944	1,424,688
Miscellaneous,	2,900,430	1,969,371
	£47,858,427	£45,696,376
Deduct,	45,696,376	
Saving,	£2,162,051	

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1832, p. 257.

11. Question of the Russo-Belgian loan.

A question which, in the distressed financial state of the country, excited a very great degree of attention, was that arising out of the Russo-Belgian loan. By the treaty of 1814, which first erected the united kingdom of the Netherlands, it had been provided that a sum of £200,000 to Holland, and a farther sum, not exceeding £3,000,000, should be borne "conjointly, and always in equal shares," by Great Britain and Holland, for augmenting the defences of the Low Countries. The money was advanced by Russia, and Great Britain became collaterally bound for payment of the interest, on the condition that "these payments should cease should the dominion of the Belgic provinces pass from the King of Holland." On the severance of Belgium from Holland, the King of the Netherlands refused to make any farther payments; but the English Government continued to do so, under this guarantee, on behalf of Belgium. This was objected to by the Opposition; and the Conservatives, deeming this a favourable opportunity for coalescing with the Radicals, brought forward a special motion on the subject, which was powerfully supported by Mr Herries, on the ground, that as the payment was only to continue as long as Holland and Belgium remained united, the fact of their being now separated terminated the obligation of payment. On the other hand, it was contended by Lord Althorpe on the part of the Government, that the separation contemplated in the treaty as the condition which was to terminate the obligation of payment was a separation *vi et armis*, by foreign interference, and not such as had actually occurred, by the voluntary separation of the component parts of which the united state was composed. There was much to be said on both sides, and the legal authorities themselves were divided on the subject. But as the more honourable course undoubtedly was to hold the obligation still in force, it must be considered as a creditable circumstance to the national faith that the House of Commons supported Ministers,[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 267, 268.

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though only by a majority of 20, the numbers being 239 to 219.

12. Distracted state of Ireland, and resistance to tithes.

But all subjects of anxiety in the year 1832 sank into insignificance in the British empire, after the Reform Bill had passed, compared to that furnished by the distracted state of Ireland. That unhappy country, the victim, in one age, of British injustice, in another of British indulgence, had only become more distracted with every concession made to its demands. "Confusion and threatened rebellion," says the annalist, "had no sooner accomplished emancipation, than it commenced the same work to destroy the Protestant Church. The same organised tumult and menaced dissolution of the bonds of society, which had been employed to open the doors of Parliament, and of the Government offices in 1829, was directed to batter down the Church in 1831 and 1832. One demand conceded immediately became the parent of a new one; and agitation, like love, had an appetite which grew by what it fed on."[1] The system now adopted was an organised resistance to tithes, which, being everywhere engrossed by the spiritual guides, was universally and implicitly obeyed. So general had the evil become that it excited the anxious attention of Government, who, in the speech from the throne in February 1832, made his Majesty say,—"In parts of Ireland a systematic opposition has been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results, and it will be one of your first duties to inquire whether it may not be possible to effect improvements in the laws respecting this subject, which may afford the necessary protection to the Established Church, and at the same time remove the present causes of complaint."[2]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 221.

[2] Parl. Deb. Feb. 6, 1832; Ann. Reg. 1832, 221.

In consequence of this recommendation, committees were appointed in both Houses of Parliament, who collected an immense mass of evidence, and revealed a state of things which would have been absolutely incredible if not supported by incontrovertible proof. It appeared

that what was everywhere demanded was the entire and unqualified *abolition* of tithes, upon the ground that it was paid by Catholic cultivators to Protestant clergymen. It never occurred to these recusants that, though paid in the first instance by the peasantry, the burden in reality fell upon the Protestant landlords, because it formed a deduction from their rents, just as the property-tax which was paid in England during the war did. Earl Grey, however, set his face decidedly against any such change, and declared it to be the firm intention of Government, before introducing any change, to make the law respected. The committee reported, "that with a view to secure the interests both of the Church and of the country, such a change, to be safe and satisfactory, must involve *a complete extinction of tithes,* including those belonging to lay impropriators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or an exchange for an investment in land, so as effectually to secure the revenues of the Church, and at the same time remove all pecuniary collisions between the parochial clergy and the occupiers of land."[1]

13. Declaration of Government on the subject, and recommendations of the committee.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 224; Lords' Report on Tithes, 1832, p. 2.

There can be no doubt that this report was founded on the true principles on the subject, and that in no other way than by commuting tithes into a rent-charge on land payable directly by the landlord, or estates belonging solely to the Church, is it possible to settle the question on a satisfactory footing, in cases where the clergy and any considerable part of their parishioners belong to different religious persuasions. Experience has entirely settled this question, for the system thus proposed to be introduced is nothing but a copy of that established two hundred years before in Scotland by the decrees arbitral of Charles I., and which, in a country at that period torn by the most violent religious feuds, has, so far as the temporalities of the Church go, ever since induced entire peace and concord in the country. By the simple expedient, too, of making the rent-charge vary every seven or ten years, according to

14. Reflections on their recommendation.

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the average price of grain in the preceding period, the provision for the clergy can be effectually guarded against the risk of being lessened by a change in the value of money, as has been experienced with some degree of hardship from the want of such a clause in the settlement of the tithe question in Scotland. But the expression in the report, and which was reiterated by Mr Stanley (now Lord Derby) in his speech in introducing the remedial measures of Government in the House of Commons, that "*the extinction* of tithes" was intended, had a very pernicious effect, as inducing among the inconsiderate persons likely to be affected by the measure the belief that the burden was to be entirely removed, not transferred, as Government intended, in a direct form to the landlord.

15. Valuable facts brought out in the evidence, and the debate.

The debate on this subject is chiefly valuable from the important evidence which it brought out of the dreadful state of the country, and the war to the knife which had been set on foot by the Catholic clergy to stop the payment of tithes to their Protestant brethren. The arrears of tithes due and irrecoverable in the four dioceses of Ossory, Leighlin, Cashel, and Ferns, were computed at £84,954; and the following was the description given by Mr Stanley of the state of the clergy thus deprived of their sole means of subsistence: "As to the reviled clergy, the men who are described as living in 'luxury, idleness, and ease,' they were living, some in fear of a prison for debt, as they had received no money for many months, many more in fear of their neighbours, and not a few in fear of seeing their children starve before their eyes. Sometimes there would come in *by night* a pig or a bag of meal from some pitying friend, and by day the clergyman might be seen digging for bare life in his garden with his shoeless children about him, while his wife was trying within the house whether the tattered clothes would bear another and another patch.

"The mode of resistance adopted was such as rendered

it extremely difficult to deal with the recusants. Every plan was fallen upon by which the action of the law might be traversed. Tithe-proctors and process-servers were violently assailed, impediments interposed to prevent the seizure and sale of cattle—in short, everything done which could be displayed by a whole population acting as one man against the payment of a claim legally due. They had posts and signals to give warning of the approach of the police, on the appearance of whom the cattle were locked up; and when seized, pounded, and sold, they were bought up for the owners. Such was the general intimidation and the risk run in enforcing the law, that attorneys could not be got to act, nor sheriff-officers to make seizures in the disturbed districts, and the clergy were deprived of the last resource for the support of their families; for such was the risk to which they were exposed, that no offices would insure their lives. Many of the witnesses stated that they knew Established clergymen in want of the common necessaries of life. Sir John Harvey said, 'A gentleman with whom I am well acquainted told me that he had just been sending a sheep, and a few potatoes, and a small note, to a gentleman who was formerly in comparative affluence, and that he had neither a shilling nor a pound of meat or bread in his house.' The Archbishop of Dublin said, in his evidence before the Lords' committee, 'As for the continuance of the tithe system, it must be at the point of the bayonet—it must be through a sort of chronic civil war.'" [1]

16. Continued.

[1] Parl. Deb. x. 1277; Ann. Reg. 1832, 223, 233.

17. Government plan on the subject, and Mr O'Connell's opposition.

The remedy which Government proposed for this wretched state of things was to authorise the issue from the consolidated fund of such sums as might be necessary to relieve the immediate necessities of the clergy of Ireland, to be at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant, and in return to be empowered to levy the arrears of tithes and of composition for the year 1831. Precedents for this existed in the years 1786, 1799, and 1800.

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Another proposal was to establish generally a system of commutation of tithes by compulsory authority over the whole island. These proposals were violently resisted by the Catholic members for Ireland, especially the last, as it threatened to establish in some form or another the burden of tithes for the benefit of the Protestant clergy. The bill was carried in the Commons, however, by a majority of 124 to 32, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on the minds of the House. Mr O'Connell loudly protested against the bill. "The people of Ireland," said he, "are determined to get rid of tithes, and get rid of them they will. They have triumphed over the Duke of Wellington, and they are not afraid of being conquered by the Irish Secretary. No power in England can put down the combination against tithes. They may perhaps change its shape, or make it disappear for a day; but unless some measure of essential relief and amelioration is granted, it will appear in another form, and reappear with redoubled force. Then will be felt the ill effects of delaying justice to Ireland." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xiv. 100, 109; Ann. Reg. 1832, 232, 249.

18. Increased agitation and violence in the country.

Pending the discussion of this bill in Parliament, the most violent agitation was kept up in the country, in order to produce that intimidation which had succeeded so well with Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. O'Connell's first measure was to propose to the Irish members, by circulars from the Irish Association, that they should assemble at Dublin in a national council to concert measures in common. The authority of the great agitator, however, was not as yet so thoroughly established as to make all Ireland submit to his dictation, and this project failed. Recourse was immediately had to rural agitation; and to give it force and unity the Association intrusted to Mr O'Connell a petition to Parliament, which called on them to take measures for the "instant and total abolition of tithes and church-rates in Ireland, as the only way of stopping the effusion of blood." To prove the reality of the danger if their demands were not

instantly complied with, the agitators, not content with individual intimidation, proceeded to public denunciations affixed to the chapel doors. To a chapel in the county of Meath was affixed, in April, the following notice: "Keep up your courage, and persevere. There are forty thousand men well prepared, and firmly resolved to join you in the counties of Wexford and Carlow. Send notice to New Ross and Graigue, and they will be with you in a few hours. Any man that pays tithes, or does not join you to defeat the supporters of that damnable imposition, is a traitor and an enemy to the country, and you ought to pour the vials of your wrath immediately upon him. N.B.—Any person that takes down this bill will incur the displeasure of the supreme decree." Similar notices were generally posted over the country, and resolutions were openly voted at public meetings, that if the police should interfere to aid in the collection of tithes, they should share the fate of the police at Knocktopher, where, in the preceding year, twelve of them had been slain.[1]

[1] Ante, c. xxiii. § 100; Ann. Reg. 1832, 282, 283; Mart. ii. 111.

19. Frightful murders and burnings in the country.

The scene of predial violence and bloodshed which followed those savage denunciations had never been paralleled in Europe, save in the Jacquerie of France, and the worst excesses of the insurrection of the boors in Germany. The unhappy expression in the report of the Lords' committee, that nothing short of a "complete *extinction* of tithes" would pacify Ireland, was considered as a sufficient warrant not only for resisting payment of them, but for committing every crime in the course of the resistance. "An archdeacon in the neighbourhood of Cashel," says the Liberal historian, "had hoped to establish a commutation with his parishioners, but now they refused his terms—came up to him in a field in sight of his own house, where several persons were ploughing, and beat his head to pieces. If any resident, pressed by conscience, by fear of the law, or by regard for his pastor, paid the smallest amount of tithe, in the most secret manner, his cattle were houghed

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in the night, or his house burned over his head, or his flock of sheep hunted over a precipice, and lay a crushed heap in the morning. There was a sound of a horn at that time which made men's flesh creep, whether it was heard by day or by night; for those who took upon them to extinguish tithes, now boldly assembled their numbers by the sound of the horn, and all those who heard it knew that murder, or arson, or mutilation was going on. Capture, special commissions, and trials were useless; witnesses dared not to give evidence, jurors dared not attend. On the very chapels, notices were now posted by the insurgents, and no one dared to take them down." [1]

[1] Mart. ii. 110, 111; Ann. Reg. 1832, 281, 283.

20. Ineffectual efforts of the Government.

In the beginning of February, the Irish government, in terms of the Peace Preservation Act, proclaimed various baronies in Tipperary—that is, declared the stringent provisions of that Act for the preservation of the peace in force; and at the same time the most vigorous measures were adopted to increase the police and the military in the disturbed districts. But they were of such extent, and so large a proportion of the peasantry were engaged in the conspiracy, that their efforts had very little effect. To enforce the law, the assistance of one part of the people is indispensable to compel the obedience of the other part; but where they are *all* interested in violating it, there is nothing so difficult as to cause authority to be respected. La Vendée and Spain proved that even the greatest military force, without such support, can scarcely effect that object. The proclamations of Government had no other effect but to cause the insurrection to assume a more threatening form, and run into still more dangerous excesses. In Westmeath, a body of two hundred armed men assembled, and in open day assaulted a police station. In Donegal, huge bodies of armed men marched in military array, compelling landlords to sign obligations not to exact tithe, and to lower rents. In Kilkenny, the people rose *en masse*, and dividing them-

selves into small detachments, committed the most frightful atrocities on the unhappy inmates. Here they cruelly abused a farmer and his wife because they would not give up their daughter, whom they at last discovered and carried off. There a farmer having refused to surrender a pair of pistols to these bloodthirsty wretches, they dragged him to the fire, and put his naked soles upon the live turf till their object was accomplished. A tenant ejected for non-payment of rent was sure of his revenge: if a new tenant entered, he had only to expect that his property would be committed to the flames, and he himself shot. The terror which was thus universally propagated, was sure to secure impunity to offenders, for those who saw the atrocities gave no information; and if the police heard of them, witnesses would not give evidence on trial, nor juries convict even upon the clearest evidence, if given.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 282, 283; Mart. ii. 111.

21. Renewed efforts of the agitators, and their gross falsehoods.

While the Protestant clergy were reduced to the last stages of starvation and despair by these atrocious proceedings, the agitators held them forth to the people as revelling in luxury and plenty. At a county meeting of Catholics, held at Cork, it was unanimously resolved, "That it is a glaring wrong to compel an impoverished Catholic people to support in pampered luxury *the richest clergy in the world;* a clergy from whom the Catholics do not experience even the return of common gratitude; a clergy who in times past opposed to the last the political freedom of the Irish people, and at the present day are opposed to reform and a liberal education of their countrymen." At every meeting for the sale of distrained effects, two or three thousand persons assembled, whose numbers and menacing aspect deterred any one from becoming purchasers, so that the recovery of the tithe was rendered impossible. At a public meeting of Catholics held at Carlow, it was resolved, "That the great body of the people of Ireland are reduced to a state of misery unparalleled in the history of the world—misery attributable

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chiefly to the odious tithe system, and to the rapacity of the majority of the clergy, who have neither affection for their country, nor feeling for their fellow-creatures. That it is inconsistent with common reason and with human understanding to compel a Roman Catholic population to support in gorgeous splendour, in luxury, laziness, and ease, a horde of bishops and parsons, whose only employment is to spoliate the property of the people, and to traduce and malign their priests and religion." [1]

[1] Mart. ii. 111; Ann. Reg. 1832, 286, 287.

22. Small amount of the arrears to each, and its irrecoverable nature.

It is a very curious circumstance, strikingly illustrative of the foreign and sacerdotal influence at work in getting up this disastrous agitation and resistance to the law, that, owing to the extreme subdivision of land in Ireland, the tithe, even though paid by the peasantry, was in most cases a burden hardly perceptible. In the parish of Carlow, the sum owing by 222 defaulters *was a farthing each*. In some cases the charges upon land amounted only to 7-12ths of a farthing. Mr Littleton, the Irish Secretary, stated in Parliament "that the smaller sums were often paid by three or four persons, and the *highest aggregate charge was against those who owed individually about twopence.*" [2] The impost, therefore, was perfectly trifling, and formed no real burden on the people: they were miserable enough, but not owing to the tithes, but an entirely different set of causes, which the agitation tended only to aggravate. The transference of the collection of the tithes from the clergy to the exchequer had produced no real benefit. The royal officers were resisted as obstinately and universally as the tithe-proctors of the clergy had been: out of £104,285, the arrears of 1831, only £12,000 was collected, and that, as the report bears, "with great difficulty and some loss of life." Meanwhile, the resistance to tithe, and the warfare against the clergy, who were reduced to the last stage of starvation, continued with unabated vigour in every part of the country: one minister was shot dead on his lawn, and a drover, conducting cattle belonging to a clergyman to a neighbouring

[2] Parl. Deb. xxi. 578.

fair, murdered on the high-road. With truth did O'Connell say, in a letter at this period addressed to the Reformers of Great Britain, though not in the sense that he intended—"There is blood on the face of the earth, human blood profusely shed. Will it sink into the earth unnoticed and unregarded, or will it cry to Heaven for retribution and vengeance?" [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 296; Parl. Deb. xxi. 573, 578; Mart. ii. 113, 114.

"Blow, blow, ye winds, with heavier gust!
And freeze, thou bitter-biting frost!
Descend, ye chilly smothering snows!
Not all your rage, as now united, shows
More hard unkindness, unrelenting,
Vengeful malice unrepenting,
Than heaven-illumined man on brother man bestows!
See stern Oppression's iron gripe,
Or mad Ambition's gory hand,
Sending, like bloodhounds from the slip,
Woe, want, and murder o'er a land!" *

In the midst of these horrors, the Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on the 16th August. In the closing speech his Majesty said, "I have still to lament the continuance of disturbances in Ireland, notwithstanding the vigilance and energy displayed by my government in the measures taken to repress them. The laws which have been passed in conformity with my recommendation at the beginning of the session, with respect to the collection of tithes, are well calculated to lay the foundation of a new system, to which the attention of Parliament, when it again assembles, will be of course directed. I recommend to you during the recess the most careful attention to the preservation of the public peace, and to the maintenance of the authority of the law in your respective counties. I trust that the advantages enjoyed by all my subjects under our free constitution will be duly appreciated and cherished; that relief from any real causes of complaint will only be sought through legitimate channels;[2] that all irregular and illegal proceedings will be discountenanced

23. Speech of the King on proroguing Parliament. April 16.

[2] Ann. Reg. 1832, 275, 276.

* Burns.

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and resisted; and that the establishment of internal tranquillity and order will prove that the measures which I have sanctioned have not been fruitless in promoting the security of the State, and the content and welfare of my people."

24. Success of the Registration of Electors law.

The registration of electors under the Reform Act began in August 1832, and proved a very great improvement. It was soon found that the fixing of the electors in their respective rights before the contest began, both facilitated extremely the taking of the votes, and diminished proportionally the duration and costs of the contest. The expense of the struggle in the registration courts proved indeed in many cases very considerable, and was much complained of; but it has much diminished in the progress of time, after repeated contests had tested the strength of the opposite parties in almost every locality, and opposition was confined to those places where there was some prospect of success. Even from the first it was a very great advantage to have the roll arranged before the polling commenced, and the double strain avoided of enrolling the voters and taking the votes at the same time. Scarcely less was the improvement effected by confining the polling to two days in counties, and one in boroughs,—a period which, by a subsequent act, was reduced to one in both, and which experience has proved is amply sufficient, when proper arrangements have been made, to take the sense even of the largest constituency. When the rapidity with which the poll is now taken, even in the greater counties, is considered, it appears almost inconceivable how men submitted so long to the innumerable evils of having it kept open, as it sometimes was under the old system, for fifteen successive days. Much was expected by the ardent Reformers from the new system in diminishing the frequency of corruption among the electors, but these hopes not only proved fallacious, but have ended in the most bitter disappointment. Bribery has gone on steadily increasing with every successive election which has taken place since the

passing of the Reform Bill, until at length, in the Parliament that displaced Lord Derby and reseated the Whigs in power in 1852, it had come to such a point that *fifty-two* returns were challenged on that ground alone. It is easy to see it can never be otherwise under the present system, and that the evil will only be increased by lowering the suffrage. To expect to diminish bribery by enlarging the circle of electors, is to look for the diminution of sin by increasing the number of sinners.

25. System of requiring pledges from candidates.

Another feature, hitherto little known in the British empire, now made its appearance, and suddenly rose to portentous magnitude—that of requiring *pledges* from candidates as to how they are to vote upon all the leading questions of the day. This system of reducing representatives to delegates, so sorely experienced in democratic states, and which, by its continued operation, had destroyed the independence and ruined the liberties of Poland, was not altogether unknown in England under the old constitution, but it was confined to a few great towns and noisy constituencies, and could not be considered as a public grievance. It was too agreeable, however, to the pride of man, and too likely to gratify individual ambition, not to be largely embraced, now that these great towns and noisy constituencies had, through their own members, or those whom they influenced, obtained the majority in the legislature. Accordingly, from the very first it was adopted as a fixed principle of action by the Liberal committees who directed the new constituencies. The Livery of London set the example in resolutions, which deserve to be recorded for the open avowal of the principle of delegation which they contain.* This

* "Resolved, 1. That for one man to represent another, means that he is to act for that other, and in a manner agreeably to his wishes and instructions.

"2. That members chosen to be representatives in Parliament ought to do such things as their constituents wish and direct them to do.

"3. That, therefore, those to whom the law now commits the sacred trust of the power of choosing members who are to represent their non-voting neighbours as well as themselves, ought to be scrupulously faithful to choose no

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example was immediately followed in all the other great towns and new constituencies; and to the influence of this circumstance, great part if not the whole of the subsequent changes in the policy of the British empire are to be ascribed. The pledges taken were chiefly to bind the representative to vote for the repeal of particular taxes, such as the house-tax, window-tax, duty on corn, spirits, tea, or sugar, which immediately affected themselves, without inquiring for a moment how the deficiency was to be supplied, or the national armaments maintained without these taxes. The exaction of these pledges, which was almost universal in the new constituencies, had a most important effect on the composition of Parliament, and greatly augmented the Reform majority. The Conservatives nearly all refused to take the pledges, and were in consequence in great part thrown overboard in the very outset; and the majority were tied to a course of conduct by persons ignorant of, or indifferent to, the effect it might have upon the fortunes, or even existence, of the country. The Liberals gained a great accession of strength in Parliament in the first instance by this circumstance, but they experienced nothing but embarrassment from it in the end, for it brought them under the rule of an ungovernable majority in the House of Commons, whose votes, being determined by the dictates of rash and ignorant constituencies given beforehand, could neither be directed by reason nor swayed by influence. The least consideration must show every candid mind that a popular legislature, where the majority is thus directed by pledges, so far from being a benefit, must always prove one of the greatest curses which can afflict society.

man on whom firm reliance cannot be placed that he will obey the wishes and directions of his constituents.

"4. That a signed engagement should be exacted from the member that he would 'at all times and in all things act conformably to the wishes of a majority of his constituents deliberately expressed, or would at their request resign the trust with which they had honoured him.'"—*London Resolutions*, Oct. 17, 1832; *Ann. Reg.*, 1832, p. 300.

What should we think of a court of law, where the judges and jury, before they heard the evidence in every case, or knew anything about its merits, were bound *ab ante* to give certain decisions in every one of them according to the dictates of a crowd of noisy occupants of shops and houses rented below L.20, in general as ignorant of the merits of each case as themselves ?[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 299, 300.

26. Result of the new elections.

The registrations were all completed in October, and the elections took place in the end of December and beginning of January. Parliament was dissolved on the 3d December, and the new writs were returnable on the 29th January. The elections, upon the whole, went off more quietly and with less violence than had been anticipated, and it is not surprising that it was so. The Liberals had in general acquired so decided a majority that they were secure of victory; violence and intimidation were no longer required, and therefore they were not resorted to. The greater part of the seats were secured with ease for the Reformers by decided majorities. Ignorant of the decisive change which had been worked by the Reform Bill in boroughs, the Conservatives started candidates in most of the great towns, but they were generally defeated. The whole twenty members for London and its suburban districts were returned in the Liberal interest, and Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds did the same. All the boroughs in Scotland, twenty in number, returned Liberal members, and the great majority of the Irish seats were carried by the same interest. In a few instances, much to the disappointment of the Reformers, who expected to have carried the *whole* boroughs in the empire, Conservatives got in. Sir R. Vivian, who had been distinguished by his resistance to reform, was at the head of the poll in Bristol, and Lord Sandon, a moderate Tory, preserved his seat for Liverpool; but that was known to be owing to the number of the old freemen in these cities, and afforded no test of the opinions of the new constituencies. Upon the whole, it was calculated, when the returns were all made,

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that the Liberals had a majority of at least five to one in the House of Commons; there being scarce 100 Tories in a House of 658 members. The victory was complete; to all appearance the Conservative interest was irrevocably and for ever destroyed in the Lower House. So far the Reform Bill had completely answered the expectations of its supporters; but from the decisive nature of their triumph a new source of anxiety was opened up to them. They had destroyed one set of opponents only to rear up another still more formidable; it was already doubtful how far the Whig Ministry could withstand a combination of the English Radicals and Irish Catholics; and whether the latter, by threatening such a coalition, might not be in a condition to dictate their own terms to Government, and acquire the entire command of the country.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 301, 303.

27. Opening of Parliament. Jan. 29, 1833.

Parliament met on January 29, 1833, and after some discussion, Mr Manners Sutton was elected Speaker by a large majority in opposition to Mr Lyttleton, who was supported by the Radicals. The session was opened by the King in person, who, with truth, said that "never at any time did subjects of greater interest and magnitude call for their attention." The renewal of the Bank Charter, of that of the East India Company, the question of West Indian slavery, and the everlasting disorders of Ireland, all called for immediate attention. Important as these topics were, however, it was not upon them that the anxious attention of the country was fixed. It was the *House itself* which occupied every eye, engrossed every thought. This was the first reformed Parliament, and the object of universal interest was how it would conduct itself, and whether it would realise the extravagant expectations of good formed by the one party, or the gloomy denunciations of evil which had been uttered by the other. Intense was the anxiety with which the first debates at this, the most momentous crisis in British history, the turning-point in the whole policy, foreign and domestic, of the

empire, were regarded. Never, it may safely be affirmed, were anticipations on both sides more signally disappointed. The terrors of the Conservatives were allayed by the division on Mr Hume's amendment to the Address, seconded by Mr O'Connell, which was only supported by 40 members, of whom 34 were Irish, out of a house of 428. This division tested the strength of the ultra-Irish and Catholic party, when opposed by the united Whigs, Tories, and Radicals of the empire; as one which immediately followed of 300 to 23, on a motion of Mr Cobbett for the entire rejection of the Address, did of the extreme English Radicals. Sir R. Peel and the whole Conservatives, on both these occasions, gave their whole strength to the support of the Government.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. Jan. 29, Feb. 9, 1833; Ann. Reg, 1833, 1-32.

28. Extreme wordiness of the new House, and new regulations in consequence.

Important as these divisions were, as testing the strength of the two extreme parties in the House of Commons from whom most danger was to be apprehended, they yet yielded in consequence to the impression which the debate on the Address produced upon the country. It lasted *nine* nights—from January 30 to February 9—and never were fervent hopes and highly-wrought expectations more thoroughly disappointed than by its result. Wordiness was its grand characteristic; and if there is anything more than another which wears out the patience and cools the fervour of political ambition, it is a copious effusion of words. When the French National Assembly, in a transport of enthusiasm, in August 1789, voted away the whole feudal rights, it was done in a single night. Immense was the good done by the Radical Reformers, though not in the way they intended, by the interminable speeches in which they indulged; they at once disappointed the hopes of the revolutionists, and proved their own incapacity for real business, or the lead in any rational assembly. Even the constituencies for whose special edification these effusions were intended, were worn out by their length; they began to fear that they would see realised on this side of the Atlantic, the occurrence often

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described in the records of the American Congress, in these words, "Mr M. got possession of the floor on Tuesday-night, and it is expected he will keep it during the remainder of the week." The vigour and condensation of the old debaters from the unreformed House stood forth in bright contrast to the long-winded harangues of the new members; and men wakened, as from a dream, to the painful conviction that statesmanship is a profession which, like every other, requires a long apprenticeship, and that in the contests of the forum, as of the field, victory will usually attend the banners of the old soldiers.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 33, 34.

29. Regulations for forenoon hours in the House of Commons.

The determination of the new members, however, especially from the great towns, to be heard was so great, and their obvious inability to condense their arguments so evident, that it led to a great and lasting change in the mode of conducting the public business of the House of Commons. "It was not without reason," says the annalist, "that Sir Robert Peel had anticipated an overwhelming quantity of attempted legislation, in consequence of the new constitution of the House. Ministers themselves saw it would be impossible to confine the session within any reasonable bounds, unless the working hours of the House were increased, and, if possible, the love of speech-making was laid under some restraint." To accomplish these objects, Lord Althorpe, on the first day of the session, gave notice of certain resolutions, which were adopted, for increasing the business hours of the House of Commons. The Speaker was to take the chair at twelve o'clock, and proceed with private business until three, when the House was to adjourn till five, when the public business was to be proceeded with. Every petition was to be read, and one speech made on the motion that it be received, and one on that it should be printed, instead of four, which were competent at present. The committees were to sit from nine to twelve, and from three to five, so that a member of the House in much request might have to sit *seventeen hours* successively each day.

So urgent was the case, that the proposals were agreed to without a division, and the House met for the first time at twelve o'clock on 27th February. This circumstance had an important effect upon the future proceedings of the reformed Parliament, for the weight of business ere long falling upon it was so prodigious that none but those practically trained to such endurance could withstand its pressure, and in the attempt to do so, the superiority of the trained debaters, as of old soldiers, or workmen in their respective vocations, was soon apparent.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 33, 35; Parl. Deb., Feb. 1, 1833.

30. Coercion Bill for Ireland.

The first and most pressing business of the session was the state of Ireland, which had deteriorated so rapidly that something vigorous evidently required to be done if society was to be prevented from falling into a state of utter dissolution and anarchy. So far from Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill having had the effect which was anticipated from them, of appeasing the discontent and remedying the grievances of that unhappy country, the effect of these measures had proved just the reverse. With every step in advance made, the agitation, violence, and outcry had increased in a most frightful degree, and they had now reached a height unparalleled in any civilised state. Since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, serious crime over all Ireland had increased SIXTEEN-FOLD in the short space of four years.*

* Lord Althorpe, in the House of Commons, gave the following appalling statement of the progress of serious crime during the last three months of each year and first of 1833, in the province of Leinster, from 1829 to 1833:—

Years.	Murders.	Robberies.	Burglaries.	Burnings.	Houghing cattle.	Serious assaults.	Illegal notices.	Injuries to property.
1829,	10	60	39	31	13	45	49	44
1830,	15	154	94	34	20	54	79	59
1831,	47	152	251	29	17	89	117	67
1832,	44	173	532	77	31	285	197	134
1833,	163	487	1827	194	70	744	913	407

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1833, p. 46.

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If Government was not to abdicate its functions altogether, and leave the country to the unrestrained violence of lawless ruffians, it was evident that something very vigorous, and altogether different from the old system of conciliation and concession to outrage, required to be done; and Ministers, to their credit be it said, applied a remedy, as the result proved, of a most efficient kind. On 15th February, Earl Grey brought forward the celebrated COERCION BILL, which deserves to be noted as the first step in the right direction in the government of Ireland, and not less certainly in his own fall. The debate which ensued was of the highest importance, and throws more light than any which had preceded it on the real state of Ireland, and the causes of its disastrous condition.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 38, 46.

31. Argument of Ministers for the Coercion Bill.

On the part of Ministers, it was argued by Earl Grey, Lord Althorpe, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr Stanley: "The bill now proposed is brought forward without the preliminary step of taking evidence by a committee, because the circumstances under which it is called for required no investigation, but are known to all the world. It is not with a secret conspiracy, directing its concealed attacks against the Government, that we have to do. The powers demanded by Ministers are intended to repress a system of association which proceeds openly under an organisation, and is avowedly directed to the accomplishment of objects which at once destroy the peace and safety of the community, and threaten the unity and integrity of the empire; an organisation which, by means of armed bodies, violates the rights of property, inflicts death for the purposes of terror and vengeance, and renders nugatory the law, by deterring prosecutors and witnesses, and intimidating jurors. Neither past experience nor the present posture of affairs justify the expectation that a mere redress of grievances will restore peace to Ireland. It was confidently expected by ourselves that emancipation would produce tranquillity, and that Parliament would be allowed to pursue its course of further amelioration, without being disturbed by popu-

lar violence. But we have been grievously disappointed. To allow such a pause did not meet the views of the promoters of agitation; the sweets of power had been tasted by the popular leaders; the slow work of redress did not suit their wishes or purposes: from that moment agitation was renewed, and the state of Ireland had become, and now is, more alarming and worse than at any former period.

32. Continued.

"The new body of Irish volunteers, which has been recently set on foot, threatens consequences still more alarming. There is a central Association in Dublin; and for every parish in Ireland there are appointed three pacificators, one of whose duties is to *enlist and enrol* the neighbouring population, farmers and labourers, in associations which should be under the direction of the central association. The declared object of this society was peace, and the protection of the country without the aid of police. Though at present unarmed, it was acknowledged they were to be ultimately armed; and there would be established, by the influence of moral and physical agency, as a proof of revolutionary success, a National Guard, as in a neighbouring kingdom. This is the Association, and its action depends on the breath of a single man. A Mr Steele, an active agent of these pacificators, has declared, 'If O'Connell should command us to have recourse to arms, blood, and convulsion, instead of our usual constitutional warfare, I would not order the Clare men to go into Cralloc Wood to cut down trees for pike-handles, but I would first send them to cut down the trees on my own domain, and would not myself be idle, nor a mere looker-on in the conflict.' Such an Association, if suffered to exist, must lead to an abandonment of the whole powers and functions of Government: the throne thereafter must depend on the sufferance of the agitators.

33. Continued.

"A still more material object of the proposed bill is to restore the authority of the law; and this can be done only by extraordinary, and what at first sight may appear

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exceptionable means. The ordinary tribunals have become almost powerless, by reason of the intimidation constantly exercised against prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, who proceed in any way, however slight, against the crimes of the agitators. On the trial of the murderers at the last Kilkenny assizes, the jury, not agreeing, was dismissed. In half an hour, notwithstanding an agreement in the jury-room that the votes should be kept secret, the names of those for acquittal and those for conviction were printed, the former in black, the latter, who were designated jurors for blood, in red ink. At the Clonmell assizes in October last, out of 265 jurors cited, only seventy-six attended, so great was the intimidation exercised against them. A gentleman had been murdered in sight of his own gate, in consequence of some dispute about tithes. His son-in-law was cited by the coroner to give evidence against the supposed murderers. His answer was, 'I will submit to any penalty the Crown or law may impose upon me, but I will not appear at the trial, because I know, if I stand forward as a witness, my life will inevitably be forfeited.' The Irish government received a formal notice from Kilkenny, that 'many gentlemen who have always been most conscientious in the discharge of their duties will not attend the next assizes, because they know that death will follow if they dare to act. They care not what penalty is imposed upon them. It is the boast of the prisoners that they cannot under any circumstances be convicted.' No wonder that outrage had become triumphant. The catalogue of Irish crime during last year contains 196 murders, 465 robberies, 1827 burglaries and attacks on houses, 455 houghings of cattle, 2095 illegal notices, 425 illegal meetings, 796 malicious acts of destroying property, 753 attacks on houses, 280 arsons, 3156 serious assaults. This catalogue, in lost lives alone, contains a greater loss than was sacrificed in the battle of Busaco, which delivered a kingdom; or that of Algiers, which terminated Christian slavery; or that

of St Vincent, which saved England. The aggregate of predial crimes over all Ireland last year was 9000; and great as this number is, it is rapidly and alarmingly on the increase. During the months of July, August, and September, the crimes in Leinster alone were 1279: in the three following months they had risen to 1646. There is a system of demoralisation in Ireland now, such as never before existed in a country calling itself civilised.*

34. Continued.

"To meet these enormous evils, Government have adopted in the present bill the provisions of the 8th Geo. IV., c. 1, which empowers the Lord-Lieutenant to suppress the meeting of any assembly which should be deemed by him dangerous to the public peace, and to prevent the future meeting of such assembly, under any denomination whatever, under the penalties of a misdemeanour. Power is also to be given to the Lord-Lieutenant to declare, by proclamation, any district in a disturbed state, the effect of which was that all persons were to abstain from attending meetings, and prohibited from being absent from home from an hour after sunset till sunrise, without sufficient cause, under the like penalties. No meetings for petitioning Parliament to be held with-

* Sir Robert Peel, who acted a truly patriotic part on this occasion, and lent the aid of his great talents to support the ministerial measure, gave the following striking account of an incident in the course of Irish outrage which had fallen under his own knowledge: "A man, a resident in the county of Clare, came to Dublin for the purpose of giving me information respecting the perpetrators of a certain outrage. Though fully aware that he was marked out for vengeance by the friends of the person he had been the means of bringing to justice, the strong desire of revisiting his native spot, and embracing his wife and children, overcame every consideration of personal security. I knew the man's danger, and earnestly advised him not to go. My advice, however, was not taken; and some weeks after he had returned, an attack was made upon his house by eleven men, who, after much deliberation, had come with the deadly determination of immolating their innocent victim. They attacked the house while he was asleep, broke open the door, called out the man, and murdered him with pitchforks, in the hearing of his wife and child—a child only nine years of age. While he was still in the agony of death, the mother took the child, and, placing it in a recess beside the fireplace, she said—such was her heroic fortitude and almost incredible self-possession, even with the cries of her dying husband ringing in her ears—she said to the infant—'You hear

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out previous notice ten days before to the Lord-Lieutenant, and his sanction obtained. Proclaimed districts are, to a certain extent, to be subjected to *martial law*, and the courts-martial composed of officers, not less than five; and all holding commissions not less than two years, and above twenty-one years of age, are to be empowered to try all offences, except felonies. Any complaint or prosecution against the members of these courts-martial are to be competent only before another court-martial, called for that special purpose. Power is to be given to officers of justice and military on duty to enter houses in search of arms, and persons refusing to produce them are to be subjected to the penalties of a misdemeanour; and the writ of Habeas Corpus is to be suspended for three months after arrest in any proclaimed district.

35. Concluded.

"In vain have Government waited in the anxious hope that the returning good sense of the nation would put a period to these atrocities; they have waited to no purpose. This is admitted by the Catholics themselves. The Rev. Nicholas O'Connor, parish priest of Maryborough, said, in a letter to Lord de Vesci, 'In vain have we waited in hope of the returning good sense of the deluded, and have found, on the contrary, the well-disposed compelled by intimidation to join the disaffected,

the cries of your dying father; I shall certainly be the next victim. When they have murdered him, they will certainly murder me too: but I will struggle with them as long as I am able, that I may give you time to do what I put you here for. My last act shall be to put this lighted peat upon the hearth. Do you, by its glare, mark the faces of the murderers. Mind you watch them narrowly, that you may know and be able to tell who they are, and to avenge the cruel death of your parents.' As the unhappy woman said, so it fell out. The butchers, after completing their bloody work upon the man, murdered the woman also. After a short but unsuccessful struggle with the ruthless miscreants, she was dragged from the cottage, and slain upon the bleeding body of her husband. But the child had carefully obeyed the last injunctions of its mother, had closely scanned the faces of the murderers, was able to identify them, and by the evidence of that child, corroborated by other evidence, five of the wretches who perpetrated that horrid deed were convicted and hanged within a month after its perpetration. That child was for some years under my protection."—*Ann. Reg.* 1833, pp. 61, 62; and *Parl. Deb.*, new series, vol. i. p. 672. What a picture of a country, and of deeds impelled by religious ambition! The imagination of Dante never conceived anything more terrible.

or murdered, or terrified out of the country.' Can the House conceive three lines more pregnant with horror? To the same purpose Dr Doyle, the Roman Catholic bishop of Kildare, says, in a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, 'For several months past we have witnessed, with the deepest affliction of spirit, the progress of illegal combinations under the name of Blackfeet and Whitefeet within certain portions of these dioceses. Murders, blasphemies, rash swearing, perjuries, robberies, assaults on persons and property, the usurpation of the powers of the State and of the rights of the peacable and well-disposed, are multiplied, and *every day perpetrated*, at the instigation of the devil, by the wicked and deluded men engaged in these confederacies.' Such is the state of the country, such the powerless condition of the law, that peaceable and well-disposed individuals are obliged to join illegal societies, or forfeit their lives, or abandon their country. Can this state of things be called the British constitution? Strong measures are indispensable before that constitution has a chance even of being established; and stringent as the measure proposed is, it is not more so than the overwhelming magnitude of the evils to be combated demands."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. Feb. 15, March 17, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 38, 59.

36. Argument of the Roman Catholics against the bill.

On the other hand, it was argued by Mr O'Connell, Mr Sheil, and Mr Hume: "No necessity whatever has been shown for any bill of the kind now proposed, much less for one which goes at one fell swoop to destroy the constitution over the whole of Ireland. The 'predial agitation,' as it is called, in which all the disorders complained of originate, has no connection with political agitation, and does not require any measure like this to put it down. The true cause of all these disturbances is the refusal of Ministers to abolish tithes, and its real object is to prevent all expression of public sentiment in Ireland against their faithlessness and misgovernment. The bill is unnecessary, for all respectable evidence was against either its efficacy or necessity. No reliance can

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be placed on the *ex parte* information communicated to the Irish government by its subordinates; but what says Sir H. Vivian, the commander of the forces in Ireland, when examined before the committee last year? 'The combination is directed against tithes at present, and if you could satisfactorily arrange the tithe question, you would, I should think, have Ireland pretty quiet. Get rid of the first cause of excitement, and you will tranquillise Ireland in spite of agitation.' It was stated in the evidence of Mr Barrington, the crown-solicitor, that the ordinary law is adequate to every purpose; and the chief-justice's address crowns the whole, in which he expresses his conviction that the actual law is sufficient. The attorney-general, too, threw in his attestation, by declaring that a conviction had taken place in thirty-eight cases out of thirty-nine. The Government had admitted, too, in this very debate, that not a single juror had been injured, and that every jury but one had done its duty. Was this a reason for abolishing all juries? The committee on the state of Ireland reported in August last, but this report contained not one word on the unfairness of juries. There were trials for combinations against tithes in Dublin, Clonmell, Kerry, and Cork, and in every one case convictions were obtained. Summon the gentry of the country to attend the assizes, fine them if they do not, and you will soon have the tribunals thronged. Provide your witnesses with due protection; let them emigrate if needful, and you will have nothing to dread.

37. Continued.

"The supporters of the bill have given the evidence only on one side. They have harrowed the feelings of the House by the recital of the most frightful murders, and they have carefully kept out of sight the provocations which led to these atrocities. The evidence before the committee contains the details of the gross acts of tyranny which had been perpetrated on the peasantry during the last three years, and which have at last goaded them on to the perpetration of these lamentable atrocities. Was it

to be wondered at that three poor uneducated men—uneducated owing to your bad laws—should follow the example of injustice and oppression which you had set them? They had heard of the torture to which your aristocracy had subjected their ancestors,—is it surprising that they in their turn should practise your inhumanity? You recount the outrages committed by a few lawless ruffians, and with these you mix up the great mass of the people of Ireland, who are wholly innocent. Why put the whole people of Ireland under the provisions of this monstrous bill, when, even on the showing of Government, only a few districts required its application? Galway, Clare, Limerick, for example, are admitted to be tranquil,—why should they suffer for the misdeeds of Kilkenny, Queen's County, or Carlow? The Government, not satisfied with establishing courts-martial amidst the scenes of outrage and horror, have erected them in the capital, where they have juries at their command, and not very stubborn judges, and where a conviction is as easy as an accusation.

38. Continued.

"Have outrages been confined to Ireland? Have not Nottingham and Bristol been the scene of the most lawless devastations? Have the Government on that account resorted to the same coercive measures in England? No; and why? Because the system of devastation was local and partial. Why not apply the same principle to Ireland? If insurrection exists, by all means strengthen the hands of Government to put it down, but let not them put the whole country out of the pale of the law for the outrages of a comparatively few. To secure the unjust and ruinous policy of Government respecting tithes is at the bottom of the whole. In vain is it asserted that the special powers conferred by this act are not to be exerted in support of the collection of tithes. The obstructing a clergyman in the collection of tithe is made a crime by it, and all crimes under felonies are to be tried by courts-martial. The army is already employed

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in the collection of tithes; it is now to adjudicate upon them. The act will thus have the effect of extorting an abominable impost by means of martial law, and the officer of the army who has been employed one day in levying tithes is to try the wretched peasantry the next, for an offence in which his own feelings are so deeply engaged.

39. Continued.

"It is said this bill is for the protection of the orderly people of Ireland. Supposing it is so, is it not reasonable to inquire whether those orderly people do not consider the remedy worse than the disease—whether they do not regard this rather a high price to pay for protection? May they not think that the authorised breaking open houses by the police is as bad as the unauthorised breaking of houses by midnight assassins? Let the Whitefeet be put down, but let not the constitution be put down with them. This bill will only multiply the causes of discontent. If passed into a law, allegiance will thenceforth become, in the eyes of the Irish people, not a sentiment of duty, but a mere consideration of expediency. The people of Ireland have the strongest aversion to courts-martial; no modification of such tribunals can lessen this detestation; they remind them of 1798. What a fearful power do the nightly domiciliary visits put in the power of the police or their confederated supporters, and what odious outrages may be committed under colour of it! The persons taken on occasion of these visits are not to be put merely in the public jails, but they may be confined anywhere! They may be thrust into dungeons or confined in cellars, where they may rot away unknown and unpitied! What a triumph does this act give to the Tories over the Whigs! When did the Tories ever bring in such an act? One of the worst things in this act is, that if an anti-Liberal or Tory Government should hereafter wish to have recourse to strong measures, they would only have to stop a little short of this precedent, and could then claim credit for not going the utmost length of Whig atrocity.

"Personal liberty being abolished, the right of petition, as a matter of course, is to share the same fate. The Lord-Lieutenant is to be empowered to prevent, whenever he thinks fit, a meeting for the purpose of petitioning! When will he ever "think it fit" to sanction such an assemblage? A couple of individuals are to be allowed to meet in a coffee-house, agree on a petition, and hawk it about from door to door for signature; but is that the way in which the constitutional right of petitioning is to be exercised? The act tolerates nothing but hole-and-corner petitions, because its authors well know in what light such petitions are received when presented to this House. It does not absolutely prohibit petitioning—it does worse; it renders it the object of ridicule. The press, too, is to be equally enslaved; for any man discussing the question of tithes, for instance, in a newspaper, and expressing sentiments obnoxious to the existing authorities, is liable, according to the Whiteboy Act, to be transported for 'inciting to the commission of crime by words, gesture, *or writing*.' Nay, so anxious are the framers of this bill to surpass all former precedents of despotism, that they have overturned the old and equitable presumption in favour of innocence, and enacted that a man is to be presumed to be guilty unless he proves himself to be innocent. If arms are found in a man's house, he is to be held guilty of a misdemeanour, unless he proves they are there 'without his knowledge, privity, or consent.' How is he to prove such a negative? Government in this bill requires a man, if he would avoid transportation, *to prove his own ignorance*,—a burden never yet laid upon an accused party by the jurisprudence of any country, ancient or modern.

40. Continued.

"Trial by jury is, in the close of all, to be abolished, and the law administered by courts-martial! Has, then, the experience of this species of tribunals been so very favourable in Ireland, that they are to be selected *par excellence* to solve a difficulty inextricable by other means? Are there no reminiscences connected with these

41. Concluded.

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tribunals in Ireland, which harrow up our very souls when we think of them? Is the education, are the habits, age, or occupations of young men in the army such as peculiarly fit them for dealing in disturbed times with the delicate matter of political offences? Officers are accustomed only to obey orders—to have no opinion of their own—to be the armed hand by which Government acts. If Government directs, or, what is the same thing, is known to desire a conviction, what chance, with such judges, has a poor peasant of avoiding it? Jurors may be challenged without risk; but let a prisoner say a word against one of the four ensigns forming his court, and there is an end of all chance of an acquittal. A bare majority is to convict; the casting-vote of a youth of twenty-one, who has been two years in the army, and is dying for his lieutenancy, may decide the fate of a prisoner—the ruin of a family. The disturbances do not extend beyond a few counties, with a population of half a million, and for their misdeeds eight millions of the King's subjects are to be put out of the pale of the law!"[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. March 7, 28, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 57-67.

42. Progress of the bill in both Houses.

The bill experienced very little opposition in the House of Peers, so strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on the minds of the lords acquainted with the state of that ill-starred land. But it was otherwise in the House of Commons. There the bill, in all its stages, met with the most strenuous resistance, from an Opposition inconsiderable in point of numbers, but formidable from its vigour, its perseverance, and the unscrupulous manner in which it took advantage of every formality to delay the progress of the measure. The largest division it mustered was on the clause establishing courts-martial, in which several of the staunchest supporters of Ministers, particularly Mr Cutlar Fergusson and Mr Abercromby, voted against them; the clause was only carried by a majority of 140, the numbers being 270 to 130. On the other clauses, the minority was reduced to the Irish Catholics and a few extreme English Radicals, and seldom

exceeded 40 or 50. So strenuous was the opposition, however, which this small phalanx made, that the bill was above six weeks in getting through the Commons, and was only passed on 29th March, when the majority in its favour was 345 to 86. It was passed by the House of Lords by a majority of 40—the numbers being 85 to 45; not without some severe animadversions by the Conservative peers on some amendments in the Commons, which had, in their opinion, impaired the efficiency of the measure.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. March 29, April 1, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 77, 82.

43. Reflections on the Coercion Act.

In reviewing this memorable debate, remarkable not merely from the light it throws on the condition of Ireland at that time, but from its being the first occasion in which the split between the Whigs and Radicals, consequent on their common victory, became apparent, it is evident that the weight of argument was decidedly with the Government. There was a great deal of truth in what was so strongly urged by the opponents of the bill, but it did not meet what was urged in its support. It was true that great part of Ireland was comparatively quiet, and the outrages confined to certain districts, and that in the ordinary case it is unjust to coerce the innocent for the faults of the guilty; but that did not meet the argument that the crimes committed in Ireland, being the result not of local grievances or heartburnings, but of a general combination acting under foreign sacerdotal influence, and extending over the whole country, it was necessary to make the remedy as extensive as the disease, although the malady had only as yet broken out in particular places, leaving it to the Lord-Lieutenant by proclamations to fix its application in those districts where it was more immediately called for, which is just what the act did. It was true that courts-martial are in general little conversant with the rules of evidence, and little qualified to estimate its weight; but it is not the less true that they are better qualified to do both than intimidated juries listening to terrified witnesses; and if such a tribunal is

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an exception to the constitution, let those answer for it whose systematic and organised violence rendered such an exception necessary.

44. Decisive proof which the result afforded of the necessity and wisdom of the act.

But whatever difference of opinion might exist *a priori* in regard to the wisdom or necessity of the act, the result soon proved to demonstration that it was the remedy suited to the disease. Its effect in arresting the crime and stilling the passions of Ireland was little short of miraculous. It at once did what the Liberals had so fondly anticipated and so confidently predicted from Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. Swift and frightful as had been the increase of crime under the influence of these unhappy stimulants to passion and incitements to agitation, it was now almost equalled by the rapidity with which it *diminished*, from the application of this rude but effective measure of repression. The Lord-Lieutenant, as soon as the bill was passed, proclaimed the county of Kilkenny, including the city of the same name; and such was the effect of the measure, that within two months serious crime had diminished in it to an EIGHTH of its former amount; it had declined from 121 to 15! Over the disturbed districts of Ireland, the decrease of crime in May 1833, compared to March, was from 472 to 162!* There was no need to summon the courts-martial; not one of them was held. The moment it was

* Serious crimes committed in—

	March 1833.	May 1833.
Carlow,	19	4
Kildare,	22	17
Kilkenny,	121	15
King's County,	32	22
Longford,	9	4
Louth,	37	7
Queen's County,	87	38
Westmeath,	53	21
Wexford,	25	4
Wicklow,	11	1
Meath,	56	29
Total,	472	162

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1833, p. 83.

known that Government was in earnest, and that tribunals were ready to be called into action which were proof against intimidation and indifferent to agitation, the atrocious system was checked, and ere long died, for a time, a natural death. If ever a political truth was demonstrated by experience, it was the lesson taught the British empire on this occasion.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 83.

45. Bill for the reduction of the Irish Church Establishment.

Desirous to redeem their pledge of introducing measures for the practical amelioration of Ireland, hand in hand with those intended to check its withering agitation, Ministers next brought forward a bill for the reform and improvement, as they deemed it, of the Irish Church. Lord Althorpe opened this measure in the Lower House on the 12th February, and in so far as reduction went, it was certainly calculated to satisfy the wishes of the most ardent reformers. He began by stating the real amount of the revenues of the Irish Church, which had been the subject of unbounded exaggeration by the Radical and Catholic party, who had usually stated it at L.3,000,000 a-year. In reality, including the whole bishoprics, it was only L.732,000, being less than a fourth part of that amount.* Upon this property the Government proposed to levy a peculiar income-tax, commencing at L.200 a-year, when 5 per cent was to be deducted, and rising to 15 per cent upon all above L.1200 a-year. A similar graduated tax was laid on bishops, and with the produce of both, estimated at L.69,000 a-year, it was proposed to establish a fund, which was to come in lieu of church cess, which was to be abolished. Considerable reductions were also made on the revenues of the bishops, to take effect on the death of the present incumbents; and *ten bishoprics were to be*

* Bishops' Sees, ... £130,000
Deans and Chapters, . . . 2,200
Livings, ... 600,200
Total, £732,200
—Lord Althorpe's *Statement, Ann. Reg.*, 1833, p. 85.

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entirely abolished out of the twenty-two in Ireland, as being deemed superfluous, adverting to the numbers of the persons of the Episcopal persuasion in Ireland.* And in regard to lands belonging to bishoprics, it was provided that the bishop should be bound to grant leases for ever at a corn-rent, upon six years' purchase being tendered to him. The quit-rent to the bishops was £100,000 a-year, the real value to the occupant £600,000. This would create a fund which he estimated at £3,000,000 sterling, which was to be at the disposal of Parliament for *the service of the State.*[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 84, 87, 90; Parl. Deb. xv. 567, 576.

46. Argument against it by Conservatives.

This bill met with a very strong opposition in Parliament,—from the Conservative members, as involving the principle of the spoliation of Church property, the beginning of all the evils of the French Revolution; from the Radicals and Roman Catholic members, as not going far enough, and promising no substantial relief to the country. On the part of the Conservatives it was urged by Sir R. Inglis, Sir R. Peel, and Mr Goulburn: "The tendency of this bill, its obvious intention, is not to obviate any existing abuses, but simply to gratify the spleen of the Government and the Roman Catholics at the Established Church. It is a mistake to say that the removal of church cess will relieve the Catholic tenantry; it will only put money in the pockets of the landlords, nineteen twentieths of whom are Episcopalian, upon whom the burden

* The following was stated at this time as the relative proportions of the members of the different religious persuasions in Ireland, but it was not founded on any Government enumeration; and being mainly founded on the information of ecclesiastical parties interested, it is not altogether to be relied on:—

Catholics, . . .	6,436,000	Benefices, ...	1400
Episcopalians, . . .	853,160	In which no service performed,	157
Dissenters, . . .	665,540	Had no Protestant, . .	41
		Under 5, ...	20
Total, . .	7,954,700	Under 25, ...	165
		Archbishops, ...	4
Church Revenues, . .	£865,525	Bishops, ...	18

The sees proposed to be reduced were Dromore, Clogher, Raphoe, Elphin, Clonfert, Killala, Kildare, Cork, Waterford, and Ossory. — *Parl. Deb.*, xv. 567, 570.

now does and ought to fall. What will it avail the peasants that the bishops are abolished? They are supported entirely by church lands, and are a burden on no one: they are resident, and supposing some of them have little to do, still they *spend their revenues in the country*, which cannot be said of the great majority of the lay proprietors. The logic of the bill is—'Ireland is languishing for want of a numerous body of resident proprietors who may spend their incomes on their estates: we will abate the evil by extinguishing ten who spend at present £40,000 or £50,000 a-year on their properties!' Moreover, five of the bishoprics proposed to be abolished are taken from a part of the country where the majority of the people are Protestants, and the Episcopal duties are as heavy and important as in any part of England.

47. Continued.

"The other part of the bill is still more objectionable, and should be resisted to the very uttermost, for it goes directly to a confiscation of church property, and that too in a way based upon the most flagrant injustice. A fund of no less than £3,000,000 is to be created by forcing the bishops to sell their lands to the incumbents at a third of their real value; and not content with this violent step, the money so acquired is not to be applied to purposes of religion, charity, or education, but *to the service of the State!* It will probably be carried to the credit of the consolidated fund, or be applied in extinction of the National Debt. What is this but confiscating church property to temporal purposes? the very first step taken in the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan revolutions, and the parent of all the iniquities and miseries which followed. The taxation of the clergy according to a graduated scale, is if possible still more iniquitous. When one class is singled out for peculiar and *exclusive* taxation, it is generally the richest one which is selected; but here it is the poorest, the most destitute, the most injured class in the community which is subjected to this grinding oppression. The income-tax was thrown off by

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the nation because it imposed a burden insupportable in time of peace on the earnings of industry, even in the modified form of 5 per cent. It is now to be reimposed in a graduated scale varying from 5 to 15 per cent upon one peculiar class, in consideration of that class being the most destitute and suffering in the community, against which, with persevering hostility, the whole efforts of the combination against tithes have with fatal effect been directed. And whom is the burden thus cruelly and iniquitously imposed, intended to relieve? The landlords by whom it is at present really borne, the proper parties to sustain it, and against whom, as yet, at least, no hostile combination has been directed." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xviii. 761, 784.

48. Mr O'Connell's speech on the bill.

Mr. O'Connell's speech on the bill was so curious and characteristic that part of it must be given in his own words: "Lord Althorpe's estimate of the revenue of the Church of Ireland is a *base delusion*. The Government plan is one which only removes church cess, but relieves no other burden or grievance, and does not even suspend the war against the poor man's pigs and tenth potato. Why then do I so warmly approve the measure so far as it goes? Because it recognises an admirable principle from which now he cannot shrink; namely, that where there are no spiritual wants, there is to be no spiritual receiver of tithes and church rentals, and therefore I hail it with satisfaction. Indeed, Ministers have already acted on that principle. They have kept the vacant bishopric of Waterford like a dummy hand in whist, not filled by any actual person, and yet open to an occupant. On this excellent principle of no work, no pay, the noble lord has promised us ten other dummies in the Irish Church, and thus the property of these ten do-nothings will be available to the purposes of the State. To say otherwise, and maintain that the property of the Church should be applied only to ecclesiastical purposes, is a fantastical assertion which the common sense of every intelligent person in the country will reject with

scorn. Having made the admission of these excellent principles, they may invest their ecclesiastical commission with as many cobweb forms as they please; that admission cannot be eluded, and will produce much more benefit (and I am anxious this should be *understood elsewhere*) than may be apparent on the face of it." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xix. 647; Ann. Reg. 1833, 91.

49. Argument of Ministers in its support.

It may readily be believed Ministers did not implicitly adopt this dangerous argument in support of the bill; but it was urged by Earl Grey, Lord Althorpe, and Mr Stanley: "There is no ground for denying the authority of Parliament to interfere with the property of the Church, as is proposed to be done by this bill. It is from an act of Parliament that the Church derived its power over the bishops' leases; and what an act of Parliament had given, an act of Parliament may take away. Being debarred by law from granting leases beyond twenty-one years, the bishop indemnified himself by perpetually renewing the leases, and taking a fine at each renewal. As this bill gives the Church the power of granting leases in perpetuity, it is a very great benefit to the tenant, and the Church would not be injured. The Church would receive and the tenant pay the same as at present; but an estate in perpetuity, instead of one for a time limited, being carved out by the bill, a large fund is created; and is there any injustice in its being applied by the State to secular purposes?

50. Continued.

"With regard again to the diminution in the number of bishops, the bill does not suppress bishoprics, it only consolidates them. It effects an extension of dioceses in those cases where one bishop appears adequate to the duties heretofore performed by two; and in all countries and in all ages, similar alterations on the ecclesiastical establishment have been repeatedly made, without exciting any attention. It has been done in Italy and Spain, countries the most subject to ecclesiastical influence. The primate and bishops of Ireland had, when consulted on the subject, given it as their opinion, that if church cess was to be abolished, the least objectionable mode of sup-

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plying the deficiency would be by diminishing the number of bishops. No man can deny that twelve bishops are sufficient for Ireland, a country containing only 1400 benefices, and not more than, at the utmost, a million of Episcopalian inhabitants. In the extensive diocese of Chester there are 1200 benefices; the highest number any bishop will have in his diocese will be 179. In England there are 22 bishoprics and 12,000 parishes; in Ireland, at present, there are 22 bishoprics and archbishoprics for 1400 benefices. The disproportion is glaring, and nothing in the whole constitution more obviously and loudly calls for reformation." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xviii. 787, 854; Ann. Reg. 1833, 100, 103.

51. Progress of the bill through both Houses.

The second reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 317 to 78, which may be considered as a pretty fair test of the relative strength of the Liberals and Conservatives in the Reform Parliament. But several of the members in the majority, who usually supported Ministers, declared at the time that they would in committee vote for the application of the surplus fund to ecclesiastical, not secular, purposes; and so strong was the feeling on this subject, that Mr Stanley, in committee, proposed that the surplus fund should be applied to ecclesiastical purposes only, and that beneficed clergymen in possession should be exempted from the progressive income-tax, which should attach only to persons vested after the date of the bill. By these changes, which were stigmatised by Mr O'Connell " as the basest act which a national assembly could sanction," the bill was deprived of the most objectionable features in the eyes of the Conservatives, and all who were attached to the Established Church ; and it was read a third time, and passed on the 8th July, by a majority of 274 to 94. In the Peers a more serious opposition was anticipated, as the Conservative party, notwithstanding the numerous peers created by the Whigs since their accession to office three years before, had still a majority in that House. In effect, although the second reading was carried in the Peers by 157 to 98, so

July 8.

strongly had the necessity of the case impressed itself on their lordships' minds, yet in committee a subordinate motion made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that in the case of a suspended benefice the revenue should be applied to the building or repairing of the glebe-house, was carried against Ministers by a majority of two. So disconcerted were Government by this defeat—the first they had sustained since the passing of the Reform Bill—that Earl Grey declared it would be a matter of consideration for Ministers whether they should not throw up the bill and retire from office. Upon consideration, July 30. however, the change was deemed not so vital as to justify the abandonment of the measure. Ministers retained office; and the bill, as then amended, was read a third time and passed on the 30th July by a majority of 135 to 81.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 103, 139; Parl. Deb. xix. 761, 824.

52. New ministerial project regarding tithes.

Such was the conclusion of this great debate; and the discussion of Irish affairs was terminated for the time by a measure of more real and practical importance connected with the collection of tithes in the country. The bill of last year, which had authorised Government to make certain advances to the Irish clergy, and invested them with the right to levy the tithes for their reimbursement, had totally failed in producing the desired effect; or rather it had made matters greatly worse, because, by bringing a more formidable power into collision with the peasantry, it had both augmented the severity and enhanced the heartburnings consequent on the collection. The sum collected, too, had been a mere trifle; only £12,000 out of £91,000 of arrears. In these circumstances, Ministers wisely determined to abandon the plan altogether, and in lieu of it they had recourse to the usual resource in cases of Irish insolvency—a contribution from Great Britain. The amount of tithes due and unpaid, for the last three years, exceeded *a million sterling*. To meet this great arrear, it was proposed to authorise the issue of exchequer bills to the extent of

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£1,000,000, to be repaid in ten years by the persons liable in the same, and with which the claims of those having right to tithes were to be paid under a deduction of 25 per cent for the tithes of 1831 and 1832, and 15 per cent for those of 1833. The justice of this deduction, as of a salvage in cases of shipwreck, could not be disputed, and the necessity of the case was so obvious that the bill passed both Houses with very little opposition, and proved an unspeakable relief to the starving clergy of Ireland.[1] *

[1] Parl. Deb. xx. 434, 452; Ann. Reg. 1833, 140, 142.

53. Reflections on these bills.

This closes the long catalogue of discussion on Irish affairs, which occupied two-thirds of the first session of the reformed Parliament. The retrospect furnishes abundant subject for mournful reflection—not so much for what was done, as for what was left undone. The two great measures, the Coercion Bill and the grant to the destitute clergy, were obviously wise, and loudly called for by stern necessity, however objectionable they certainly would have been under other and less pressing circumstances. But they were temporary palliations only; they left untouched the root of the evil. The real causes which blasted the prosperity of Ireland, and had brought its inhabitants into such a deplorable situation, were the redundant population, the low price of agricultural produce (the sole support of the people), the absence of any legal relief for the poor, the want of a resident gentry, and the absence of any public works or manufactories to absorb the overwhelming multitudes of the working classes. These were the real causes of the disease: the combination against tithes, the predial atrocities, the intimidation

* AMOUNT OF TITHES DUE AND UNPAID, FOR YEARS 1831 TO 1833.

Arrears, 1831, . . .	£112,185
... 1832, . . .	300,000
... 1833, . . .	600,000
Church Tithes in arrear, . .	£1,012,185
Lay Tithes in arrear, . .	222,578
Total, . . .	£1,234,763

—LORD ALTHORPE'S *Statement*; *Ann. Reg.* 1833, p. 140-141.

of jurors and witnesses, were merely inflammatory symptoms appearing on the surface. What did Government do to remove these deep-rooted seats of evil, without which all attempts to relieve the distresses of the country in a lasting way must prove nugatory? They resisted with their whole strength, supported by all Sir Robert Peel's followers, any inquiry into the currency with a view to its extension and the raising of prices: they did nothing to establish poor-rates in a country overwhelmed by two millions of paupers; when any movement in favour of emigration was made in the House of Commons, they got the House counted out; and they contented themselves with abolishing ten resident ecclesiastical landholders, spending £50,000 a-year, in a country pining under the evils of absentee landholders! All parties persisted in considering the evils of Ireland as *political*, when in fact they were *social*, and applying what they deemed remedies to the sufferings of the country, when in fact they were mere holocausts to disarm the hostility, or purchase the support, of a party in the House of Commons. And thus things went on from bad to worse, without one measure of real relief emanating from the legislature, until Providence, in pity of human infatuation, took the matter into its own hands, raised prices 50 per cent by opening two huge banks of issue in California and Australia, and doubled the wages of labour, and thereby pacified the country, by this great measure of relief, and sending, for a course of years, 200,000 emigrants annually from the shores of the Emerald Isle.*

* "Although, from the defective nature of the returns, it is impossible to ascertain the exact annual amount of Irish emigration, we are enabled, from facts furnished to the Emigration Commissioners, to approximate to the truth, and during the last four years the numbers who left Ireland are estimated to have been as follows:—

In 1851, ...	254,537
1852, ...	224,997
1853, ...	192,609
1854, ...	150,209

In consequence of this extraordinary movement, the population of Ireland

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54. Wise measures in general meet with no support in a popular legislature.

This astonishing series of facts, the most momentous and instructive which the story of these times has presented, suggests one conclusion of general importance, of which many other illustrations will occur in the course of this History. Thus it is—paradoxical as it may appear, it is nevertheless true—that you may in general measure the justice, necessity, and expedience of any measure brought forward in a popular legislature by the obstinate and impassioned *resistance* which it meets with from its opponents, and the *languid support* which it receives from its friends; and on the other, that there is no surer test of the irrational nature or ultimate danger of any change proposed, than the amount of general support which it at first receives, and the feeble resistance which it has to encounter. The reason, though not apparent at first sight, is sufficiently obvious when stated, and a close observation of the progress of legislation in every free State will convince every impartial person of its truth. Measures of general utility may bless a nation, but they do not advance a party, and therefore no party supports them; measures of party efficacy are generally nugatory to a nation, but then they promote the interests of a party, and therefore they meet with the most vigorous support from that party, and the most sturdy resistance from its opponents. Selfish views,

has materially decreased. The census of 1841 shows that it then amounted to upwards of eight millions. It is at this moment, in all probability, less than six. From the figures which we have quoted, it is probable that the number of emigrants will continue to decline, but there is one circumstance that seems to render this somewhat doubtful. Although, during the last four years, the number of emigrants has materially fallen off, the amount of money transmitted by them to Ireland, so far as it can be ascertained, has largely increased. The sums so sent, during the interval in question, were as follows:—

In 1851, ...	£990,000
1852, ...	1,404,000
1853, ...	1,439,000
1854, ...	1,730,000"

—*Morning Post*, Sept. 15, 1855 (quoting the Report of the Emigration Commissioners).

in the long-run, govern both; and the general welfare is too *diluted* an interest to act powerfully upon any section of the community. Their own immediate interests, or party elevation, alone can rouse them to vigorous or efficacious action. Goethe says, that whoever will peruse a file of newspapers only a month old, will see how misplaced has been the greater part of the ability exerted upon public affairs. How much more true is that of annals a quarter of a century old! Measures of real utility are not unknown in a free community; on the contrary, they are more frequently carried in them than under any other form of government. But they rarely originate either with the Administration or the Legislature, though measures of party interest often emanate from both. They are forced upon them, sometimes by the weight of arguments, urged by a few powerful minds at a distance from the arena of party conflicts: more frequently by general suffering, the severe but merciful monitress of nature.*

* In a leading periodical at this time, there appeared, on January 1, 1833, six weeks before the Government measures were brought forward, an article on Ireland, containing the following observations: "The first measure which is indispensable to the revival of Irish prosperity is the adoption of the most vigorous measures to restore the administration of justice, and give to life and property somewhat of that protection which is now afforded to rapine and outrage. This is a matter of first-rate importance—so much so, indeed, that without it all attempts to tranquillise or improve the country will, as they have hitherto done, prove entirely nugatory. As long as the south of Ireland is illuminated by midnight conflagrations, or disgraced by assassinations at noonday; as long as families are roasted alive in their houses, and witnesses murdered for speaking the truth; as long as legal payments are resisted by organised multitudes, and the power of Government set at nought by Catholic authority,—so long will Ireland remain in its present unhappy and distracted state, miserable itself, a source of misery to others, a dead weight about the neck of the empire.

"2. The Government is now committed in a struggle with the Catholic priesthood as to the payment of tithes; the authority of the law must be vindicated, or the semblance of order which now exists in Ireland will be annihilated. Let what measures they choose follow for the commutation of tithes, the first thing to do is to vindicate the authority of the law against an insurgent people. For this purpose, authority should be obtained from the legislature to levy from those who can pay and won't pay, the full value of the tithe in kind with expenses, and to march the cattle distrained off to the nearest seaport, to *be sold in Bristol or Liverpool.* A few examples of the

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55. General distress which prevailed in the country.

The futility of the remedies brought forward by Government for the distresses of Ireland, appears the more conspicuous when the causes of suffering there pressing upon the whole nation are taken into consideration. Distress to a great, and among some of the working classes to an unexampled extent, prevailed not only over all Ireland, but in many parts of Great Britain, the natural and unavoidable consequence of the shake given to credit and industry of every kind by the agitation produced by the Reform Bill. Three circumstances conspired at this time to paralyse commerce and spread suffering among the labouring classes. The first of these was the terror inspired by the disorders of which both islands had been the theatre; the flames of Bristol, the sack of Nottingham, the open declarations of the more violent among the Reformers, that they would take up arms and commence a civil war, unless their full demands were con-

vigorous application of this law would operate like a charm in dissolving the combination against tithes. The state of things for the last year in Ireland is a direct premium on rebellion, an encouragement to the cessation of the payment of taxes, rent, or burdens of every description, and an invitation to the people to avail themselves of the machinery now put in motion against the clergy for their deliverance from rent, taxes, and burdens of every description.

"3. Having vindicated the authority of the law, measures should next be taken to prevent the clergy from coming in contact with the cultivators, by commuting the tithes, and laying them as a direct burden on the landlords, who, being nearly all Protestants, are the parties who should bear it. Though this measure would probably do as little as Catholic Emancipation to pacify Ireland, yet it would remove the irritation which now exists between the clergy and their parishioners, and thus withdraw the Established Church from a *political* contest of which it is now the victim.

"4. The next great object of Irish legislation should be the establishment of a judicious and enlightened system of *poor-laws* for the relief of the sick, the aged, and those who, though willing, can find no employment. The English and Scotch will not much longer submit to have their poor-rates doubled annually by the inundation of Irish beggars, or their scanty channels of employment choked by multitudes of Irish labourers. The time is come when, in the general distress of the empire, caused by the shock given to credit and industry by the Reform Bill, each portion must be led to the maintenance of its own poor. A judicious system of poor-rates, instead of being an encouragement to undue increase, is the most effectual means for diminishing it, because it is a check to the propagation of those pauper and degrading habits which, more than any other circumstances, tend to the multiplication of the poor.

"5. The greatest possible encouragement should be given by Government

ceded. The second was the vast reduction of prices which had ensued from the successive contractions of the currency which had taken place since 1819, and especially the entire and final suppression of small notes, which had taken effect in spring 1829, and ever since continued. The result of this had been to lower the money price of every species of produce, manufacturing as well as agricultural, at least 50 per cent, while debts, taxes, and money obligations remained the same. The third was the continuance of four fine seasons in succession, from 1831 to 1835, which had the effect of lowering the price of agricultural produce, combined with the contraction of the currency, *nearly* 100 *per cent.* The result of this rapid and prodigious fall of prices, in so short a time, of the whole produce of the farmer, was to drive the agricultural class to despair, reduce many of them to insolvency,[1] and put an entire stop to all those spirited

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 148, 149.

to the *emigration* of the Irish poor. The number who emigrated in 1831 was 18,000. *No reason can be assigned why it should not be* 180,000.* The expense of transporting settlers to the shores of Canada is about £5 a-head; to furnish the means of emigration to this large body, therefore, would cost £900,000; but what an immense relief would it afford to every part of the empire! The common argument that it is needless to give the poor the means of emigration, because those who remain at home will only increase the faster, is altogether chimerical. By improving the condition of those who remain at home the principle of increase is checked, not facilitated, because artificial wants, its true limitation, are brought into operation.

"6. The fisheries, neglected harbours, and waste lands of Ireland, furnish ample room for the commencement of *Government works* on a great scale, to spread wealth, and industry, and orderly habits, through its labouring poor. The mines of untouched wealth which there exist are incalculable; they might almost pave the Emerald Isle with gold. In other countries such undertakings may be safely left to the exertions of private industry. In Ireland the case is otherwise: unless they are begun and forced on by the capital and vigour of Government, they will never be attempted. If we would give the people in the south and west a taste for the enjoyments of wealth or acquisitions of industry, we must, in the first instance, force them on a reluctant people by Government expenditure."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, Jan. 1, 1833; ALISON'S *Essays*, i., pp. 260-264. The Author cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the entire confirmation which subsequent events have afforded of these views, emitted at a time when all that Government proposed to relieve the distresses of Ireland was to extinguish ten of its richest resident landed proprietors.

* In 1852 it was 225,000!

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56. Mr Attwood's picture of the state of the country. March 21.

improvements which might have absorbed in some degree the redundant labour of the country.*

This vital subject was, with his wonted ability, brought before the notice of Parliament by Mr Attwood on 21st March; and as he had been an active member of the Political Union, and strenuous supporter of the Reform Bill, his testimony is that of an unsuspected witness as to its effects. "What is the good," said he, "of having a reformed Parliament, if they do not apply a remedy to the existing distress? and what will the people think of a reformed Parliament having sat so many weeks, without attempting any one measure in behalf of the distressed? Distress, general, extreme, unnatural, is greater than in any former period of our history. In agriculture, one half have more labour than they can bear, while the other half have nothing to do; and yet the labourer can produce four times more than is required for the support of himself and his family. In manufactures, the proportion of the produce to the wants of the labourer is still greater, but matters, instead of getting better, are daily getting worse. Labour is badly paid; manufactures scarcely carried on with a profit, in some with a loss; commerce is declining in the same proportion; and such is the distress of the shipping interest that two-thirds of the shipping in the Thames are under mortgage, which is not foreclosed only because it is not considered worth the redemption. The poor-rates have doubled in real

* PRICE OF WHEAT PER QUARTER, 1830 TO 1833.

Years.	Price per Quarter.	Bank Notes in Circulation.	Exports, Real Value.	Imports.
	s. d.			
Dec. 1830,	64 10	£19,631,000	£38,271,597	£46,245,241
... 1831,	58 3	20,575,000	37,184,372	49,713,889
... 1832,	52 4	18,542,000	36,450,594	44,586,741
... 1833,	47 10	17,531,910	39,667,347	45,952,551

—TOOKE *On Prices*, vol. ii. pp. 390, 396; and Parliamentary Returns of these years.

weight, from the price of the produce from which they are paid having been halved. There are 100,000 men walking about London in search of employment. In many parts of the country, able-bodied men are working night and day for 8s. or 7s. 6d. a-week, and often can earn no more than 4s. England may be divided into two classes—the distressed and the affluent. In the first class are included the whole landholders, in the last the bond and fund holders. The former are depressed by charges on their estates, which were to be paid in a currency 50 per cent dearer than that in which they were contracted; the latter are enriched by receiving £90 in gold for their £60. The landholders in these circumstances cannot contribute to a war, and the fundholders will not, because it will reduce their £90 back to £60. Thus we do not venture to take a decided part in foreign transactions, and surrender Antwerp to France and Constantinople to Russia, rather than endanger the ill-gotten gains of the class whom it has been our sole object to enrich. The result of the distress is an enormous increase of crime. These deplorable effects are all owing to the alteration made on the currency, which it had been said would only alter prices 4 per cent, but had in reality lowered them, and in the same proportion reduced the gains of the producing classes, 100 per cent." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. March 21, 1833, and Ann. Reg. 1833, 149.

57. Answer of Ministers.

Most of the facts stated in the preceding argument were too well known to be true to admit of controversy; but, without denying them, Ministers contented themselves with strenuously resisting an inquiry into the currency. "The real aim of the motion now made for inquiry into the distresses of the country is to effect a change in the currency—a subject which, if discussed at all, should be brought forward in a separate motion. Great distress certainly exists, chiefly among the labouring classes of the community; but it is not greater than it has been at various periods before. Among certain classes, particularly the handloom weavers, there certainly

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is great suffering, and in some districts there is much distress among the agriculturists; but that is by no means universally the case. It is absurd to say tradesmen are living on their capital; if this were the case, trade would speedily be annihilated. What good would a committee do? The causes of the suffering are beyond the reach of legislation. If the motion for its appointment is carried, it will lead to the universal belief that the currency is going to be tampered with, and this will necessarily cause a general stagnation of credit, by which the existing distress will only be increased." Notwithstanding all the weight of Government, however, and of the capitalists who had got the command of the greater part of the boroughs, the motion was only rejected by a majority of 34—the numbers being 192 to 158.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 149, 150.

58. The budget for 1833.

However resolutely Ministers might resist any inquiry into the currency, and endeavour to palliate the existing distress, there were none in the community who felt it more acutely, for it was brought under their notice in the most sensible of all forms—by the falling off in the revenue. Notwithstanding the ample reductions made in the preceding year, already noticed, this decline of the revenue, arising partly from the reduction of taxation so largely made in the last three years, partly from the general distress, was such that, in the year ending 5th April 1832, there had been a deficiency of £1,240,000. This deficiency, however, was more than compensated by the unflinching reductions made in 1832-3, which amounted to no less than £2,493,000, and gave for that year an excess of income above expenditure of £1,487,000. This was effected, not by any corresponding increase of income, that for 1833 being only £235,000 more than for 1832, but by *wholesale reductions in the army and navy*, which amounted in one year to no less than £1,800,000. These reductions were secured by selling off old stores and buying no new ones in the navy, and by great reductions, chiefly in pensions and retired allowances, in the army. But hav-

ing by these means gained a respectable surplus, though at the expense of the armaments essential for the national defence, Government gave the most convincing proof of the pressure of the new interest which, by the operation of the Reform Bill, had got the command of the country, and of the disregard of the future which was hereafter to characterise British legislation. Having thus got a surplus estimated at £1,572,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed a *reduction of taxation* to the amount of £1,349,000, chiefly on soap and cotton, leaving only a surplus of £516,000 on the estimated income for the succeeding year, to go to the paying off of national debt! Even this great sacrifice of the future to the present did not satisfy the Radicals; and Mr Hume loudly complained that the *whole estimated surplus* was not applied to the reduction of taxation. He did not press his motion, however, to a division, and the budget, as proposed by Ministers, passed without farther opposition.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. April 19, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 145, 147.

59. Repeal of one-half of the malt-tax carried against Ministers.

This result, which was unexpected in the first budget with the reformed Parliament, arose from the determination of the different parties, by separate motions, to secure for themselves the desired reduction of taxation, without the slightest regard to the effect they would have, if carried, on the general state of the revenue, or the maintenance of the armaments indispensable for the national independence. This soon appeared. The taxes which Lord Althorpe proposed to take off amounted to £1,349,000,* and they were at once agreed to. But in addition to this, Sir W. Ingilby, one of the members for

* Viz.:—

Tiles,	£37,000
Marine Insurance,	100,000
Advertisements,	75,000
Assessed Taxes,	244,000
Cotton,	300,000
Soap,	593,000
	£1,349,000

—*Ann. Reg.* 1833, p. 147.

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Lincolnshire, moved in committee, that the malt-tax should be reduced from 20s. 8d. to 10s. per quarter, being more than a half. He calculated that the loss to the revenue would be £1,500,000 at the utmost; the present produce of the tax being £4,825,000, and a greatly increased consumption being with certainty to be relied on. This reduction was justified by the mover, on the ground that the agricultural interest was the one in the whole community which was suffering most from the vast reduction of prices; it was the only one to which no sensible relief had been given, by a reduction of taxation, during the last five years. It was strongly opposed by Lord Althorpe, who alleged, and probably with truth, that the loss to the revenue, from the remission of this tax, would be at least £2,500,000, and would entirely defeat the object of Government in proposing more moderate reductions for the benefit of all parties. So strong, however, was the sense of the extreme depression of the agricultural interest owing to the fall of prices, that the reduction proposed was carried against Ministers by a majority of 10—the numbers being 162 to 152.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. April 26, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 151, 153.

60. Ministers by a side-wind get the vote rescinded. April 29.

This unexpected result threw Ministers into great embarrassment, the more so that their defeat had come from the landed interest, in which the strength of the Conservatives lay, and was against the towns, in which their own principal supporters were to be found. After deliberation, however, they resolved not to resign, but to endeavour to get the vote rescinded; and they did this in a very skilful way, by playing off the urban against the rural interests. The boroughs were all extremely anxious to get quit of the house and window duties, which pressed hard upon their inhabitants, and most of their representatives were pledged without delay to effect their abolition. Sir John Key, one of the London members, had given notice of a motion for their repeal, which stood for April 30. Lord Althorpe on the 29th moved as an amendment to that motion, "That a great deficiency of

revenue would be occasioned by the reduction of the malt duty to ten shillings per quarter, and by the repeal of the duties on houses and windows, which could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax upon property; and that, as the effect of that would be to change the whole financial system of the country, it was inexpedient to adopt it." This skilful device plainly and truly brought the effects of the proposed reductions insisted for by the country and city parties respectively before the House, and it had the desired effect. The House accepted the lesser evil to eschew the greater, and, with the terrors of a property-tax before their eyes, rescinded their former vote, and by a majority of 285 to 131, supported Lord Althorpe's motion. A motion of Sir John Key for the repeal of the house and window tax was next day negatived by a majority of 273 to 124.[1] *

1 Parl. Deb. 291, April 30, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 152, 158.

61. Results of these votes on public opinion.

Ministers and their immediate adherents in the country congratulated themselves on this narrow escape, and the large majorities by which both of the obnoxious taxes were ultimately supported in the House of Commons. More experienced observers, however, argued ill for the stability of a Government which had thus early come into direct collision, on a question deeply interesting to them, with their urban supporters, who held the majority of the House of Commons in their hands. And the few thoughtful men in the country who looked beyond passing events, and were anxious to see how the new constitution was practically to work on the conduct of affairs, presaged much future embarrassment and evil from a state of things where large parties in the legislature were tied, by the imperious commands of their constituents, to vote for the repeal of any taxes immediately affecting themselves, without the least regard to the effect

* It appeared from a return quoted by Lord Althorpe in this debate, that the total inhabited houses at this time was 2,846,079, of which only 430,607 paid the tax. It affected therefore only a fraction of the community; but as that fraction was the one in which the return of a majority of the House of Commons was vested, its displeasure was most formidable to Ministers.

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it would have on the general finances or safety of the country; and Government had no other resource to elude this fierce demand but by playing off the one party against the other, and terrifying both with the threat of laying on another tax in the highest degree obnoxious to both.

62. Rapid decline in the popularity of Ministers.

It soon appeared how much Ministers had lost in the eyes of the most numerous and noisy of their supporters, by their resistance to the loudly-expressed demand of the urban constituencies for a reduction of the burdens affecting themselves. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the Secretary for Ireland, having pledged himself to vote for the repeal of the assessed taxes to his constituents in Westminster, resigned office and his seat for Westminster, as he could not vote for their repeal against the Government; and he was thrown out on a new election, and Col. Evans, a more Radical member, returned. Sir Francis Burdett, Mr W. H. Brougham, and Dr Lushington, who had also voted against the repeal, were called on to resign their seats for Westminster and the Tower Hamlets. In almost every parish in London public meetings were held, at which it was recommended in resolutions to adopt the Irish mode of agitation, by refusing to pay assessed taxes, and associations were formed for the purpose of mutual co-operation. A large public meeting was held in the open air near Coldbathfields prison, at which it was resolved "to adopt preparatory measures for holding a national convention, as the only means of obtaining and securing the rights of the people;" and this was done in defiance of a proclamation from the Home Office prohibiting the meeting as illegal, and dangerous to the public peace. One of the police was killed with a dagger, and another severely wounded in attempting to disperse the assemblage: the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide; and the verdict having been quashed by the Court of King's Bench as contrary to evidence, the murderer was brought to trial on an indictment and acquitted.

The same agitation prevailed in all the great towns in the provinces. The Birmingham Political Union, so lately the multitudinous supporter of Ministers, and to whose office-bearers Lord John Russell had written, pending the Reform Bill, that "the whisper of a faction cannot prevail against the voice of the people of England," now met and passed a resolution, "That his Majesty's ministers, by violating the constitution of Ireland, refusing all inquiry into public distress, by continuing the taxes on houses and windows, and especially by absolutely forcing on the country the whole of the malt-tax, after the House of Commons has deliberately resolved only three days before to abolish it partially, have betrayed the confidence of the people; and, therefore, that his Majesty should be implored to *dismiss from his councils* men who had proved themselves so utterly unable or unwilling to extricate the country from the difficulties and dangers with which it is surrounded." [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 158, 159.

63. Patriotic conduct of both Government and the Conservative Opposition.

It was now evident that the Reform Ministry had undergone the usual fate of all who attempt to coerce a movement which they themselves have put in motion. Like the Girondists of France, when they began to do so they immediately became more unpopular even than their Conservative opponents. The Government hung only by a thread; a coalition of the Conservatives with the Radicals on any question on which they could vote in common might any day throw them into a minority. In these circumstances the conduct of Ministers was as magnanimous as that of the Conservative leaders was wise and patriotic. The former pursued a steadfast course, ameliorating our institutions in many respects, and removing many real abuses; while the latter supported them in all such projects, and lent them their aid in repressing the violent inroads of a dangerous or revolutionary character which were attempted to be forced upon them by the pressure from without. England then reaped the fruits of her free institutions, and the long

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training of her statesmen to public life and duties. But for this wise and patriotic course of the leaders on both sides in the House of Commons, it may safely be affirmed that the constitution and liberties of England would inevitably have perished as those of France did in 1789, during the first transports consequent on the passing of the Reform Bill.

64. Renewal of the Bank Charter. May 31.

The first great measure which was brought forward was that of the BANK CHARTER, which expired and required to be renewed this year; and this led to a change attended with the most important political effects in the currency of the country. Lord Althorpe brought forward the Government plan on the subject on the 31st May, and in so doing he stated correctly "that the principle on which the Bank has hitherto acted in the management of its affairs, and which seems to have been fully approved of, is this, to keep one-third of bullion in proportion to its liabilities; to allow the public to act on the currency, and not to force it by artificial means; to allow their circulation *gradually to diminish when the exchanges were against this country*, and the drain of bullion became great; and when the exchanges turned in our favour, and the bullion came back, to let the circulation *gradually expand in proportion.* There was reason and experience in favour of this principle, and the regular publication of the Bank accounts would always show whether it had been adhered to. The Bank, therefore, was to be required to make a weekly return to the Treasury of the amount of bills and notes in circulation, and also of deposits, and that the average of such issues and deposits should be published quarterly. The monopoly of the Bank was to extend to sixty-five miles round London—that is to say, no bank of issue consisting of more than six partners was to be permitted within that distance. The Charter was to be renewed for twenty-one years, with power to the Government at the end of ten years to break it off. *Bank of England notes were to be made a legal tender*

everywhere, except at the Bank itself and branch banks. The usury laws were to be repealed, to the effect of withdrawing all bills at less than three months from their operation. One-fourth of the debt due by the country to the Bank, which amounted to £14,000,000, was to be paid off, and £120,000 a-year cut off from the allowance made to that establishment for carrying on the public business, and royal charters were to be granted for the establishment of joint-stock banks in the country beyond the limits of the Bank's monopoly." [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 167, 168; Parl. Deb. May 31, 1833.

65. Argument against the bill by Sir R. Peel.

So little was the vital importance of this subject understood in the country, that these proposals passed into law without any very serious opposition from any quarter. The leaders of the cheapening party, however, were alive to the tendency of the clause declaring bank-notes a legal tender, as a virtual departure from the principle of the bill of 1819. It was argued by Sir Robert Peel: "This is an incipient departure from a metallic currency, and a large stride towards a paper one. It will augment the circulation of the Bank of England notes, as they are declared a legal tender to all practical purposes; and diminish that of the country bankers, as they cannot on demand be converted at the offices from whence they have been issued as heretofore. It may be true, that in the case of an internal commercial panic arising from the temporary discredit of country bankers, there would be a great benefit in their being able to meet a run with Bank of England paper; but that is not a sufficient argument for so great a change, so entire a departure from the established principle of a legal tender. Is there any man who can contemplate without alarm the conversion of the right of the holder of a bank-note to get it converted into gold, into a right merely to get Bank of England notes? Any law which compelled a man to take the notes of a bank which he distrusted in lieu of gold is an act of tyranny. Can an act of Parliament give people confidence in a banking establishment? Can it make

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people regard a bank-note equivalent to gold? Why is it now that cheques to a large amount are more frequently paid by London bankers by cheques on the Bank of England than by gold? Simply because they are not declared by act of Parliament a legal tender. Declare them such, and they become assignats, and may be depreciated as such. Burke expressed this well when he said, 'Your notes are current on the Royal Exchange *because* they are not so in Westminster Hall.' The doctrine always maintained hitherto has been, 'You may issue what paper you please, provided you will undertake to pay it on demand in the precious metals.' To take one particular species of paper and give it a value above every other sort, is the most extraordinary mode of increasing public confidence in a paper currency that ever was devised."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. June 4, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 170, 174.

66. Answer of the Government.

On the other hand, it was maintained by Lord Althorpe and Mr Baring: "The objection to the declaring bank-notes a legal tender, arises from a misconception of the object for which it is intended. The object is not so much to meet the demands on country bankers for their notes, as those for their deposits. The amount of notes issued by country bankers in general bears but a very small proportion to their engagements, on account of deposits for meeting which they are obliged, in times of pressure, to apply to the Bank of England for bullion. It is to guard against that pressure on the Bank that it has been deemed advisable to make the bank-note a legal tender; for in a case of commercial panic, as was the case in 1825, the country bankers sent up to London, not only for sovereigns to pay their notes, but likewise for gold to meet their other engagements. The Bank might then be called upon to drain its coffers, not merely for the purpose of supplying the real demands upon the country bankers for their notes, but also for meeting the entire demand for the amount of their deposits. Many country bankers, who maintained only a £15,000 or £20,000 note circula-

tion, required as high a sum as £100,000 for the latter purpose. The Bank of England was placed, therefore, in this situation, that they must have gold enough to deal out for these two purposes, and it is that which renders it advisable that Bank of England notes should be declared a legal tender. Country bankers are now obliged to deposit securities—say Government stock—with their correspondents in London, to meet their issues; so that the only difference will be, that they will bring back gold in the one case, and Bank of England notes in the other. Any measure tending to support the credit of the Bank of England was a general benefit to the country, for if the Bank were shaken, all other credit would at once be destroyed." Upon this debate the Government proposals were carried by a majority of 214 to 156, with the slight change that £5 notes were to be paid in gold, if demanded by the country bankers, but not notes above that sum.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. June 1, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 169, 174.

67. Reflections on this debate.

This debate is very remarkable, both as ushering in an important change in the monetary system of the country, which was ere long attended with the most important effects, but as affording a most extraordinary instance of the shortsighted views entertained at that period, even by the ablest and most experienced men, on this subject. The bill was evidently a step, and a most important one, towards the restoration of a paper currency, and as such it was no wonder that it excited the alarm of Sir R. Peel and the cheapening party. It obviously tended, by enlarging the circulation, to stimulate industry of every kind, and in consequence elevate prices. But the extraordinary thing is this: the promoters of the bill saw clearly the pressure to which the Bank of England was frequently exposed, in consequence of the demands made upon it to meet those of every kind upon the country bankers, and they thought they sufficiently guarded against this danger by making bank-notes above £5 a legal tender, and bank-notes only payable in gold at the Bank itself. But they did not see, what the event

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ere long too fatally proved, that this postponed the danger only to increase it, and that the augmented transactions and engagements to which the change would of course give rise, could issue in nothing, *when a drain from external causes set in upon the gold of the country*, but augmented embarrassment to the Bank and danger to the country. The protection afforded by bank-notes above £5 being declared a legal tender, great as long as there was no enhanced demand for gold, became *worse than nugatory* when such a demand grew serious, and the increased paper of the country was all poured, *as through a funnel, upon the Bank of England for conversion into gold.* This is exactly what took place in after-times, as the sequel of this History will abundantly demonstrate; and then this change in the monetary system, while the *ultimate principle of convertibility into gold was adhered to*, is to be regarded as one of the main causes of the transient prosperity of 1835 and 1836, the railway mania of 1845 and 1846, the terrible monetary crises of 1838 and 1847, and the final adoption of Free Trade, with all its incalculable consequences, as the basis of the commercial policy of the country.

68. East India question: feeling of the country on it.

The approaching termination of the Charter of the East India Company, which expired at the same time as that of the Bank of England, rendered it necessary at this time for Government to meet the great question involved in our Eastern dominions. On this subject a very strong feeling existed in the country, founded, as most of such feelings are, on anticipated advantages to the majority. The great body of the merchants and traders of Great Britain beheld with envious eyes the vast trade to India and China now monopolised by the East India Company, and indulged in warm and exaggerated expectations of the boundless streams of wealth which would flow into the coffers of the country generally, and their own in particular, if that trade were thrown open to the vigour and activity of private enterprise. These

ideas, natural, or rather unavoidable in the circumstances, and in some degree well founded, had long been fermenting in the minds of the mercantile portion of the community, and many able pamphlets had appeared, advocating in the strongest terms this side of the question. Two of the chief arguments relied on in these publications, were the great reductions which would take place in the price of tea from the effects of free competition in the trade to China, and the vast market which would be opened to British manufactures from the opening of the boundless realms of the Celestial Empire and India to the productions of British industry. Experience soon proved that these views, though by no means entirely fallacious, were very much exaggerated; but in the mean time they were general and irresistible. Right or wrong, they were so strongly entertained by the borough communities possessing a decided majority in the House of Commons, that they could not be disregarded; and Government acted wisely in bringing in such a balanced and temperate measure as satisfied the just demands of the advocates for an extension of the trade, without endangering the general frame of our Indian possessions.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 179, 180.

69. Government plan on the subject.

The Government plan, which, with a few inconsiderable alterations, was adopted by Parliament, consisted of three parts. By the first, it was proposed to continue for nineteen years the political government of their possessions in India in the East India Company. By the second, the trade to China was to be entirely thrown open, and the monopoly of the Company in regard to it was to cease. By the third, the privileges of the Company, as a trading body, were to cease in India itself, upon condition of their obtaining from Government an annuity of £630,000 a-year for forty years, to be charged on the revenue of the territory of India. This annuity was the amount of the dividends the Company at the time paid to the holders of their stock out of the profits of their capital engaged in trade.[2] These proposals were in the

[2] Parl. Deb. June 13, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 179, 183.

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main so reasonable, and so completely in unison with the general voice of the country on the subject, that they excited very little opposition; but some facts were stated by Ministers in bringing forward the measure, which well illustrated its bearing and importance.

70. Argument of Ministers in support of the bill.

On the part of Ministers, it was stated by Lord Althorpe and Mr Charles Grant: "It may be admitted that there are some evils in the system of administration in India, but upon the whole there can be no doubt that the condition of the people of that country under their former governments was greatly worse than it now is. They now enjoy a greater security of life and property than they have ever done, save under the wise and beneficent rule of one of the Mogul monarchs, whose rule, as an exception to the general case, is the subject of praise amongst them to the present day. During forty years the government of the Company has been the greatest possible blessing to India, for it has stopped private wars, and terminated the incessant feuds of rajah against rajah, attended with such ruin and devastation to the country. Within the last twenty years the native population have acquired a political existence, and being secured in their rights and property, they are beginning to feel the value of the laws, and of a regular administration of justice. It seems desirable not to break in upon a system which, with some undoubted imperfections, is, upon the whole, working well; and therefore it is not at present proposed to interfere with the political government of India by the East India Company.

71. Continued.

"With regard, again, to the trade at present enjoyed under the exclusive Charter, the law seems to stand in a different situation. Public opinion in this country has long declared against the Company's monopoly of the China trade, and the urgency with which its abolition is now pressed for, arises from the marked change in favour of free trade which is now taking place in the whole commercial policy of the country. Latterly, too, that trade,

so much the object of envy to the mercantile community, has become much less profitable. That with India is abandoned by the Company without resistance, for the best of all reasons, that it has been found, in their hands, instead of a profit, to be attended with a loss. Taking an average of five years for fifteen years back, during the first period the profits of that trade were £1,500,000, during the next £830,000, and during the last only £730,000. This great diminution is not to be ascribed to any falling off in the demand for tea, but entirely to the great increase of the private traders, who within a few years have sprung up from small beginnings to a very great magnitude. In 1814 they owned only 1000 tons; in 1829 it had swelled to 60,000. The trade of the Company to and from China, exports and imports, was £13,500,000; in 1830 it had sunk to £11,600,000. The increase in the private trade, during the same period, had been as remarkable as the diminution of the privileged. In 1814 the private exports and imports amounted to £9,000,000; in 1830 they had swelled to £31,000,000. In the face of these facts it is impossible to contend that the monopoly of the Company will not ere long sink before the efforts of the private traders, even if Parliament do not interpose to legalise the traffic.

" With regard to the trade to Hindostan, as the Company agree to its being thrown open, and themselves abandoning it, nothing need be said upon that point, excepting in so far as the arrangement for paying a sum equal to the dividends on their stock, out of the revenues of India, is concerned. No part of the £630,000 a-year, stipulated as an indemnity for giving it up, is to come from the exchequer of Great Britain; it is to be exclusively levied on the territorial revenues of India. The payment of this annuity is to continue for forty years, at the end of which time it is to be succeeded by the payment to the Company of a debt of £12,000,000, the interest of which was to be defrayed from the revenue of

72. Concluded.

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India. The revenue of that country in 1828-9 was £22,000,000, and its debt £40,000,000—little more than two years' income. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the solvency of the Indian government, and the expense of it will be farther reduced by the proposed change of having four presidencies instead of three. It is proposed to put Europeans and natives under the same laws, and subject them to the same punishments; and also to establish a regulation that no native of India shall be prevented from holding offices or employment under government on the grounds either of his colour, birth, or religion."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. June 13, 1833; Ann. Reg. 1833, 180, 184.

73. The bill passes both Houses.

So completely did these views coincide with those of both Houses of Parliament, as well as the entire mercantile community of the country, that the bill passed both Houses without a division. Lord Ellenborough in the House of Peers, and Mr Buckingham in the Commons, merely stigmatised it, without a vote, as a crude and ill-digested piece of legislation, which could be attended with no beneficial results. Experience, however, has now shed a clear and certain light on this subject, and demonstrated that the bill, in its main provisions, was wisely conceived, and that the apprehensions expressed as to its operation were unfounded. During the fifteen years preceding, the Company's exports of manufactured cottons to India had dwindled almost to nothing, while those of the private merchants had come to exceed £1,500,000 sterling. The increase of the export of British manufactures to India and China has been so great since the trade was thrown open, that it has in twenty years *more than tripled*,—a change inferring not only a great benefit to the manufacturers of this country, but also a vast increase in the comforts and capability of consumption of the inhabitants of Hindostan.[2] Bishop Heber had observed, and strongly commented on, in his valuable Travels, the growing taste for English comforts and manufactures among the natives

[2] Ann. Reg. 1833, 184, 187; Heber's Travels in India, i. 187, ii. 234-7; M'Culloch's Com. Dict. 502.

of India, and the result has proved that his anticipations, from the effects of throwing open the trade, have been fully realised.*

74. Injustice done by this act to the natives of India.

In one particular, however, a different judgment must be formed; and it is the more important, because it points to the principal danger with which representative institutions are attended. In so far as the people of India were concerned, the injustice committed by this change was obvious and flagrant. Everything was done to promote the commercial and manufacturing interests of England, but nothing for those of Hindostan. English cotton goods were admitted for a nominal duty into India, and with such effect that it was the boast of our merchants that, with cotton grown on the banks of the Ganges, they could undersell the manufacturers of Hindostan in the supply of their own markets; but there was no corresponding advantage thought of to the industry of India in supplying the markets of this country. The steam-engine was brought, and with terrible effect, into competition with the loom; but no steps were taken to prevent the latter being crushed by the former, or any counteracting advantage being secured for other branches of Indian industry. The great increase of British exports to India was an

* Progress of East India and China Export Trade from 1827 to 1849.

Years.	India.	China.	Years.	India.	China.
1827,	£3,662,012	£610,637	1839,	£4,748,607	£851,969
1828,	4,256,582		1840,	6,023,192	524,198
1829,	3,659,238		1841,	5,595,000	862,570
1830,	3,895,530	and China.	1842,	5,169,888	969,381
1831,	3,377,432		1843,	6,404,509	1,456,180
1832,	3,514,779		1844,	7,695,666	2,305,617
1833,	3,495,301	Trade opened.	1845,	6,703,778	2,394,827
1834,	2,578,569	£842,852	1846,	6,434,456	1,791,432
1835,	3,192,692	1,074,708	1847,	5,470,105	1,503,969
1836,	4,285,829	1,326,388	1848,	5,077,247	1,445,959
1837,	3,612,975	678,375	1849,	6,803,274	1,537,109
1838,	3,876,196	1,204,356			

—Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, 362, 367, edition 1851.

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advantage, in one respect, to the natives of Hindostan, as it proved that they were purchasing articles of comfort cheaper than they could raise them at home; but it was a very great evil in another, for these articles were furnished by foreign, not native, industry. The increase of British exports, in this view, is the measure, not of the benefit, but of the evil they have experienced from British conquest; for every bale of cotton goods brought in from Manchester has extinguished one heretofore raised on the banks of the Ganges. Not a whisper, however, was heard on this subject either in Parliament or the country; and the English people, charmed with having opened what seemed a boundless market for their manufactures in the realms of Asia, never bestowed a thought on the check which the extension of their trade must inevitably give to the native industry of these countries;—a markworthy instance of the chief danger which besets representative institutions, and of the inherent weakness which affects those States where the powers of legislation are vested in one section of the community which is fully represented, and they are there used for its own separate advantage, without any regard to the interests of the unrepresented portions of the State.

75. The West India Question.

Important as these questions, which occupied the attention of the first reformed Parliament in the very commencement of its career, undoubtedly were, they yet yielded in magnitude and difficulty to another which now forced itself upon its attention. The WEST INDIA QUESTION had now assumed a form, and acquired an importance, which could no longer be overlooked; and it was the more difficult to deal with, that it was not only likely to be attended with the most momentous effects, social and political, both at home and in the colonies, but was of a kind which in the highest degree roused the passions in both parts of the empire. It was hard to say whether the sable Africans, who panted for what to them seemed the inestimable gift of freedom, identified in their minds with immediate

cessation from toil, or the sincere British, who longed for the effacing the stain of slavery from our institutions, were most excited on the subject, or longed most passionately for its immediate and unqualified concession. Yet was the subject on all sides beset with difficulties; and so numerous and appalling had they become, that it was difficult to determine whether most peril would be incurred by granting or withholding it, or whether the African race would be most blessed or cursed by gaining or losing the promised boon.

76. Sketch of the early settlement of the negroes in the West Indies.

It is historically known and matter of common notoriety, how the negro race had come to be settled in such great numbers in the West India Islands, and the adjoining southern states of the American Union. Negro slaves had, for a period of above two hundred years, been imported from the coasts of Africa, and conveyed across the Atlantic to the British colonies in the New World; and so efficacious had their labour proved in clearing the American jungles, and bringing into civilisation the rich soil which had accumulated during several thousand years from the vegetable and animal remains of the primeval forests, that the importation of negroes had come to be attended with a very great profit, and the *slave trade* had become an important branch of British commerce. It had been authorised and regulated by several royal proclamations and acts of Parliament, which not only permitted and encouraged the cultivation of the newly-opened plantations by means of slaves, but the two most important commercial cities of western Britain, Liverpool and Glasgow, had mainly risen to wealth and greatness from the profits of this traffic. So great had it become, that nearly 800,000 Africans were, at the close of the war, settled in the British West India Islands, and above 2,500,000 in the adjoining island of Cuba and the American continent.

How revolting soever it may appear to our feelings that so considerable a portion of the human race should

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77. Necessity gave rise to the vast translation of the negro race.

have been in this manner torn up from their native seats, and subjected to forced labour in a distant hemisphere, nothing is more certain than that it was a step unavoidable in the progress of improvement, and one which, if rightly regulated, afforded the best prospect of effecting the ultimate civilisation of the negro race. A very simple reason induced the transportation of the Africans in such numbers to the shores of Southern America and the West Indies; it was *absolute necessity.* The native Americans were too feeble in constitution, and too inconsiderable in numbers, to effect the clearing of the primeval forests of Virginia and Jamaica; and such as could be seized, were fast wearing away under the frightful labour and atrocious severities of the Spanish mines. Experience had even then shown, what time has since abundantly proved, that the European race is incapable of undergoing labour in the field under the rays of a tropical sun, and that, in whatever number they might be sent out, they would perish as fast under the "death-bestrodden gales" of the West India Islands. The negro race in Africa alone presented numbers adequate to the magnitude of the undertaking, and constitutions equal to the severity of its toil. Unlike the European, the negro thrives and prospers under the burning rays of a tropical sun, and can without danger undergo continuous labour in the field under its influence; and strange to say, the oldest inhabitants of the globe, known to authentic history, have been found among the slaves of the West Indies.*

Like all other great movements of the human race, brought about by the irresistible laws of nature acting by physical necessities or moral influence, this vast transportation of mankind, however violent in its origin, or painful in its completion, was calculated to produce, and will ultimately confer, great benefits upon the species. It promised to

* One well-known instance is that of an old negro slave in Jamaica, who died at the age of one hundred and eighty years.

effect what all the changes of time, and all the efforts of philanthropy from the beginning of the world, had failed in accomplishing—the ultimate civilisation of the African race. The same cause of resistless force which has rendered impossible the cultivation of tropical regions by European hands, has been equally fatal to all attempts at civilising the tropics by European intellect. The climate of the interior of Africa forbids the entrance of either. Not less destructive than the burning deserts of the Sahara to invading armies, the heat of Central Africa, the poisonous jungles of the Niger and the Congo, were utterly ruinous to European constitutions. The simple Africans, in their primeval forests, like their neighbours the elephant and the rhinoceros, were shielded alike from the invasions and the commerce, the curses and blessings of civilisation, by the impenetrable veil which nature had drawn around their habitations. A vast expanse, covering nearly a third of the habitable globe, peopled probably by many millions of mankind, has remained from the earliest times secluded from the rest of the world, unknown, save by a few adventurous travellers, to all ages, and foreign alike to the arts and the arms, the progress and the improvements, of the rest of the specie.

78. Beneficial results which this transference of mankind will ultimately effect.

But this extraordinary and anomalous position of so large a portion of mankind was not destined to be of eternal endurance. A remedy for it was found at length in the vice and selfishness alike of the savage and civilised regions of the world. Nature had implanted a barrier between the interior of Africa and the rest of the species, impenetrable to civilised, but not to savage man; it could not be traversed by the European, but it was easy of passage to the negro. The swamps of the Niger were fatal to every attempt to *ascend* the stream with the arts or the arms of the sons of Japhet; but multitudes of the family of Ham *descended* its waters in thatched canoes, attracted by their gold. The slave-trade did that which neither the power of conquest, nor

79. The slave trade brought the African to civilisation.

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the intercourse of commerce, nor the spread of knowledge could effect; they could not bring civilisation to the negro, but it brought the negro to civilisation. From one hundred to two hundred thousand Africans were, during half a century, torn from their native seats by savage violence, sold by savage cupidity, and transported by Christian avarice through the horrors of the mid-passage to the shores of the New World; but amidst the unutterable miseries of that scene of woe, a great, and in the end beneficial, operation of nature was effected. For the first time in the history of mankind, the Africans were brought into contact with the habits and arts of civilised life; they were made to see its superiority, to desire its enjoyments, sometimes to submit to its labour. They have been now established in such numbers in America and the West Indies as to defy either eradication or removal; they have been permanently located in situations where they are open to all the influences which elsewhere have led to progress and the improvement of the species; and if the negro race is ever to be reclaimed or brought within the pale of civilisation in its native seats, it will be from the reflexion of a light which was first struck amidst the slavery of the West Indies.

60. Beneficial effect of the fixing of negroes on particular estates.

Towards the attainment, however, of these beneficial ends, and the working out of the designs of Providence in this vast forced emigration, one thing was absolutely necessary, and that was, that the negroes should become *stationary* and fixed labourers on the soil. The transition from a movable to a durable residence is the most important in the gradual relaxation of the bonds of slavery. The condition of the serf is half-way to, and often superior in comfort to, that of the free labourer. This transition was early made in the West Indies, and immense were the benefits with which it had been attended. The pangs of separation from kindred and home were over; the horrors of the middle passage were past; they had become permanently located on fixed estates; they

had acquired homes and all the endearments and enjoyments of domestic existence. Experience had proved that the African race was capable not only of maintaining its own numbers, but of rapidly augmenting on the other side of the Atlantic. Eight hundred thousand negroes in the British West India Islands had already formed the nucleus of a vast sable population in the Gulf of Mexico; and on the adjoining American shores the negro race for long augmented faster than the Anglo-Saxons in the southern states of the Union.* The designs of Providence were rapidly approaching their completion; the savage was on a great scale brought in contact with the European, in regions where civilisation was accessible, and improvement could be attained.

81. Salutary effect of fixing the negroes on their estates from the cessation of the slave trade.

Towards this blessed consummation, the stoppage of the slave trade in 1807 by the British Government eminently contributed. In all schemes of human improvement, it is of the last importance that the *interests* of the agents employed in conducting it should be brought to bear upon the social changes from which amelioration is expected; indeed, unless this is the case, little durable or really beneficial is in general to be expected. But the stoppage of the slave trade at that period did this in the most eminent degree, for it rendered their preservation and increase essential to their masters' interest. His estates could not be cultivated by any other means. The well-being of the negro was secured by the same motive as the care of his cattle, or mules, or buildings; they were essential to the production of his income. Under the influence of these causes, the African race not only

* The scale has now turned the other way; the whites in America are increasing somewhat faster than the blacks, as the following table proves:—

From 1790 to 1830, increase of whites,	80	per cent.
..... of blacks,	112	...
From 1830 to 1840, whites increased	30	...
..... blacks increased	25	...

—*American Population Returns*, 1840; CAREY *On Colonisation*, p. 37; TOCQUEVILLE'S *America*, ii. 239.

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maintained their own numbers in the West India Islands, but they were rapidly advancing in the career of industry, comfort, and usefulness. The West Indies at that period, with a population of 800,000 souls, consumed annually £3,800,000 worth of British manufactures, *being nearly £5 a-head;* a fact which speaks volumes as to their general well-being, and exceeding the average consumption of the British Islands, and one hundred times that of Russia. Many cases of cruelty and oppression, without doubt, occurred where so many unscrupulous masters were invested with despotic power; but, generally speaking, the condition of the negroes was eminently prosperous, and incomparably more so than it had been in their native seats in Africa. Dwelling in cottages which, by a prescriptive usage, had become their own, surrounded by their gardens, their fruits, their children, they exhibited, generally speaking, a spectacle rarely witnessed in this world of care, and to which the eye of the philanthropist might turn with pleasure, even from the brightest scenes of European civilisation. Doubtless the character of the master affected in a great degree the prosperity of his subjects, and the cruel or unfeeling had ample means of wreaking their vengeance on a helpless race. But those were the exceptions, not the rule. In the great majority of cases, the negroes on the estates were in such easy and affluent circumstances as would hardly be credible if not supported on undoubted and concurring testimony.

82. Prosperous general condition of the negroes.

They had generally two days a-week, besides Sunday, during which they might work in their gardens or at day's wages on their own account; and so prolific was nature in that benignant climate, and such the reward of industry and good conduct, that industrious labourers, after having provided themselves and their families better than any peasantry in Europe, could lay by from their earnings *thirty pounds a-year.* Their cottages were generally comfortable, often elegant; artificial wants,

civilised vanities, were rapidly making progress among them; and the cheering spectacle of 40,000 negroes in Jamaica having worked out or obtained by good conduct their own freedom, and prosecuting with respectability and success the paths of honest industry, warranted the hope that the sable race in the end might become capable of bearing emancipation; and that, by permitting Time to work out the great social change from bondage to freedom with its usual slow pace and unerring wisdom, it might be effected, as it had been in many countries of modern Europe, in so gradual a manner as to render it impossible to say when the one ceased and the other began.

83. What should have been done by the Government.

In these circumstances, the course which a wise Government should have pursued, in justice alike to the negroes, the planters, and the empire, was clearly this:— I. They should have lowered to a very moderate amount the existing heavy duty of 24s. a hundredweight on imported sugar, considering the sugar of Jamaica as much a part of domestic produce as the wheat of Essex. II. They should have cautiously introduced such changes as might, in the course of generations, have trained the negroes to the habits requisite for freedom, and enabled them to bear its excitements without danger to themselves and the community. The general establishment or encouragement of marriage, prohibition to separate by sale parent and child, husband and wife, or to sell the slaves away from the estate, are the most important of these means. III. The practice, which by usage had become general, should have been declared by law universal, of allowing them two days in the week to work on their own account, and prohibiting all work for their masters on Sundays. IV. A right should have been declared in the negro to purchase his freedom from his master as soon as he could accumulate the market value of his labour, which varied in general from £40 to £60. By these means, which are precisely those which the Spaniards had practised with such success on the mainland

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of South America, and which are gradually changing serfage into freedom in Russia, those only would have been liberated from the restraints of slavery who had afforded a convincing proof that they had acquired those of civilisation; full justice would have been done to the planters, by their receiving in every instance the full market-value of the slave; the negro population would have been gradually mingled with a free black race, capable of influencing them by their example, and teaching them by their habits. Thus the vast transition from savage to civilised life would have been accomplished, as it had been in Europe and some parts of Southern America, so gradually as to be at once imperceptible and unattended with danger.

84. Necessity of slavery in early times.

A cause at once simple and irresistible has, in every part of the world, in a certain stage of society, led to the establishment of slavery. It is necessity. Such is the invariable aversion of savage man to continuous and severe labour, that this repugnance has never been overcome in any part of the world but by the introduction and long continuance of the forced labour which forms the essence of slavery. When the easy, but casual and precarious, supply of animal wants by the chase is exhausted, the human race would everywhere perish or become stationary, if, before the moral chains of artificial wants were thrown round civilised, the physical restrictions of servitude were removed from savage man. As the forced labour of slaves is thus essential, for thousands of years, to the existence and progress of the species, so, in the circumstances in which it is required, it is the greatest possible blessing even to those whom in ignorance we pity for being subjected to its severities. Bad as is often the condition of the slave, it is, in early stages of society, better than the destitution of freedom. To the captive in war it is the price of life, to the humble in peace it is the condition of existence. Food from a master is of value in all stages of society; in the early, before it can

be obtained in any other way, it is inappreciable. Slavery is a blessing when it first aims to soften the rigours of war out of the necessities of pristine existence; it becomes a curse when it is continued under circumstances when, from the altered condition of society, it is no longer required.

85. Progressive emancipation was rejected by the planters.

In justice to the English nation, which forced through, against the wishes of a large portion of the legislature, the measure of unqualified emancipation at this time, it must be stated that the colonists in the West Indies had, with unpardonable obstinacy, rejected the proposals of gradual amelioration of the negro population which had been made to them by the British Government. In particular, Mr Canning, in 1823, had urged upon the local legislature of the West India Islands the adoption of certain measures calculated to effect the *gradual* abolition of slavery, and in the mean time sensibly ameliorate the condition of the slaves. Resolutions in terms of these propositions were unanimously adopted by Parliament.* But they met with a very unfavourable reception in the West Indies. Great alarm was felt there, not so much at what was actually proposed, as at the idea of *interference by the imperial legislature at all;* a state of things fraught, in their opinion, with great and immediate danger, and likely to excite the negro population to the worst atrocities. Mr Canning's resolutions, indeed, were at first looked upon as declaratory merely—as words not likely to lead to any practical result. It soon appeared, however, that this was not to be the case.[1] The resolutions of the House of Commons were laid before the King in council,

May 24, 1823.

[1] Parl. Deb. ix. 285, 286, 360; Ann. Reg. 1823, 130.

* The resolutions proposed by Mr Canning, and adopted by the House of Commons, consisted in abolishing the use of the lash in the field, or its application, under any circumstances, to females; regulating the punishment of refractory slaves; preventing the separation, by sale, of husband, wife, and children; protecting the property of slaves, admitting their evidence in courts of justice, facilitating their manumission, and providing for their religious instruction by a regular ecclesiastical establishment, with two bishops at its head, one presiding over Jamaica, the other over the Leeward Islands.—*Parl. Deb.* vol. xi. pp. 968, 976.

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and sanctioned by him; and soon after a circular was issued from the Colonial Office, which absolutely prohibited the flogging of women, or the use of the whip in the field.

86. The colonies refuse to act on the resolutions of Parliament.

These limitations of the power of the masters do not at first sight appear very serious, and certainly they are not of such a kind as to be repugnant to any humane mind. They were dangerous, however, not from what they enjoined, but from the expectations which they would awaken; and the utmost apprehensions were felt in the colonies that they might lead to a general belief among the negroes that slavery had been really abolished by the British Parliament, and that it was the local legislatures which were withholding the inestimable boon. This danger, as appeared in the sequel, was far from being imaginary; and it was much increased by the efforts of the missionaries and Baptists, whose prudence and judgment were not equal to their zeal or humanity, and who led the slaves to expect that the day of their final deliverance was at hand. Angry resolutions, in consequence, were passed by the legislature in several of the islands, in which resistance was openly threatened, and severance from the mother country spoken of as probable. The well-known weakness of the colonists, however, placed between the might of the mother country on the one hand, and a vast negro population on the verge of insurrection on the other, forbade any such attempt; and the irritation evaporated in angry recriminations and strong resolutions. Riots of a very alarming character, however, took place in several districts, some arising from the indignation of the planters at the missionaries, others from the highly excited feelings of the negroes in consequence of their preachings. Shrewsbury, a missionary in Barbadoes, was a victim to violence of the first kind, and only saved his life by flying from the colony; and the imprudent zeal of another, named Smith, in Demerara, produced an insurrection among the blacks of so threatening a character that mar-

tial law was proclaimed in the colony, and continued in force for five months. Under it Smith was brought to trial on a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt, concealed their intention to rise, when known to him, and refused to serve in the militia on the ground of his clerical office. At the most, he was only guilty of the two last charges: of the first no adequate evidence was adduced. He was found guilty generally, however, by the court-martial, and sentenced to death; but the sentence was commuted, most justly, by the home Government into banishment from the colony. Before the communication, however, could reach the colony, Smith was in his grave, having died in prison in consequence of a confinement of five months in an unhealthy situation, and in a pestilential climate.[1]

Feb. 24, 1821.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1823, 133, 135, 137; Parl. Deb. xi. 968, 997, 1066; Mart. i. 336, 338.

37. Forced tranquillity to 1832, and insurrection which then broke out.

These unhappy proceedings, in which imprudent though benevolent zeal on the one side, were met by selfish resistance and judicial iniquity on the other, had the effect of retarding in a most distressing manner, as such collisions always do, the progress of real and safe improvement in the condition of the negro population. Matters continued for the next eight years in a state of constrained and sullen tranquillity; the masters brooding, on the one hand, over the many real and still more numerous supposed wrongs they had received from the British Government, and the slaves waiting impatiently for the concession of freedom which they still believed had been granted to them by the Imperial Legislature, and was only withheld by those of their own island. Matters, however, were brought to a crisis by the violent collision which took place between the rival parties in the course of the discussion of the Reform Bill. Mr Brougham, Mr Buxton, and many other of the Liberal chiefs, aware what a popular topic the instant abolition of slavery was with a sincere and respectable portion of the people, brought it forward as a prominent topic on the hustings; and the former of these carried Yorkshire in

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consequence of his protestations on the subject. The accession of the Whig Government to power confirmed the hopes which these declamations had awakened, and an imprudent act of Government brought matters to a crisis. In November 1831, during the height of the Reform fever, by which every part of the empire was sufficiently agitated, Orders in Council were issued by Government, which fixed the hours of labour, appointed slave-protectors, and contained various other regulations calculated to prepare the slaves gradually for emancipation. They were to be enforced in the Crown colonies by the authority of Government; in those which had their own legislature, by fiscal privileges granted to such as conformed to them. These regulations were considered by the slaves as amounting to unconditional freedom, and they became impatient that it was not formally proclaimed. The consequence of this not being done was, that a vast conspiracy was secretly organised among the negroes in Jamaica, in the end of 1831, which ere long broke out in an open insurrection, so formidable as to justify entirely the fears expressed by the planters on the subject; and as if the severities of nature were to be added to the calamities induced by man, a dreadful hurricane about the same time devastated the islands of Barbadoes, St Vincent, and St Lucie, and destroyed property to the amount of £1,700,000.[1]

Nov. 20, 1831.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 270.

88. Insurrection in Jamaica. Dec. 20, 1831.

The first symptoms of insubordination appeared on December 20, when the negroes on several estates refused to go to their work, alleging that they were free, and not obliged to do so. From this they proceeded to break into houses and take arms, or bring out weapons of their own which they had secreted, and, assembling in large bodies, marched in every direction over the island, inciting the slaves to join them, and burning or destroying every plantation or building which came within their reach. The houses and settlements of free people of colour, however humble, shared in the devastation equally with

the larger plantations of the European. The unchained African marked, as he had done in St Domingo in 1789, his first steps towards freedom by murder, conflagration, and every crime at which humanity recoils. The whole island was illuminated at night by the light of burning edifices; the sky darkened by day with the vast clouds of smoke which issued from the conflagrations. Martial law was proclaimed on the 30th, the militia called out, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, with three hundred regular troops, marched to Montego Bay, the centre of the insurrection. Several engagements took place with the rebels, in which they were routed; but when the insurrection was put down in one quarter, it broke out in another, and it was not finally suppressed till the middle of January, before which property to the amount of above £1,000,000 had been destroyed. A proclamation was wisely issued by the governor, offering a free pardon to such as laid down their arms, excepting the ringleaders, which had a very beneficial effect; and it appeared from the confessions of some of the latter who were shot, that the insurrection had been occasioned by the assurances given to the negroes by the Baptist missionaries, that the Orders in Council in November preceding had in reality given them their freedom, and that it was only withheld by the selfish opposition of the local government.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1832, 270, 271.

89. Resistance in the colonies to the Orders in Council.

This calamitous outbreak excited, as well it might, the utmost alarm among the West India proprietors. The parliament of Jamaica solemnly protested against the Orders in Council, as an unjustifiable, uncalled-for, and perilous interference with private property, and threw upon Government the whole responsibility of carrying them into execution. This example was immediately followed by such of the islands as had local legislatures; and on behalf of such as had none, a great meeting of West India proprietors was held in London in April, at which a petition was agreed to, praying for an inquiry into the condition of the West India negroes, and what

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could further be done to ameliorate their condition consistently with their own interests. So obvious was the danger, so strong the case made out at this meeting, that the prayer of the petition, which was presented by Lord Harewood to the House of Lords on the 17th April, was acceded to by Government, and meanwhile the Order in Council was suspended. At the same time a grant of £100,000, which had been granted to the sufferers in St Vincent and the other islands by the hurricane, was extended to £1,000,000, and made to extend to the sufferers under the Jamaica insurrection, where, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the loss by the burning of buildings alone exceeded £800,000.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. April 20, 1832; Ann. Reg. 1832, 273, 274.

90. Universal transports in favour of immediate emancipation.

But matters had now arrived at such a point under the combined influence of the Reform passion, and the anxiety for instant negro emancipation in the mother country, that rational or prudent measures were no longer practicable. The excitement on this subject throughout the whole country went on at an accelerated rate during the whole autumn and winter subsequent to the passing of the Reform Bill; and the pledges exacted from candidates for seats in the first reformed Parliament were so numerous, that it had become a matter of certainty, before the discussion came on in the House of Commons, that Government had no alternative but to concede. The recent insurrection and frightful calamities in Jamaica, so far from operating as a warning of the danger of concession, were considered as only an indication of the reverse, because they were regarded as signs of the danger, not of granting emancipation, but of withholding it. A great part of the nation, including a vast majority of the urban constituencies, were seized with a passion on the subject not less strong than that which had carried reform, and more estimable, as being less impelled by selfish ambition, and more springing from humane feelings. In a word, the nation had arrived at one of those phases, so well known and of frequent

occurrence in the later history of England, when it runs wild on a particular subject, when reason, experience, and consequences are alike disregarded, and, right or wrong, ruinous or beneficial, the thing demanded must be conceded.

91. Mr Stanley's argument in favour of negro emancipation. May 14, 1833.

Mr Stanley, who had been transferred from the secretaryship of Ireland to the office of Colonial Secretary in order to conduct this arduous and delicate question, thus explained the ministerial project on the subject: "The present question involves interests greater, consequences more momentous, results more portentous, than any which ever was submitted to a British or any other legislature. A commerce giving employment now to 250,000 tons of shipping, a revenue of £5,000,000, and an export of equal amount, is here to be dealt with. But what are these pecuniary interests, great as they are, to the moral and social consequences at stake; the freedom of 800,000 of our own, and many millions of foreign slaves; the emancipation and happiness of generations yet unborn; the ultimate destiny of almost a moiety of the human race, which is wound up with this question? Vast, almost awful, as are the interests involved in this question, and the difficulties with which it is beset, its settlement can no longer be delayed. We have arrived at a point when delay is more perilous than decision. We have only the choice left of doing some good at the least risk of effecting evil. We are called upon to legislate between conflicting parties, one deeply involved by pecuniary interests and by difficulties now present, and every hour increasing; the other, still more deeply interested by their feelings and their opinions, and representing a growing determination on the part of the people of this country, at once to put an end to slavery—a determination the more absolute and the less resistible that it is founded in sincere religious feelings, and in a solemn conviction that things wrong in principle cannot be expedient in practice. The time is gone by when the question can for a moment

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be entertained, whether or not the system of slavery can be made perpetual: the only point left for discussion is, the safest, happiest way of effecting its entire abolition.

92. Continued.

"Parliament, and the King in Council, have at various times recommended to the colonial legislatures what in their opinion ought to be, and enforced it on such as were under their direct authority; but, with very few exceptions, these recommendations were nugatory. If ever there was a case which justified the exercise of the paramount authority of Parliament, it is this, when every means of remonstrance and warning has been used in vain. Government therefore have resolved to propose a plan which should insure the ultimate extinction of slavery, and manumit not only the future, but even the present generation; while, at the same time, it should prevent the dangers of a too sudden transition. It has not been deemed advisable to fix the expiry of slavery after the lapse of a given number of years, because it was certain that the intermediate period would be one of great excitement and irritation, possibly of insurrection and bloodshed. It was thought safer to place the slave for a limited time in an intermediate state of apprenticeship. He will be bound to enter into a contract with his master, in virtue of which, his master, during a limited period, would be bound to furnish him with food and clothing, and such allowances as are now authorised by law, or to give him in lieu thereof a pecuniary compensation. For this consideration he will be required to work for his master three-fourths of his time; leaving it to be settled between them, whether that should be for three-fourths of the week, or three-fourths of each day. The remaining fourth of his time is to be at his own disposal, when he might work for wages to whom he pleased. The power of inflicting corporal punishment is to remain; but it is to be awarded only by the sentence and under the direction of a magistrate. The duration of the apprenticeship is to be for seven years.

"One of the greatest difficulties connected with this subject, was the fixing the rate of wages when the negro worked on his own account. Under ordinary circumstances this was settled by, and might be safely left to, competition; but could this be applied to slaves just emerging from a state of servitude? Absolute freedom in that respect would extinguish voluntary labour, extinguish its consequent civilisation, and fling back the negro population, with an insurmountable desire to revert to the indolence of savage life. A scale must be fixed; and the difficulty is, to determine how that scale is to be adjusted. The most expedient plan appears to be, to compel the planter to fix a price on the labourer at the time of enacting his apprenticeship: and enacting that the wages to be paid by the master should bear such a proportion to the price fixed by him, if given by the master, that the negro should receive annually one-twelfth of his price. In this way the master and slave will act in reference to each other; and the interest of each will serve as a check upon undue exaction of either. 93. Continued.

"This measure, whatever its benefits may be in other respects, must necessarily occasion a certain amount of loss to the West India proprietors, and it is not fitting that upon them should be laid exclusively the losses arising from the destruction of a species of property, into the legality of which it is needless to enter, but which has repeatedly been recognised by act of Parliament. From the returns of West India property made to the Board of Trade, it appears that the net profit arising from the cultivation of sugar is at present £1,200,000 a-year; and making a reasonable addition for the profit arising from the cultivation of rum and coffee, £1,500,000 a-year might be taken as the annual amount of West India property. It is proposed to give ten years' purchase of this sum, or £15,000,000, as a loan, to be repaid to the country when the immediate difficulties of emancipation have been in some degree sur- 94. Continued.

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mounted. In addition to this, it is proposed to establish stipendiary magistrates, appointed by the Crown, for the administration of justice, and to make provision for the moral and religious instruction of the inhabitants. All children born after the passing of the act, or who shall be under six years of age when it becomes law, to be declared free.

95. Continued.

"One very important fact seems to be completely established by the returns which have been laid before Parliament, and that is, that in all the islands, with the exception of Barbadoes and Trinidad, while the production of sugar has increased of late years, the population has declined. In Jamaica, on an average of three years, from 1823 to 1826, the annual production of sugar was 1,354,000 cwt.; on an average from 1829 to 1832, 1,389,000. In the first period, the mean population was 334,000; in the last 327,000. In Demerara, the sugar produced in the first period was 659,000 cwt.; in the last, 806,000: the slaves in the first period were 72,722; in the last, 67,000. Here, then, is a broad fact, which proves that under the existing system the severity of their labour, or the other disadvantages of their situation, are pressing even upon the principle of increase, the strongest impulse which can actuate savage as well as civilised man. The amount of punishment inflicted also in some colonies is so excessive as loudly calls for a change of system. Thus in Demerara, in 1829, when the slaves were 61,627, the number of punishments returned to the protectors was 17,359; and in 1831, the population being then 58,000, the punishments were 21,656, and the lashes inflicted 199,500! It is much to be feared that in this immense number and severity of punishments, and the excessive labour to which the slaves have been subjected, is to be found the real cause both of the general increase of production and the diminution in the negro population.

"The objections usually urged and most relied on

against immediate emancipation are, that the negroes are averse to continuous labour, and that it is unsafe to manumit them till they are willing voluntarily to submit to it. If this argument proves anything, it proves too much; for when do men ever show a disposition to labour till population presses upon food? and that will never take place as long as the depopulating influence of slavery continues. We are told that the negroes own no domestic ties, nor will they so long as you retain them in that state of slavery which debases their principles, deprives them of foresight, and takes away from them the motives to industry. The slaves have no education, and you deny them any, for as slaves they can have none. But, in truth, the reproach so often made to negroes that they are averse to labour, is unfounded in fact. An experiment decisive of this point was lately made in Antigua, where 371 captured negroes were landed and set free. Their industry was remarkable, as well as their avidity to acquire property, and imitate the dress, manners, and speech of the Creoles. Many of the most laborious works in St John's have been performed by them, and several of them have already amassed so much money as to be able to purchase their houses. In Bahama, the slaves are already more than half manumitted; and in the island of Cuba, which is very highly cultivated, a large quantity of sugar is raised by free labour. The example of St Domingo, and the cessation of the export of sugar from that island, proves nothing. Such were the horrors it underwent, and the destruction of property which ensued, that it could not be otherwise. Yet sugar is raised and assiduously cultivated in St Domingo; not, indeed, for exportation, but for their own consumption, by the hands of freemen. In Venezuela, a measure of progressive emancipation has been adopted since the government of Spain was overthrown; and so far from the emancipated slaves being averse to labour, the only difference is, that the free labourer works with more energy than the slave."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. (3d Series), xviii. 1194, 1222; Ann. Reg. 1833, 188, 191.

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97. Result of the debate, and parties by whom it was opposed.

So strong was the feeling in Parliament and the country on the necessity of immediately abolishing slavery, that the first resolution proposed by Mr Stanley, which declared the expedience of taking measures for the immediate emancipation of the slaves under such provisions as might combine their interests with those of the proprietors, passed without a division, as did the second, that all children under six years of age, or born after the passing of the act, should be declared free. The third and fourth resolutions, however, which declared the establishment of the system of apprenticeship, and provided £15,000,000 *as a loan* to the West India proprietors, met with considerable opposition; not, however, as might have been expected, from the West India proprietors, but from the advocates of emancipation. It was strenuously contended by Mr Buxton, the persevering and consistent friend of the negroes, that any delay in emancipation was unnecessary; that the negroes, if declared free, would at once work with more vigour and efficiency than they had ever done in a state of slavery; and that their taste for luxuries, comforts, and delicacies, was fully as strong as that of the whites, and would prove fully as efficacious in stimulating industry. Various isolated examples, apparently establishing these assertions in different parts of the West Indies, were given; but on a division, the Government resolution was carried by 324 to 42.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 195, 196; Parl. Deb. xvii. 1222, 1230.

98. Resolution of the West India proprietors on the other side.

The real arguments, however, urged against the proposed measure, were brought forward at a great meeting of persons interested in the West Indies, held on 27th May. The House of Commons was tongue-tied by their constituents, and did not venture to say what many of them knew to be true. The considerations urged were well summed up in the following resolution, which was unanimously agreed to: "That, independently of planters, merchants, and manufacturers obviously and immediately connected with the colonies, there is a numerous class of

persons, consisting of widows, orphans, minors, annuitants, and other claimants under wills and settlements, who have no support for themselves or their families excepting a charge upon colonial property, created on the faith of existing laws, and who must therefore be reduced to beggary by any ill-advised or precipitate measure of emancipation. The scheme of emancipation brought forward by Government provides no security for the lives of our fellow-subjects in the colonies: it proposes to divest the owner of his property without any compensation; it tends to destroy colonial agriculture by entailing heavy additional expense on a cultivation already confessedly depressed; it renders an outlay of capital in the West Indies unprofitable, and thereby puts a stop to the progressive civilisation of the negroes in our own colonies, while at the same time it directly encourages the slave trade and slavery in foreign countries. There is no stronger title to property than that which is derived from positive law; and no other security against spoliation than a confidence that the Government under which they live will respect those rights and interests which have grown up under the laws it has made. The proprietors of negro slaves possess them under the sanction of British laws, which enabled and especially encouraged the people of Great Britain to convey slaves from Africa, and to sell them to their fellow-subjects in the colonies. Looking to the rights thus acquired, the West India proprietors do solemnly protest against any measure which takes away the property of their fellow-subjects without adequate compensation; a measure which, if carried through, will shake the foundations of every species of property, and establish a precedent which may speedily lead to every other species of property being similarly dealt with."[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1833, 196, 197.

It was evident from these resolutions, which embodied all that was said on the subject on the occasion, that the West India proprietors regarded the question of immediate negro emancipation as settled, and directed all

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99. Compromise effected by the grant of £20,000,000 to the colonial proprietors.

their efforts to obtain adequate compensation. How much soever the country might be agitated on the subject, and how violent soever the cry that the West India planters were a body of slave-drivers, who were not entitled to any compensation for the glorious act of emancipating their negroes, Government felt the justice of the appeal, and, much to their credit, they met it in a worthy spirit. The West India proprietors had intimated that £15,000,000, especially if granted in the shape of a loan, would be wholly inadequate as a compensation; but that if it was increased to £20,000,000, and converted *into a gift*, they would withdraw their opposition. Government agreed to this change, and Mr Stanley brought forward the proposal for the enlarged sum, as a gift, in the House of Commons. It met with very serious opposition from the emancipation party: some contending that it was a great deal too much, and that £12,000,000 would be amply sufficient; others that it was a scandalous waste of public money to give £20,000,000 to a body of slave-drivers, when the country which paid it was ringing with the cry of distress from side to side. Government influence, however, and the obvious justice of the measure, prevailed: an amendment, moved by Mr Briscoe, to reduce the compensation to £15,000,000, was rejected by a majority of 304 to 56; and one by Mr Buxton, that one-half of the compensation should not be paid till the period of apprenticeship was passed, and the negroes were put in full possession of their freedom, by 277 to 142. The bill finally passed by a majority of 296 to 77. The compensation then given was on an average, for the whole negroes, who were 800,000 in number, about £22, 10s. a-head—not half the price of a full-grown negro on an average of the islands, nor a third in some of them, but not altogether inadequate, if the number of children, sick and infirm, is taken into consideration.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xviii. 306, 359; Ann. Reg. 1833, 198, 201.

To understand how readily the West India body withdrew any serious opposition when the compensation was

advanced from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000, and converted into a grant, it must be considered in what circumstances they were placed, and in what embarrassments they had long been involved. These difficulties arose from two causes: the first was the decline in the productive powers of nature in all the islands, when the virgin riches of the soil began to wear out, which was generally the case after twenty-five or thirty years' cultivation. This was universally experienced after a certain time, and it led to two effects, each of which contributed to stimulate production to an undue degree, and increase the embarrassments of those who lived by its sale. The original proprietors, seeing the soil failing, sold their estates, and bought new ones, in which the virgin riches of the soil might be relied on for twenty or thirty years, and instantly commenced extensive plantations; while the purchaser of the old ones, finding the productive powers of these declining, borrowed money on their security, and endeavoured, by increased exertions and a liberal expenditure, to restore the production to what it formerly had been. Thus, from one cause—the decline of crops after the riches of the virgin soil were exhausted—a forced and unnatural production, attended with a ruinous reduction of prices, generally took place.

100. Reasons which induced the West India proprietors to acquiesce in this arrangement.

The next was the enormous and crushing duty to which sugar and all West India produce were subjected, and which, when the decline of prices took place after the peace, was in a great part paid by the producer. This tax, when first augmented in 1793, was 30s. a hundredweight on sugar, which was subsequently reduced to 27s., and in 1830 to 24s., at which it still was. A grosser and more iniquitous instance of fiscal oppression never was heard of; and it illustrates the extreme danger of oppression, in a constitutional monarchy, to its *unrepresented* dependencies. Most certainly the English would never have consented to a tax of this description, equivalent to one of 50s. the quarter on wheat, on their *own produce.*

101. Enormous and unjust direct taxes to which West India produce was subjected.

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But it is a very different thing to tax ourselves, and to tax a defenceless and unrepresented colony subject to our power. This immense tax had come latterly to be chiefly, if not entirely, paid by the producers. The proof of this is decisive. In 1831, the price of sugar, excluding duty, in Great Britain was 23s. 8d. the cwt., while in America, in the same year, it was 36s. The difference was owing to the duty of 24s. a cwt., being to the extent of the difference paid by the producers. They could not raise their prices in proportion to the tax, in consequence of the competition with other sugar-growing states, and the vast increase of production, from the cause just mentioned, in their own. "An absolute sovereign," says Mr Hume, "being equally elevated above all his subjects, and not more dependent on one class than another, views them all, comparatively speaking, with equal eyes; *whereas a free State is ruled by one body of citizens who have obtained the mastery over another*, and govern exclusively the distant settlements of the empire, and are constantly actuated by personal jealousy and *patrimonial interests*, in their endeavours to prevent them from obtaining the advantages of equal and uniform legislation."[1]

[1] Hume's Essays, i. 247.

102. Causes which had rendered the duty bearable during the war.

It may appear strange how this enormous and crushing system of taxation on rude produce, which amounted now to £5,000,000 yearly, on estates yielding, according to Lord Althorpe's statement, *only* £1,500,000 *profit on cultivation*, could have come to be imposed under the old Parliament, in which the West India was for a time the strongest of all local interests, and at one time numbered eighty votes among its supporters. But the reason was this, which, when once stated, is perfectly apparent, and explains the whole phenomenon. The burden of the tax was not felt by the producer during the war, when, under an adequate currency, sugar brought from 120s. to 130s. (including duty), and the tax of 30s., then wholly paid by the consumers, still left an ample price

to remunerate the labours of the producers. But when, on the return of peace, and contraction of the currency to half its former amount, prices fell to 50s. or 60s. the cwt., the tax of 27s. or 24s. *absorbed half the price received,* and entirely extinguished the profits of cultivation. This, however, did not lead, as those not practically acquainted with the subject naturally supposed it would, to a diminution of production; on the contrary, it led to a great and ruinous increase. The great majority of the planters strove to compensate the diminution of price by *increase of quantity produced,* the clearing of fresh virgin land, and the rigorous exaction of a greater amount of labour from their negroes. This was the true cause of the fact observed by Mr Stanley, that in all the West India Islands, except Antigua and Barbadoes, there had been, for seven years past (ever since the suppression of small notes in Great Britain in 1826), an increase in the production of sugar, and a diminution in the number of the slaves. They were worked beyond their strength, sometimes to death, to compensate the reduction of price consequent on the contraction of the currency. This increase of production again tended still more to depress prices and annihilate the profits of cultivation; but the West India proprietors, ignorant of the real cause of their difficulties, and clinging to hope, the last refuge of the unfortunate, still went on, as is often the case, striving to obviate depressed prices by enhanced production, and got deeper into the mire from every effort they made to extricate themselves from it.

103. What made the West India proprietors acquiesce in the change.

To a body of landed proprietors thus situated, and nearly all labouring under mortgages, of which they were unable even to pay the interest, the sudden offer of £20,000,000 as a free gift presented irresistible temptations. Though it was not more than a half on an average of the value of the full-grown slaves who were emancipated, nor a fifth of the real amount of the entire pro-

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perty endangered by the changes, which was estimated at £120,000,000, it was an immense relief in the mean time, and at once raised numbers from the depths of despair to affluence and prosperity. Many proprietors, especially of West India mortgages, saw a great fortune suddenly created in their hands, where before there was nothing but embarrassment, and were able to retire from business, and realise the ample sums they received in large estates in this country. Nearly half the entire grant was shared by the merchants of Liverpool and Glasgow: it may be conceived what a godsend this was to men who, from long-continued embarrassment, had become well-nigh desperate as to their affairs. These considerations explain the ready acquiescence of the West India body in the proposal of Government, fraught as it was, as the event proved, with ultimate danger, and tending to postpone, not remove, the causes which were finally to involve them in ruin.

104. Fatal effects of the measure on the West India Islands.

But although these considerations sufficiently explain the ultimate acquiescence of the West India proprietors in the measure of Government, yet is it not the less certain that the measure itself was unwise, premature, and has been attended with the most disastrous results. It is difficult to say whether the West India proprietors, the negro population in the islands, the sable inhabitants of Africa, or the manufacturers of the mother country, have suffered most from the change. It appears from the parliamentary returns,* that the produce of Jamaica,

* AVERAGE PRODUCE OF JAMAICA BEFORE AND AFTER NEGRO EMANCIPATION.

Average Produce for Seven Years, ending—	SUGAR (Hds.)	RUM (Puncheons.)	COFFEE (Lb.)
1832,	93,156	31,354	29,953,765
1833,	78,395	33,215	9,866,000
1834,	77,801	30,475	17,725,000
1835,	71,017	26,434	10,593,018
1836,	61,604	19,938	13,446,638

—*Lords' Report*, 1838, No. 70.

within three years after emancipation took effect, and the apprentice system was introduced (January 1, 1834), had decreased a third, and within ten years that of the whole West India Islands had *fallen off a half*. As might be expected, with so prodigious a decline in the produce of these once magnificent settlements—that is, in the means their inhabitants enjoyed of purchasing luxuries and comforts—the exports of British manufactures to them underwent at the same time a similar diminution.* So great did it become, that within less than fifteen years of the period when emancipation took effect, the exports of British manufactures and produce to the West Indies had diminished *a half*, while those to the slave states of Cuba and Brazil, which had risen on the ruins of their less fortunate neighbours, had largely increased.† Perhaps there never was, in the whole history of human affairs, any change against which experience has so unequivocally declared as this, which was introduced with such benevolent intentions and transports of joy in the British Islands.

But disastrous as the results of the change have been to British interests both at home and in the West Indies, they are as nothing to those which have ensued to the

* TABLE SHOWING THE OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE EXPORTS OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS FROM 1828 TO 1841.

Years.	Sugar (Cwts.)	Rum (Gallons.)	Coffee (Lb.)	Cocoa (Lb.)	Pimento (Lb.)	Shipping (Tons.)	Ships.
1828	4,213,636	5,620,174	29,987,078	454,909	2,247,893	272,800	1,013
1829	4,152,614	6,307,294	26,911,785	684,217	3,585,694	263,208	958
1830	3,912,626	6,634,759	27,460,421	711,913	3,489,318	253,872	911
1834	4,103,800	6,752,790	20,030,802	1,491,947	4,801,355	249,679	904
1832	3,773,456	7,544,157	24,678,920	618,215	1,366,183	229,117	828
1833	3,646,204	4,713,809	19,008,575	2,134,809	4,470,255	248,378	911
1834	3,343,976	5,112,399	22,081,489	1,360,235	1,389,402	246,695	918
1835	3,524,209	5,458,317	14,855,470	439,637	2,536,358	235,179	878
1836	3,601,791	4,868,168	18,903,426	1,612,304	3,320,978	237,922	900
1837	3,306,775	4,418,349	15,577,888	1,847,145	2,026,129	226,468	855
1838	3,520,676	4,641,210	17,538,655	2,145,617	862,974	235,195	878
1839	2,824,372	4,021,820	11,485,675	959,641	1,071,570	196,715	748
1840	2,214,764	3,780,979	12,797,039	2,374,301	999,068	181,736	697
1841	2,151,217	2,770,161	9,927,689	2,920,208	797,758	174,975	677

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., 424, 425.

† For Table of Exports of British Produce, see next page.

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105. Ruinous effects of emancipation to the negroes.

negroes themselves, both in their native seats and the Transatlantic colonies. The fatal gift of premature emancipation has proved as pernicious to a race as it always does to an individual: the boy of seventeen sent out into the world has continued a boy, and done as other boys do. The diminution of the agricultural exported produce of the islands to less than a half, proves how much their industry has declined. The reduction of their consumption of British produce and manufactures in a similar proportion tells unequivocally how much their means of comfort and enjoyment have fallen off. Generally speaking, the incipient civilisation of the negro has been arrested by his emancipation:[1] with the cessation of forced labour, the habits and tastes which spring from and compensate it have disappeared, and savage habits and pleasures have resumed their ascendancy over the sable race.

[1] See in particular Lord Stanley's able and instructive Treatise on the West Indies, 42-79.

EXPORT OF BRITISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES TO THE WEST INDIES, CUBA, AND BRAZIL, FROM 1827 to 1849.

Years.	West Indies.	Cuba, and Foreign West Indies.	Brazil.
1827,	£3,583,222	£649,378	£2,312,109
1828,	3,289,704	569,728	3,518,297
1829,	3,612,085	672,176	2,516,040
1830,	2,838,448	618,029	2,452,103
1831,	2,581,949	663,531	1,238,371
1832,	2,439,808	653,700	2,144,903
1833,	2,597,589	577,228	2,575,680
1834,	2,680,014	913,005	2,460,629
1835,	3,187,540	787,043	2,630,767
1836,	3,786,453	987,122	3,030,532
1837,	3,456,745	891,713	1,824,082
1838,	3,393,441	1,025,392	2,606,604
1839,	3,986,598	891,826	2,650,713
1840,	3,574,970	863,520	2,625,853
1841,	2,504,004	895,441	2,556,554
1842,	2,591,425	711,938	1,776,805
1843,	2,882,441	873,797	2,140,133
1844,	2,451,477	999,474	2,413,538
1845,	2,789,211	1,249,015	2,493,306
1846,	3,253,420	844,112	2,749,338
1847,	2,102,577	896,594	2,568,804
1848,	1,434,477	733,169	2,067,302
1849,	1,821,146	1,036,153	2,444,715

— PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edition, 364, 367.

The attempts to instruct and civilise them have for the most part proved a failure; the *dolce far niente*, equally dear to the unlettered savage as to the effeminate European, has resumed its sway; and the emancipated Africans, dispersed in the woods, or in cabins erected amidst the ruined plantations, are fast relapsing into the state in which their ancestors were when they were torn from their native seats by the rapacity of Christian avarice.

106. Great increase of production in the foreign slave States.

But deplorable as these effects have been, they are as nothing compared to the heart-rending results of the change to the unfortunate inhabitants of Africa, and the frightful increase of the slave trade in its very worst form which has ensued from it. To supply the gap in the production of sugar, which took place in consequence of the diminished supply from the West India Islands, the slave-growing states made the most astonishing efforts, and increased their production to the greatest degree. To effect this increase, a large additional supply of slave labour was indispensable, and it was speedily obtained from the opposite coast of Africa. Stimulated by the great increase in prices which took place in consequence of the diminished production of the British West India Islands, cultivation increased immensely in the slave states; the slave trade came to be again carried on by British capital, and the rise in the production of slave-grown sugar was even more rapid than the fall in the British Islands. In 1823, Puerto Rico exported only cattle and coffee: in 1838 she exported 33,750 tons of sugar, being more than a sixth of the whole British consumption. The export of Cuba sugar, on an average of three years ending 1816, was 51,000 tons; in 1834 it was 120,000 tons. During the first period the export of Brazil sugar was, on an average, 26,250 tons: in the last year it was 70,970 tons.[1] The production of coffee declined so rapidly in the British West India plantations, that notwithstanding a reduction of the duty one-half per pound in 1825, the export fell, on an average of five years

[1] Porter's Progress of the Nation, 3d edit. 373; Parl. Rep. on West Indies, 286.

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preceding 1825, from 30,280,000 lb. to 19,812,160 lb. preceding 1836; while the quantity received from Ceylon alone, which in 1825 was only 2,000,000 lb., had risen in 1849 to 35,000,000 lb.*

107. Disastrous effect on the foreign slave trade.

The effect of this great transfer of production from the British West Indies to foreign plantations is thus described by Mr Buxton, the able and consistent advocate of negro emancipation: "Twenty years ago, the African Institution reported to the Duke of Wellington that the number of slaves who annually crossed the Atlantic was 70,000. There is evidence before the parliamentary committee to show that about one-third was for the British Islands, and one-third for St Domingo, so that if the slave trade of other countries had been stationary, they ought only to have imported 25,000; *whereas the number now* (1838) *landed in Cuba and Brazil alone is* 150,000 *annually*, being more than double the whole draft of Africa, including the countries where it had ceased when the slave trade controversy began! *Twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson commenced their noble career;* and each individual of this increased number, in addition to the horrors which were endured in former times, has to suffer from being cribbed up in a narrow space, and on board a vessel where accommodation is sacrificed to speed. Painful as this is, it becomes still more distressing if it shall

* In Cuba, the average produce of sugar for four years preceding—

1831, was	82,000 tons
1835, ...	100,000 ...
1839, ...	124,000 ...
1843, ...	130,000 ...
1847, ...	186,000 ...
1851, ...	235,000 ...

Jamaica produced—

In 1847,	37,000 tons
... 1851,	30,000 ...

Slaves imported from Africa to Cuba—

1845,	43,500
1850,	68,000

—Evans' *West Indies, Past and Present*, 219, 247.

appear that our present system has not failed, by mischance or want of energy, or want of expenditure; but that the system itself is erroneous, and must necessarily end in disappointment." Thus the effect of the emancipation of the negroes has been to ruin our own planters, stop the civilisation of our own negroes, and double the slave trade in extent, and quadruple it in horror throughout the globe![1]

[1] African Slave Trade, by T. F. Buxton, London, 1839, 172.

108. Reflections on this subject.

We are not to imagine, from this calamitous and melancholy result, that philanthropic measures necessarily terminate in disappointment, and that nothing can be reckoned on as likely to lead to the desired effects but what is based on selfish desires. Negro emancipation has not failed because it was prompted by benevolent motives, or directed to philanthropic ends, but because, in the prosecution of these ends, the lessons of experience and the observation of facts were utterly disregarded. The latter were brought before the people in the most forcible manner, but met with no sort of attention, the public mind being entirely carried away by the alluring phantom of destroyed slavery. In pursuing it, the heated enthusiasts forgot altogether the condition precedent requisite to render freedom either practicable or beneficial to mankind; viz., acquired habits of labour. They made the savage free, without his having gained the faculty of self-direction: thence the failure of the whole measure, and the unutterable miseries with which it has been attended. The apprentice system worked so ill that in four years after it was found necessary to abolish it. It came into operation on 1st August 1834, and was celebrated with universal and touching rejoicings among the negroes over the whole West Indies; but it is not thus that a great law of nature can be set aside. In 1838, after four years' experience of the working of the measure, Government was compelled to abandon it, and venture on the hazardous step of total freedom, which has completed the ruin of the West Indies. Such have been

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the consequences of seeking prematurely to emancipate man—of forgetting the words of God, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

109. Bill regarding the shortening of infant labour in factories.

The remaining parliamentary proceedings of this session were more material, as indicating the strong bent of the public mind towards objects of social amelioration, and the anxious desire of the people to reap the substantial fruits of Reform, than from any important change in our laws or institutions which they effected. The subject of the limitation of the hours of labour in factories, a most important one, and loudly calling for the interposition of the legislature, was brought before Parliament by LORD ASHLEY, who had long devoted the ardour of a philanthropic mind to the subject; and Ministers were not a little embarrassed how to act on the occasion; for on the one hand the artisans were eager for a change, and on the other, the master manufacturers were not less resolute to oppose it. After a great deal of discussion, Lord Ashley's bill was carried on a second reading by 164 to 141, which sufficiently indicated the sense of the House on the subject. Government, however, opposed the bill, and in committee its provisions were so far altered in favour of the masters, that Lord Ashley abandoned the conduct of it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Ultimately the bill was carried in these terms, that the labour of children in factories, under *thirteen* years of age, should be limited to eight hours a-day; that children under nine years of age should be prevented from working at all; that persons under eighteen years of age should never be obliged to work more than sixty-nine hours in the week. Factory inspectors also were appointed, which was a very great improvement, to enforce the due observance of the law; and provision was made for the establishment of a system of education for children in the manufacturing districts. The evidence taken before the committees on which this bill was founded, and the necessity generally felt for the

bill itself, revealed a melancholy fact, illustrative of the tendency of advanced civilisation, that in its later stages the thirst for gain or intoxicating spirits obliterates the strongest feelings of nature; for the oppressors against whom the legislature found it necessary to defend the little children were *their own parents*, who sent them out to work before they were equal to its fatigue.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xix. 729, 841; Ann. Reg. 1833, 205, 209.

110. Closing of the session, and review of its proceedings.

The session was closed on the 29th August by the King in person, who with reason congratulated the House on the important legislative changes which they had introduced, from which he anticipated the greatest advantages; and on the beneficial effects which the additional powers conferred on the executive had had in Ireland. In truth, the country had good cause to be thankful for the proceedings of the first session of the reformed Parliament, and much reason for gratitude to the Government which had made such a use of the almost unlimited power which was placed in their hands. The changes made had in some respects been great, but they were not of the dangerous kind which had been so much apprehended; and wherever extreme measures—such as vote by ballot, confiscation of the Church property, or the like—had been proposed by Radical members, numbers had given them their decided opposition. The great measure for repressing disorder in Ireland had been attended with the most salutary effects; the revenue was still kept up, notwithstanding urgent attempts to have it ruined by the repeal of unpopular taxes; and all the great institutions of the country remained intact. By pursuing this wise and patriotic course, Government had damaged their popularity, and endangered their political existence; but they had steered the State through a great peril, and deserve the lasting gratitude of their country.[2]

[2] Ann. Reg. 1833, 227.

The succeeding year opened under brighter auspices, so far as the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country were concerned, although the extremely low prices of agricultural produce still continued a very great

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111. Improved state of the commercial interests, and continued depression of land.

degree of distress among the proprietors and occupiers of land. The seasons for two years past had been uncommonly fine, and wheat, on the average of the whole year, was only 39s. 8d. the quarter—lower than it had been since the time of Oliver Cromwell. The effect of this extremely low price, of course, was to produce great embarrassment among all whose income depended on land, for their money obligations, for the most part, were contracted and fixed when prices were double; the present amount of these had undergone no diminution, though their means of defraying them had been halved. But for the very same reason a great degree of prosperity began to be felt among the manufacturing and commercial classes; for the value of their produce had undergone no corresponding diminution, and the low price of provisions had nearly doubled the portion of their income which they could devote to the purchase of comforts and conveniences. Confidence was in a great measure restored by the nation having weathered the Reform tempest, and capital, issuing from its places of concealment, where for some years it had lain hid, began again to animate industry, and spread its vivifying influence around.

112. Great effect of the recent changes in the currency in stimulating industry.

At this period, too, the effects of that great change in the currency which had been made in the preceding year began to develop themselves, and, coupled with the fine harvests in England, and the increase in the supplies of the precious metals from South America in consequence of the more pacified state of its provinces, induced the brief prosperity and long-continued disasters which ensued. As Bank of England notes were now declared a legal tender everywhere except at the Bank of England, they were to all practical purposes an inconvertible paper currency, except in those periods when bad harvests, foreign wars, or any other cause, induced a great drain upon the metallic resources of the country, and brought the notes back in multitudes to be exchanged for gold at

the parent establishment. At this time, however, not only was there no such drain, but the very reverse was the case. So fine had the seasons been, and so great the progress of agriculture under the protective system, that the import of wheat had sunk almost to nothing: on an average of five years ending 1836, it was only 380,000 quarters; and in the two last years of the period, it was *under* 30,000 *quarters.** Thus the gold was kept in abundance in the country, and the paper was still more so; for in consequence of the practical inconvertibility of Bank of England notes *during prosperity*, the paper in circulation, including that of country banks, had risen since 1831 nearly three millions.† No combination of circumstances could have been figured more likely to induce present prosperity, or one more certain to be durable, if the currency had been established on a proper foundation. Unhappily based as it was upon the retention of gold, which, in the nature of things, could not be permanently retained, it stood upon a sandy foundation, and upon that gold being withdrawn numberless calamities ensued.

Although, however, these circumstances augured favourably for the future prosperity of the country, and pro-

* WHEAT IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1831 TO 1836.

Years.	Quarters.
1831,	1,491,631
1832,	325,435
1833,	82,346
1834,	64,653
1835,	28,483
1836,	24,826

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edit., p. 140.

† BANK OF ENGLAND AND PRIVATE NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

Years.	Bank of England.	Country Banks.	Total.
1832,	£18,485,210	£8,221,895	£26,707,205
1833,	17,531,919	10,152,104	27,684,014
1834,	19,195,500	10,152,100	29,347,000
1835,	18,085,000	11,134,000	28,744,000

Parliamentary Reports, 1835, p. 724.

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mised a comparatively easy task to the future Ministers of the country, yet they did little towards removing the present difficulties of those now in power, and it was obvious from the opening of the next Parliament, that the question of their removal from office was one of time only. What was very remarkable, and certainly unexpected by themselves or their adherents, though by no means so by their opponents, these difficulties arose chiefly from the extreme parties, to conciliate whom they had made so many sacrifices, and who had been, during the progress of the Reform contest, among their most ardent supporters. The English Radicals headed by Mr Hume, and the Irish Catholics led by Mr O'Connell and Mr Sheil, from the very first coalesced against them, and assailed Ministers with such violence, that on one of the first days of the session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr Sheil had to be committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms, to prevent a hostile termination to their altercation. The English urban constituencies were so irritated by the resistance of Government to the repeal of the direct taxes affecting themselves, and the Irish Catholics at the passing and success of the Coercion Act, that not only was their support no longer to be relied on, but it had been converted into the most envenomed hostility.[1]

113. Difficulties of Ministers from the Irish members and Radicals.

Feb. 5.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 7, 11; Parl. Deb. xxi. 17, 29, 41.

To the extreme exasperation of this period must be referred the commencement of the agitation for the REPEAL OF THE UNION, which for ten years afterwards distracted the mind, blighted the industry, and ruined the prospects of Ireland. The Roman Catholic leaders, seeing the success of the Coercion Act, and being entirely guided by foreign direction, resolved now to bend their whole energies to bring about the dissolution of the legislative connection between the two countries. They thought, not without reason, that if they could effect this object, now that emancipation had admitted the Catholics

114. Commencement of the agitation for the repeal of the Union.

into Parliament, and the Reform Bill had opened the boroughs to their influence, they would acquire a majority in a local legislature, and might thus restore supremacy of the Romish faith in the country, and possibly bring about the establishment of a Hibernian republic, in close connection with France, and constant hostility with Great Britain, and of which they themselves might obtain the direction and share the profits.

115. First move in this direction. Attack on Baron Smith. Feb. 13.

The first move in this direction was made by Mr O'Connell on 13th February, who moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of Mr Baron Smith, an able and upright Irish judge, upon the ground that he came late into court, and sat late in the trial of prisoners, and that he had introduced politics into his charges to the grand jury. There can be no doubt that such a proceeding is in the general case greatly to be condemned ; but unfortunately, in Ireland, crime and political agitation had become so closely, and indeed inseparably connected, that it was impossible to discourse on the progress of the former without running into the latter. Government, however, had not courage enough to resist the motion, and began then that wretched system of yielding to the demands of the Irish agitators, which, for ten years afterwards, so seriously paralysed the administration of justice and blasted prosperity in that country. So obvious was the weakness exhibited by Government on this occasion, that the House of Commons themselves were ashamed of it; for after having, by a majority of 167 to 74, voted for the going into a committee, they rescinded the vote a few nights after by a vote of 165 to 159. But this very vacillation only increased the confidence and strength of the agitators, by showing that such was the embarrassment into which they had thrown the Government, that they had made them, within one week, contradict themselves.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 15, 17.

The question as to the repeal of the Union was formally

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brought forward by Mr O'Connell on April 23. "There never," he maintained, "was a greater mistake than to say England had any right of dominion over Ireland. She had no right over it by conquest, and still less by inheritance. The year 1614 was the first time when the power of the king of England and Scotland had been recognised in Ireland. Before that, and so early as 1246, the Irish people had made application to have the benefits of the English constitution extended to them; but the application, though made under the sanction of the English king, excited the jealousy of the English barons, and it was unsuccessful. Similar applications were made, with no better result, in the reigns of Edward I., Richard II., and Henry VIII., they having all been defeated by the same jealousy. The anxiety of the people of the country to obtain the protection of British laws was always successfully opposed by the barons, who desired to be permitted to pursue unmolested their schemes of spoliation and robbery of the unhappy natives.

116. Mr O'Connell's argument for the repeal of the Union. April 23.

117. Continued.

"The union of the two countries, in the reign of Elizabeth and James I., was brought about by the most revolting crimes. The powerful were arrayed against the weak, the father against the son, the illegitimate against legitimate; and thus the command of the country was at length acquired, not by open conquest and fair subjugation, but by a series of the most unmitigated cruelties inflicted by one portion of the community against the other. The history of Ireland, during these disastrous reigns, teems with unparalleled cruelties and crimes. Under James I., in particular, who made it a boast what he had done for Ireland, its history was nothing but one of rapine and duplicity, equalled only by the crimes and wretchedness that disfigured the reign of his immediate successor. During all this disastrous period, however, the right of Ireland to a separate legislature had never been questioned; and any attempt at an authoritative

interference on the part of the Parliament of England had been considered an act of usurpation. The resources of Ireland were thus gradually unfolded, her commerce extended, and her wealth increased. In 1782 she asserted once more the principle of legislative independence, and his Majesty, to repress the ferment, recommended such measures as might allay the prevailing discontents. These measures had a beneficial effect. The industry, wealth, and population of the country rapidly increased, and the improvement in its social condition, between 1782, when the rigour of the English commercial code in regard to Ireland was first relaxed, and 1797, was greater than in any former period of its existence. Such was the auspicious state of things, such the dawn of prosperity to Ireland, when the Rebellion ensued, followed by the Union of 1800, which entailed calamities without number on the sister island.

"The means by which that disastrous Union was effected has now become matter of history. The army was increased in proportion as the necessity for it had diminished, and it was let loose upon the country in such a state of license and insubordination, that Sir Ralph Abercromby, who in 1797 was intrusted with its command, said, in a public proclamation, it was formidable to all except the enemies of its country. Public meetings were at one time suppressed, at another secretly encouraged in order to furnish a pretext for still further oppression, and a more entire abrogation of the liberties and independence of the country. To intimidation was added bribery and the most unjustifiable abuse of government influence. All persons suspected of being lukewarm in the cause of the Union were straightway dismissed; the most worthless characters, so as they supported it, were caressed and promoted. To such an extent was actual corruption carried, that Mr Grattan stated that three millions of money had been squandered in that way,

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which statement had never been contradicted. Peerages were created without end to purchase votes, and rotten boroughs bought with the public money, for the single purpose of forcing upon an unwilling country the legislative union with another.

119. Continued.

"The conditions of the Union bore internal evidence of the utter disregard of all private right or equity which had dictated it. Ireland was charged with 2-17ths of the expenditure of the two countries instead of 1-18th, which was the proportion of its real previous contributions to the public service. The consequence was that Ireland was utterly broken down by the proportion of burdens thus unjustly fixed upon her. Two millions have been added to her taxation in the vain attempt to extract an additional revenue from her impoverished inhabitants, and yet the sum total of its revenue has not increased: a decisive proof of the destitute condition of the country. That injustice, great as it was, was even surpassed by what was perpetrated by the proportion in which the united legislature was divided between the two countries. Looking to the amount of her commerce, revenue, and population, Ireland was entitled to 165 members of Parliament, whereas she got only 108. The legislative oppression which had followed this forced and unnatural Union, would exceed belief if not proved by the official records of Parliament. By one act of the British Parliament, power was given to distrain for Irish tithe and church-rate; by another, Ireland was summarily ejected from the whole blessings of the English constitution. By an unbroken succession of insurrection acts, martial law and coercion bills, there had been in Ireland for twenty years a complete prostration of all constitutional rights.

120. Concluded.

"As these were the remote consequences of the Treaty of Union, so the more immediate results were not less detrimental to the interests of Ireland. Absenteeism is one of the many evils of Ireland, and it cannot be denied that

it has been greatly aggravated by the Treaty of Union, which has removed so many of our richest proprietors to the British metropolis, in quest either of business or amusement. Taxation being increased, wealth diminished, capital lessened, what remains to induce either rich or poor to remain in their own ill-starred land? It is a mere fallacy to suppose that the commerce of Ireland has prospered since the Union. There has been an apparent increase, but it is apparent only. The export of raw material and the import of manufactured goods, by no means proved the existence of a profitable trade. It only proved that manufactures were required because the people had none of their own, and that food was exported because they had no money to buy it at home. In a word, the British Parliament had never been competent to legislate for Ireland. The Union had been effected by a series of the most unparalleled crimes; its financial conditions were unjust: Ireland had been stripped of her constitution, her people deprived of the means of existence, and final separation might ere long be the result of obstinate resistance on the part of England. It is not yet too late, however, though it may soon become so: a federal union under one sovereign, but with separate legislatures, would at once satisfy both countries, and re-establish harmony and good understanding between them." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxii. 1092, 1158; Ann. Reg. 1834, 19, 23.

121. Answer of Mr Spring Rice.

On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Spring Rice: "Without reverting to barbarous periods, many of the acts of which, in all countries, can neither be palliated nor excused, it is sufficient to observe, that ever since the conquest of Ireland in 1262 by Henry II., the right of domination has been exercised by the English over Ireland, without dispute and without intermission. Down to 1782 the two countries were governed by separate legislatures, and the Crown was the only connecting link between them. But so ill adapted had that system proved for the purposes of civil government, that while

CHAP. XXXI. 1834. England remained in tranquillity and peace, Ireland was on the verge of being plunged into a foreign war with Portugal, and the proceedings of her domestic legislature were overawed and controlled by a violent assembly out of doors, having no less persons than Lord Charlemont and Mr Grattan at its head.

122. Continued. "It is said the Irish parliament had no power to bind the country by the Treaty of Union. If this were true, Ireland could not be bound by the acts of the British Parliament; and, consequently, the seats of the Catholic members, and Mr O'Connell himself, obtained by the Emancipation Act, were illegal, and they should be ejected from the House of Commons. Before the concession of Catholic Emancipation, it was constantly represented as the strongest argument for that measure that its effect would be to consolidate the Union and render it perpetual, as being founded on the solid basis of equality and justice. Now that it has been obtained, that concession is made the ground for demanding the repeal of that very Act of Union! We are not called upon now to defend the conduct of the English government towards Ireland prior to the Union, any more than the gentlemen opposite are the wisdom of the Irish parliament prior to that event. Probably both parties will find much which they would willingly draw a veil over, if they make such an attempt. As little are we called upon to justify the means by which the Act of Union itself was brought about; although, if the account given by the gentlemen opposite of the ready reception of those measures by the Irish gentry be well founded, it says little for their fitness to discharge the duties of separate legislation. The sole question now is, Whether the Union, having passed, should be maintained? And that question is to be determined, not by a reference to the means by which it was brought about, but by a consideration of the effects it has produced, and a comparison of the state of the country before it was passed, and since that event.

"The absurdity of saying that Government fomented and encouraged rebellion in Ireland, in order to have a pretext for pursuing measures of severity against that country, is such that it requires no serious refutation. Authentic history disproves, human nature revolts at the supposition. Instead of having, as asserted on the other side, passed only insurrection or coercion acts in regard to Ireland, the Imperial Legislature has been incessantly occupied with legislative measures which might foster and encourage industry in that country, and lessen the evils which the existence of a separate and mutually jealous legislature for each of the two countries had brought about. The free trade in corn and cattle, which had been introduced in consequence of the Union, was in itself an incalculable benefit. Under the Irish parliament, Ireland was dependent on England for the importation of corn; now, having secured the vast market of England within a day's sail of her shores, she exports largely both corn and cattle. Her trade has been disencumbered of several vexatious regulations; her banking system improved; her fisheries and mines encouraged; her public credit supported; her Tithe Commutation Bill amended; her courts of law amended; her public charities liberally supported—all public benefits forgotten or concealed on the other side. Education in Ireland, prior to the Union, *was prohibited at home, and made penal if received abroad:* that was one of the blessings which her domestic legislature had conferred upon Ireland! Since the Union, a board of education has been established, charities founded, prisons erected, crown lands improved, and large sums of money judiciously distributed in public or private charity. As a natural consequence, trade and navigation have immensely increased, and the general prosperity of the country has augmented to an incredible degree. The rental of houses in Dublin has been augmented to a great degree since the Union, and manufactures formerly unknown are springing up in various

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parts of the country, the natural consequence of the unrestricted commerce so happily established with the sister island.

124. Concluded.

"This is not a question of party; it is one of life or death to the whole empire, and especially to Ireland herself. To repeal the Union, and at the same time hope to maintain a profitable commerce with Great Britain, is obviously out of the question. A constitutional monarchy would, in the Emerald Isle, be quickly overthrown, and succeeded by a fierce democracy. The people of Ireland are not prepared for a native legislature: the greatest evils under which they now labour have been bequeathed to them by their own Parliament. To restore it would be to revive and perpetuate them; power would be abused, or perverted to local or sectarian interests; party spirit would increase in rancour; corruption on the one hand, and oppression on the other, would multiply to a fearful extent. Whoever considered the structure, passions, and present state of Irish society, must be convinced that to subject it to a domestic legislature would only be to give one party or the other the means of tyrannising over or oppressing the other; and that all the rancour, party spirit, and selfishness, which was now the bane of the country, would be augmented to a fearful degree by the measure held out as a panacea for their removal."[1]*

[1] Parl. Deb. xxii. 1164, 1283; Ann. Reg. 1834, 22, 25.

* Mr Spring Rice's speech contained a very important statement of statistical facts, tending to illustrate the attention which had been paid to Irish affairs in the House of Commons since the Union, and the results of their labours upon the progress and prosperity of the country. The following are some of the most markworthy:—

Committees on Irish affairs, 1800-1833,	60
Reports of committees in same time,	114
Children in Ireland at school in 1812,	200,000
... ... in 1825,	560,549

Taxes levied in Great Britain, from which Ireland *was exempt*, from 1800 to 1833, viz.—

Excise,	£211,936,000
Stamps,	20,000,000
Taxes,	246,239,000
Carry forward,	£478,175,000

Upon this debate, which was conducted with great ability and spirit on both sides for four successive nights, the House decided by a majority of 485 in favour of Mr Spring Rice's amendment, which was to the effect that it "was essential to the peace, security, and happiness of all classes of his Majesty's subjects that the union of the two countries should be maintained." The numbers were 523 to 38, the minority being, with one exception, Irish members. The Peers soon afterwards *unanimously* adopted the same view, and voted an address to his Majesty on the subject, which was accepted as the joint address of both Houses, and most graciously received by the King, who stated, "It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have received this solemn and united expression of the determination of both Houses of Parliament to maintain inviolate the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which I entirely agree with you in considering as essential to the preservation of the integrity and safety of the British empire."[1]

125. Result of the debate.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 34, 35.

	Brought forward,	£478,175,000
Excess of rate of taxation in Great Britain and Ireland on articles taxed during same period, viz. :—		
Customs,	£130,065,000	
Excise,	321,346,642	
Stamps,	86,638,000	
Taxes,	80,237,406	
		618,287,048
Excess of British taxation in 33 years,		£1,096,462,048
Or about £35,000,000 a-year.		
Grants to charitable and public works since Union, viz. :—		
Charitable and literary,		£8,638,000
Encouragement of agriculture and manufactures,		1,340,000
Public works and employment of poor,		3,072,160
		£8,638,000
Income of Ireland before Union in 1800,		£2,645,000
Expenditure,		6,853,000
Deficiency,		£4,207,000
Income and Expenditure of Ireland in 1819, since consolidation of Exchequers :—		
Income,		£4,250,980
Expenditure,		3,545,193
Surplus,		£685,787

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126. Increased agitation produced by this decision.

To all appearance the cause of the Repeal of the Union was now hopeless in Parliament, and the demonstration which the debate had afforded of its beneficial effects upon Ireland was so decisive, that had the agitators and Romish party in that country been really actuated by a regard for its welfare, they would have applied themselves earnestly, and in good faith, to improve these advantages, and correct the numberless abuses which had grown up under the former separate legislature. But being entirely under the guidance of a foreign priesthood, with whom the primary object was not the good of the people, but the resumption of their own

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

	Exports, official value.	Imports, do.
Fourteen years' average before Union,	£64,861,000	£59,623,000
Fourteen years after it, . . .	80,316,000	92,971,000
Increase in 14 years,	£15,455,000	£33,348,000
Tonnage, 14 years, to 1800, . .	8,960,082	
Do. to 1815, . .	11,579,558	
Increase in 14 years,	£2,619,476	

Tonnage from all parts, on average of three years, ending respectively :—

		Exports.	Imports.
1800, . . .	642,477	£4,125,338	£3,535,588
1810, . . .	764,658	4,015,976	4,299,493
1820, . . .	961,884	5,270,471	6,535,068
1830, . . .	1,325,079	6,291,721	6,008,273
1834, . . .	1,523,291	8,454,918	7,491,890

Houses built in Dublin from 1800 to 1834, ...	2,213
... beyond Circular Road in do., ...	1,000
Increase of houses, . .	3,213
Average rental, £40 a house, . . .	£128,520

Increase of houses since 1801 to 1834 :—

Limerick, . . .	4,841	Dundalk, . . .	535
Belfast, . . .	4,697	Waterford, . . .	507
Galway, . . .	3,394	Newry, . . .	489
Kilkenny, . . .	2,211	Clonmell, . . .	266
Carrickfergus, . .	1,022		

Probate-duty on average of three years, ending—

1821, . .	£2,814,816	1830, . . .	£3,623,206
1824, . .	2,975,440	1834, . . .	3,612,612
1827, . .	3,119,247		

Paid into Savings' Banks in Ireland, year ending—

1831, . . .	£240,401	1833, . . .	£272,193
1832, . . .	288,075	1834, . . .	349,521

—MR SPRING RICE'S Statement; *Parl. Deb.* xxii. 1219, 1272.

influence over them, they did just the reverse, and during the next ten years well-nigh neutralised the whole beneficial effects of the Union by the incessant agitation for its repeal. The Court of Rome saw that the ten-pound suffrage would very soon give the Catholics the command of the cities and counties, almost without exception, in the south and west of Ireland, and they had sanguine hopes of gaining so many seats from the Protestants in the north and east as might secure to them the majority of the whole representation. The immediate effect of that, they well knew, if Ireland was governed by a separate legislature, would be the restoration of the Catholic faith, and resumption of the Church lands; and to this object, accordingly, the whole efforts of the Catholic party, and the agitators who carried out their instructions, were for the next ten years directed. The Reform Bill bequeathed the repeal agitation to Ireland, just as certainly as emancipation had bequeathed that which carried the Reform Bill.

127. Circumstances which gave it a great chance of success.

And in truth the agitation was by no means hopeless; on the contrary, it had much greater chances of success than those who lived through the period were at the time aware, or than had attended the first beginnings of either of the preceding movements. This arose from the state of parties in the British Parliament, which had already become so split into separate sections, so nearly balanced, that a foreign power, keeping its followers together, and watching its opportunity, was very likely to acquire a decisive influence, and be enabled to dictate its own terms to the Government. The House of Commons was very far from, in reality, being as united as it showed itself on the question of the Repeal of the Union: on the contrary, it never had been so thoroughly broken up, nor was Government, recently so powerful, ever so little secure on some subjects of commanding a majority. Success in this, as in other cases, had induced division, because it had brought into play separate interests, and

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awakened separate ambitions. The vast coalition which, borne forward on the shoulders of the people, had forced reform on the King and the Peers, was already divided from the very magnitude of its own triumph. Each section of which it had been composed deemed the time come for realising the advantages, real or supposed, to itself, which had brought it into the ranks of the coalition. The Catholics were impatient to see their own faith re-established in Ireland, and the Church lands in that island resumed, as the first step to similar measures being adopted in Great Britain; the Chartists looked for the immediate concession of the six points of the Charter; the urban constituencies for the instant repeal of the house and window tax, and the lowering the duties on corn, tea, sugar, and spirits; the Dissenters were clamorous for the placing them on a level in all respects with the Established Church; while the Government, pressed on all sides by their former supporters, could only command a majority to withstand their multifarious demands by appealing to the known patriotic spirit of the Conservatives, who never failed to come up to the rescue whenever matters had come to that point that a serious inroad on the constitution or the finances could not otherwise be averted. In this divided and distracted state of the House of Commons, the natural consequence of its being the representative of a divided and distracted people, there was considerable probability that the Irish Catholic party, which could command forty votes, might at some critical moment appear with decisive effect on the theatre of action.

128. Divisions of the Government on the Irish Church question.

The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and they appeared first in that very matter of Ireland where so much unanimity had just been exhibited. The vexed question of the Irish Church was far from having been settled by the conciliatory measures of the last session, and the large reductions made in the number of Irish bishoprics; on the contrary, these concessions only led

to fresh demands, and the clamour for still more sweeping changes. The Cabinet itself, as the event soon showed, was divided upon the question; the majority thinking that it was necessary, in order to appease the Catholics, to yield more to them; the minority, that enough had now been done for the purposes of conciliation, and that on the great question of the appropriation of Church property to *secular purposes* it was necessary to make a stand. The Government, as a whole, would willingly have avoided a question so likely to make shipwreck of its fortunes, and reveal the latent schism in its bosom, and they accordingly brought forward no motion on the subject. But it was no part of the policy of the Catholic party to let it rest; on the contrary, they entertained the most sanguine hopes—and, as the event proved, not without reason—of being able by means of it to split the Cabinet, and avenge the success of the Coercion Bill by the destruction of its authors. Mr Ward, accordingly, one of the members for St Alban's, brought forward a motion on the 27th May on the subject, the purport of which was, that vital and extensive changes in the Irish Church had become indispensable, and that "the Church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiii. 1370, 1399; Ann. Reg. 1834, 37, 41.

129. Resignation of Mr Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Ripon.

When Mr Ward's speech was concluded, Lord Althorpe requested an adjournment of the House, in consequence of circumstances which had recently come to his knowledge. These were, that the divisions in the Cabinet on the question had come to such a point, that a resignation of a considerable portion of it might be looked for if the motion were acceded to by the Government. It was at first attempted to elude the difficulty by agreeing to the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of the Irish Church, and report on its situation, and the necessity for Protestant spiritual instruction in the various provinces, and the cost at which it is afforded. The agreeing to such a commission, however, appeared

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to the minority in the Cabinet, to involve the admission of the principle, that if the report were to be in a certain way the motion was to be conceded, and accordingly the dreaded separation took place. Mr Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies; Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty; the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General; and the Earl of Ripon, Lord Privy Seal, tendered their resignations to his Majesty, which were accepted. Mr Stanley was succeeded in the Colonial Secretaryship by Mr Spring Rice; Lord Auckland was made First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Carlisle, Lord Privy Seal; and the Marquess of Conyngham, Postmaster-General. Mr Poulett Thompson was promoted to be President, instead of Vice-President, of the Board of Trade; Mr Abercromby, Master of the Mint; Mr Cutlar Fergusson, Judge-Advocate; and Mr R. Grant sent to India as Governor of Bombay.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 41, 42, 43; Mart. ii. 118; Parl. Deb. xxiv. 7, 14.

130. Effects of this secession upon the Government.

It is seldom that an Administration long survives so considerable a secession from its ranks as had now taken place. It may get over it at the time, but the latent weakness ere long reveals itself, and induces its fall. So it was in the present instance. Earl Grey's Administration lingered on for a few months after it had lost so considerable and influential a portion of its members, and it was fondly hoped by its adherents that, as the "Canning leaven" had now been expelled, it would be more united and efficient in its action. To strengthen the hands of Government at this crisis, Lord Ebrington, who had so often come up to their support on similar crises, got up an address, signed by a large number of the Lower House, entreating Lord Grey to keep his place, and expressing unshaken confidence in his Government. Lord Grey's answer was valuable as revealing the real weakness of the Government, and the real difficulty in carrying it on, which his own Reform Bill had done so much to augment. "In pursuing," said his lordship, "a course of salutary improvement, I feel it indispens-

able that we shall be allowed to proceed with deliberation and caution, and, above all, that we should not be urged, *by a constant and active pressure from without*, to the adoption of any measures the necessity of which has not been fully proved, and which are not regulated by a careful attention to the settled institutions of the country, *both in Church and State*. On no other principle can this or any other Administration be conducted with advantage or safety." [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 43.

131. King's declaration on the Irish Church. May 28.

This division in the Cabinet augured ill as to the ultimate success of the measure which had occasioned it, and it soon appeared that a higher personage than any of the Ministers who had resigned participated in their apprehensions on the subject. On the 28th May, being the day kept as the anniversary of his Majesty's birthday, the Irish bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Armagh, presented an address, signed by upwards of fourteen hundred clerical names, against hasty alterations in the Church. The petitioners professed their readiness to co-operate in the removal of any real abuses that might be found to exist, but trusted that no alteration would be made in the *discipline or service* of the Church, except with the sanction and by the recommendation of its spiritual guardians. To this address, by the reading of which he was much affected, his Majesty replied: "I am, from the deepest conviction, attached to the pure Protestant faith, which this Church, of which I am the temporal head, is the human means of diffusing and preserving in this land. I cannot forget what was the course of events which placed my family on the throne which I now fill. These events were consummated in a Revolution, which was rendered necessary, and was effected, not, as has been sometimes most erroneously stated, for the sake of the temporal liberties of the people, but for the preservation of their religion. It was for the preservation of the religion of the country that the settlement of the crown was made which has

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placed me in the situation which I now fill; and that religion, and the Church of England and Ireland, the prelates of which I see before me, it is *my fixed purpose, determination, and resolution to maintain.* If any of the inferior arrangements of the Church require amendment—which, however, I greatly doubt—I have no distrust of the prelates now before me to correct such things, and to you I trust will be left to correct, with your authority unimpaired and unshackled. I have completed my sixty-ninth year, and cannot expect I shall be very long in this world; and it is under this impression that I now tell you that while the law says I can do no wrong, while there is no earthly power can call me to account, this only makes me the more deeply sensible of the responsibility under which I stand to that Almighty Being before whom we must all one day appear. When that day shall come, you will know whether I am sincere in the declaration which I now make of firm attachment to the Church, and resolution to maintain it. The threats of those who are the enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that Church to speak out. The words you have heard from me are indeed spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart." [1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 44.

132. Great effect of this speech; Ministers hold on.

These words, evidently unpremeditated, and pronounced by the aged King under deep emotion and with tears in his eyes, made an immense impression on the country. They revealed the state of coercion under which he had long been to the Ministry forced upon him by the House of Commons: the old, all but discrowned King stood face to face with his people. The speech he made was immediately printed, and widely diffused through the country. The impression it made was the greater that it demonstrated a breach on a vital point between the King and his Ministers. It was generally supposed at this time that Earl Grey would have resigned after so great a declared divergence of opinion between him and his

Sovereign, for it was well known that he coincided with the majority of the Cabinet in thinking that very considerable changes in the temporalities of the Irish Church had become indispensable. In deference, however, to the declared opinions of the great majority of the House of Commons, he consented to continue in office, and a sort of middle course was submitted to the King, and agreed to by him, which adjourned the difficulty without removing it. A commission was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Irish Church, composed *entirely of laymen,* which was directed to inquire minutely into the circumstances, both spiritual and temporal, of every parish in Ireland, directing its inquiries to Catholics as well as Protestants, Dissenters as well as Churchmen, and charged to ascertain in an especial manner the number of persons of each persuasion in every parish.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 9, 10.

133. The movement party resolve to force on Mr Ward's motion. June 4.

There could be no doubt that the concession of a commission composed of persons appointed by the Cabinet favourable to yielding the vital point in dispute, as to the disposal of Church property to temporal purposes, and directed to inquire into these matters, was a great triumph to the enemies of the Church and the movement party. It was, in fact, a virtual concession of the matter at issue, and proposed to lay the only solid foundation for useful or wise legislation on the subject, by ascertaining in a comparatively authentic manner the real facts of the case, which, from the zeal of the partisans on both sides, had been to a great extent exaggerated or perverted. It was too slow and wise a course of proceeding, however, to meet the views of the movement party, who, relying on their majority in the Lower House, resolved to push forward Mr Ward's motion, in the hope that they would either concuss the Cabinet into a direct and immediate recognition of the principle for which they contended, or, in the event of refusal, force upon the Crown a Cabinet more to their mind. Ministers did not venture to meet the motion by a direct negative, but merely

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moved an amendment; and Lord Althorpe and Lord John Russell declared in the course of the debate, that they would agree with Mr O'Connell if the ground was taken that the "other purposes" to which the Church property was to be applied were to be of a religious character. This was an immense concession to the Catholics, for by watching their opportunity they might hope ere long to extort from Ministers an admission that these "other *religious* purposes" might be the re-establishment of their own faith. The Dissenters also might reasonably hope for the same; and in this state of matters, when so many might hope and so few could feel assured, the amendment of Ministers was carried by a majority of 396 to 120.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 9, 80; Ann. Reg. 1834, 47, 57.

134. Question brought before the House of Lords.

The real views of Government on this trying question were soon after more distinctly brought out in the House of Peers. On June 6th, Lord Wicklow opened the matter in that House by moving for a copy of the Royal Commission. In the course of the debate, Earl Grey said that he "should not oppose the motion for a copy of the Commission; but he denied that anything like spoliation of the Church was contemplated. Government anticipated a great alteration, but nothing more. The issuing of the commission was not intended as a step to the seizing of Church property; it had been issued with a view to its regulation, or to a different appropriation of the Church revenues. The rights of the present possessors would be held sacred; but he must maintain that the property of the Church was a subject for the exercise of the discretion of Parliament; and there were few persons who did not think that the state of the Irish Church required the most careful consideration. Sir Robert Peel himself had stated the principles which had actuated Government in issuing the commission, when he said, as he had done on a late occasion in the other House, that 'the time might come when they ought to consider whether or no measures ought not to be devised for appro-

priating a portion of the Church property of Ireland, not to other objects, but to facilitate the propagation of *divine truth*, which was the great end and aim of the Establishment.' This was an acknowledgment that a different appropriation of revenue from that which now existed might be necessary and beneficial. If a considerable excess of revenue should remain beyond what was required to support the efficiency of the Church, and the other purposes connected with true religion, he avowed the principle that the State *had a right to deal with that surplus, with a view to its exigencies* and the general interests of the country."[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 242, 254; Ann. Reg. 1834, 57, 58.

135. Effect of these declarations on the part of Government.

These declarations were in themselves moderate, and when applied, as they were by Earl Grey, solely to the Irish Church, which was well known to be altogether disproportioned to the amount of the inhabitants within its pale, could not be said by any dispassionate person to be unreasonable. But in all political questions, especially when the minds of men are in a state of excitement from external causes, the great point to be considered with measures of change is, not what they in themselves are, but what are they likely to lead to—what expectations will they keep alive—what demands will they generate? This was painfully experienced by the Government at this crisis. The minds of men were in such a state of agitation, from expectation and hope of great ecclesiastical changes on the one side, and conscientious dread of them on the other, that this declaration satisfied neither party, and on the contrary augmented the excitement of both. The Liberal party sounded the alarm in the strongest terms, warning the people in their journals and at public meetings that the affair was only "patched up" to get through the session; that the Irish commission was a mere delusion to evade the immediate concession of the question; that the Cabinet was in the hands of the King, and the King of the Bishops; and that, without a vigorous effort on the part of Reformers, the Ministry would be

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changed, and the whole fruits of reform lost. On the other hand, the old Tories and the Church party declared that the commission had been merely issued to obtain a pretext for spoliation; that confiscation of Church property to temporal purposes was the object really in view, and not denied by the Prime Minister himself; and that the recent split in the Cabinet proved that these views were so seriously entertained by the majority of its members, that the more conscientious minority were under the necessity of leaving it, even at the hazard of breaking up the Liberal Government.[1]

[1] Spectator, 1834, 508; Mart. ii. 120; Ann. Reg. 1834, 58-61.

136. Tithe Bill; its progress.

In this excited and divided state of the public mind on everything connected with Church temporalities or ecclesiastical questions, it was scarcely to be expected that any measure of rational or practical improvement could be carried through the legislature on such subjects. This, accordingly, was the fate which attended the Tithe Bill, which they had introduced at an early period of the session, and which in itself was founded on such rational principles, that it deserved, and at any other time would probably have received, general support. On the 20th February, Mr Lyttleton, the Irish Secretary, brought forward the new Government measure on the subject, which was based on the principle which had been so happily introduced into Scotland two hundred years before by the decrees-arbitral of Charles I. In support of the measure, he stated, that of the grant of £1,000,000 made by the Parliament of last year, £751,000 had been expended in meeting claims obviously good, and £20,000 more would suffice for that purpose. He added that the tithe was split into such minute portions that it was more vexatious than burdensome; for out of 7005 tithe-payers in one part of the country, *one-third paid sums under ninepence each;* and a very large proportion of the defaulters owed debts *under a farthing.* It was not, therefore, the magnitude or oppressive nature of the burden which rendered it the subject of such general clamour and

irritation, but the fact of its being, however small, payable to a different Church from that to which the parties owing it belonged. To remedy these evils, he proposed—1. That from 1st November next the payment of tithe should *entirely cease* in Ireland, and in lieu thereof a land-tax should be imposed, payable *to the Crown*, and to be collected by the Commissioners for Woods and Forests. 2. This land-tax to be redeemable at the end of five years by all who had a substantial interest in the estate from which it was payable. 3. The price to be fixed by commissioners on the principle of the fee-simple of tithes, being four-fifths of that of land in the same part of the country.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 572, 598; Ann. Reg. 1834, 65, 69.

137. Which is opposed by all parties. Feb. 20.

Apart from the proposal to make the composition in lieu of tithe payable *to the Crown*, instead of the incumbent entitled to it, which tended to make the clergy stipendiary merely, as in France, and might give the Exchequer a dangerous hold of this species of property, there can be no doubt that this bill was founded on the true view of the subject, because it went to remove the incessant irritation arising from the collection of tithes by clergy of a different profession of faith from those who paid them. For this very reason, it became from the very first the object of the most impassioned hostility to the extreme parties on both sides. Moderate men and their proposals are always thus assailed during the heat of party conflicts. It was hard to say whether it was attacked with the greater violence by Mr O'Connell and Mr Sheil, the avowed enemies of the Protestant Church, or by Mr Shaw and Sir Robert Inglis, its resolute supporters. The former assailed it because it did not involve the principle of the extinction of tithes, or at least a transference of two-thirds of them to the Catholic Church: the latter objected to it, because it took Church property altogether out of the hands of the clergy, and rendered them mere stipendiaries, dependent on the Crown. The bill, however, passed the second reading in the Commons by a

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majority of 167, the numbers being 243 to 76. The bill accordingly went into committee; but its progress there was very slow, and various material modifications were proposed by Ministers in its progress, which gave their opponents a ground for taxing them with inconsistency, without in reality obviating the real objections to it. It is not surprising it was so, for in truth the difference between the two parties was irreconcilable; the one party struggling for a recognition of the principle that Church property was at the disposal of Parliament, and might be "appropriated" to secular purposes, or the support of other creeds than the Protestant; the other contending as strenuously that it was altogether inalienable, and could not be so applied without spoliation as violent as wresting from private individuals their estates. The bill was slowly dragging its weary way through committee, and had been the subject of repeated and fierce debates, when matters were brought to a crisis, and its farther progress stopped in this session, by an important event connected with the same subject, which finally overturned Earl Grey's Administration.[1]

June 7.
June 20.
[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 74, 81.

138. Division in the Cabinet on the Irish Coercion Bill renewal.

This event arose out of the Irish Coercion Bill. That bill, as already mentioned, had worked wonders in stopping the agrarian crimes in Ireland, and the authorities in that country had not only strongly reported in its favour, but recommended its renewal, with the omission only of the court-martial clause, for another year after its expiry, which took place in August following. On this point the Cabinet were united; but they were divided on another point still more precious to the Irish agitators. This was the renewal of the clause prohibiting political meetings, unless under the sanction of the Lord-Lieutenant. This was a vital point for the Catholic leaders, for it struck at the system of agitation by means of vast public meetings, by which they intended to convulse the country, and ultimately hoped to coerce or terrify the Government into a concession of a repeal of the Union. On it, accord-

ingly, there was a serious division in the Government. The Lord-Lieutenant deemed the re-enactment of this clause unnecessary and inexpedient; and he was supported in this opinion by Lord Althorpe, Lord Durham, and a minority in the Cabinet highly important by their talents and consideration. On the other hand, Earl Grey, with the fearless determination of his character, was decidedly of the opposite opinion, and a majority of the Cabinet went with him. In these circumstances, a spark was only wanting to produce an explosion, and that spark was not long of falling on the combustible elements.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 1100, 1107; Mart. ii. 122, 123; Ann. Reg. 1834, 75, 87.

139. Negotiation of Mr Lyttleton with Mr O'Connell.

Trusting to the known opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant against the renewal of the political meetings clause, and anxious to disarm the opposition of Mr O'Connell on the approaching contest in Wexford, Mr Lyttleton, the Irish Secretary (now Lord Hatherton), in ignorance of the opinion of the majority of the Cabinet, communicated to Mr O'Connell, in strict confidence, the secret of the disinclination of the Irish government to renew the political meetings clause in the proposed renewed Coercion Act. In consequence of this communication, Mr O'Connell withdrew the Repeal candidate from the Wexford election, and the Government one walked the course. Afterwards, when it was too late to restore matters to the state in which they stood before the election, Mr Lyttleton communicated to Mr O'Connell the determination of the majority of the Cabinet to renew the Coercion Act *with* the clause against political meetings. The latter was naturally very indignant at this change, and deeming himself, as he said, "tricked out of his election," he conceived himself absolved from his obligation of secresy, and revealed the whole transaction in Parliament. Mr Lyttleton complained loudly of the breach of confidence, but his explanation did not differ substantially from that of Mr O'Connell.[2] The schism in Government was now patent to all the world; and such was Lord Grey's agitation in consequence, that his voice was scarcely audible

[2] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 1337, 1341; Ann. Reg. 1834, 103, 107; Mart. ii. 122, 123.

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in moving the second reading of the Coercion Bill, *with the clause*, on 4th July, and his own son-in-law, Earl Durham, opposed him.

140. Resignation of Mr Lyttleton, Lord Althorpe, and Lord Grey.

Next morning Mr Lyttleton resigned; but, notwithstanding all that had passed betwixt him and Lord Grey, his resignation was not accepted; for so great was the unpopularity of Ministers that they had little hope, on a vacancy, of filling up his place with an able man who was sure of a seat in the House. Matters had now come to such a pass that the wound could not be healed by an

June 7.

attempt to skin it over. Two days after, Lord Althorpe resigned; deeming it inconsistent with honour to remain in office when, on so important a question as the renewal of the clause against public meetings in Ireland, he differed from the head of the Government. No persuasions, and many were tried, could induce him to remain in office. In fact, he saw that the external popularity of the Administration was so much impaired, and its internal divisions had become so serious, that it could not possibly go on longer. This blow was fatal to the Government. Earl Grey felt that he could not possibly carry on the affairs of the nation after the secession of a colleague so influential and highly esteemed, both in the House and the country, as Lord Althorpe; and he was not sorry of an opportunity of abandoning a task which was every day becoming more irksome and difficult. He also, accord-

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ingly, tendered his resignation to the King, which was accepted, and the Ministry was dissolved. On Wednes-

July 9.

day, 9th July, Earl Grey made his parting address in the House of Peers, in terms worthy of his own character, and of the solemnity of the occasion. Such was the agitation of the veteran statesman, that he was twice compelled to sit down and pause at the opening of his address. The Duke of Wellington kindly gained time for him, by presenting a few petitions; and having regained his composure, he addressed the House as follows, in a feeble and tremulous voice:—[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 110, 111, 115; Mart. ii. 123; Parl. Deb. xxiv. 247, 251.

141. Earl Grey's parting address as Minister. July 9.

"I really feel ashamed of the sort of weakness I have shown upon this occasion. I have recently been honoured with an interview with his Majesty, and the personal kindness I have experienced has quite overpowered me. I have, however, a duty to perform, and whatever be my present incapacity, I will to the utmost of my ability discharge it. I address you no longer as a Minister of the Crown, but as an individual member of the legislature, strongly impressed with the necessity of passing the Coercion Act, in order to invest the Government of Ireland, into whatever hands it may fall, with a power which I believe to be necessary to the maintenance of law and order in that country. My opinion on the necessity of that act has never undergone any alteration; and this was so entirely the opinion of my colleagues that I had given instructions to the Attorney-General to draw up the bill now on the table. On 23d June I received a confidential communication from the Lord-Lieutenant, which I felt it my duty to lay before my colleagues in office, which had been produced not so much by any original view taken by that illustrious person, of whom I cannot speak too highly, as by certain considerations *which had been suggested to him by others without my knowledge or privity.* The consequence has been that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who conducts the affairs of Government in the other House, and who had been fully impressed with the opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, felt that the ground was swept under him by these disclosures, and that he could no longer retain office. This event has determined me to retire also. Since the commencement of the present session, several of the most powerful members of the Government have separated from it, and my resolution to retire also was then so decidedly taken that I thought nothing could have shaken me from it. This resolution, however, was abandoned in consequence of the urgent representations of my friends that my retirement would

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break up the Government. But to remain is now impossible. Former breaches have weakened it: this new breach has placed us in a situation when it is impossible to be of any service to the country, for the Government has lost its right arm. In acting as I have done, both on this occasion and in the course of the Administration of which I was the head, I feel that I have acted in conformity with the spirit of the age, neither advancing before nor falling behind it." [1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 250, 259; Ann. Reg. 1834, 117, 119.

142. Lord Melbourne appointed Prime Minister, and changes in the Cabinet.

Earl Grey's resignation, however, was an insulated act; it did not, as was at first supposed, lead at the time to an entire change of Government. The other Ministers did not resign; on the contrary, Lord Brougham declared in the House of Lords next day, "that he should not discharge his duty, if, at all sacrifice of his comfort, at all abandonment of his own ease—at the destruction, if so might be, of his own peace of mind—he did not stand by that gracious monarch and that country whose support, whose gracious and hearty support, he had received during the three years and a-half he had been a member of the Government." And when the laughter which these words excited had subsided, he added, with characteristic naïveté, "Do your lordships think that there is anything very peculiarly merry or amusing in being Minister at the present time? If they do, I invite them to take a part in the reconstruction of the Government." [2] Notwithstanding the difficulties which these words so candidly admitted, the other members of the Cabinet did not resign, and a way was discovered of patching up a Government in the mean time,—with what success the result in a few months showed. LORD MELBOURNE was made Prime Minister, Lord Althorpe resumed his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, as without his aid the head of the Administration declared he could not carry on the Government; [3] Lord Duncannon was appointed to the Home Office, Sir J. C. Hobhouse to the Woods and Forests, with a seat

[2] Parl. Deb. xxiv. 1325.

[3] Ann. Reg. 1834, 123, 124.

in the Cabinet, and Lord Carlisle, who had become Privy Seal on the retirement of the Earl of Ripon, resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Mulgrave. With these exceptions, the remodelled Cabinet remained the same as it had been before Earl Grey's resignation.

143. Modified Coercion Bill.

But although the Cabinet was thus reconstructed with little apparent difficulty from the old elements, yet in reality an important blow had been struck at the monarchical government, and the first indication of the vital change worked in our institutions by the Reform Bill had been the destruction of its author. Earl Grey had been overthrown and driven from the Government, not by the Conservatives, but by the Catholics; not by Sir R. Peel, but by Mr O'Connell; not by his opponents, but by his supporters; and that, too, with a House of Commons which had recently divided in his favour by 523 to 38 on the question of the Repeal of the Union! No stronger proof could be figured of the momentous change which had taken place in the frame of the Constitution from the recent organic change, or of the insecurity of the basis on which any Government, even the strongest in appearance, in reality now rested, from the confusion of parties which had taken place from its effects. This immediately appeared when Lord Melbourne had kissed hands as Premier, and the Cabinet was reconstructed. His very first act was to announce the intention of Government to bring in a Coercion Bill *without the clauses against public meetings*, which Mr O'Connell had objected to, and which had broken up the late Ministry. Lord Brougham supported this change, alleging as a reason that they could no more carry the bill with the former clauses in the House of Commons than they could repeal the Reform Bill. The former bill accordingly was abandoned, and on the next day Lord Althorpe brought in the modified Coercion Bill into the House of Commons. By it the consent of the Lord-Lieutenant and High Sheriff to public meetings was only

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to be necessary in districts previously proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant, and the bill, such as it was, was to endure only till August 1835. The change of course afforded room for ample sarcastic reproaches on the part of the Conservatives against Ministers, for having succumbed to the great agitator, and reopened Ireland to all the consequences of his inflammatory meetings, but it passed the House by a large majority, the numbers being 60 to 25. In the Lords it passed without a division, the Duke of Wellington having merely moved the restoration of the omitted clauses to give him an opportunity of recording a protest against their omission, which he accordingly did, signed by himself and twenty-one other peers.[1] *

[1] Parl. Deb. xxv. 31, 69; Ann. Reg. 1834, 133, 142.

144. Fate of the Irish Church Bill.

The same predominant influence of the Irish agitators appeared in the next great measure which was in progress before Parliament—the settlement of the tithe question. That involved, in like manner, a direct conflict

* "6. Because it appears from the papers laid upon the table of this House by his Majesty's ministers, that the act 3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 4, wherever it had been carried into execution, had been effectual in preventing agitation, and in a great degree disturbance and outrage, and in bringing to trial those guilty of such offences; that witnesses had come forward to give their testimony on injuries done to themselves or others; that magistrates and juries had performed their duties; and that the districts of the country where the act had been enforced were beginning to feel the effects of returning tranquillity, security, and happiness.

"7. Because it is obvious that the bill now under consideration cannot prevent agitation in associations in large towns. Yet it is to these associations that the Lord-Lieutenant (Wellesley) attributes the system of violence and outrage in effect and cause; and he states that 'he cannot separate the one from the other of the unbroken chain of indissoluble connection by any effort of his understanding.'

"8. Because the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has declared it as his opinion that 'agitation (which it is the object of the clauses now omitted to prevent) for the combined object of the destruction of tithes and the repeal of the Union, had in every instance excited and inflamed the disturbances existing in Ireland,' which his Excellency had described as being 'of a disorderly, discontented, and turbulent character,' such as 'secret combination, controverted organisation, suppression of all evidence of crime, and the ambition of usurping the government, and of ruling society by the authority of the common people, and of superseding the law by the decrees of illegal associations.' That the system of agitation had 'for its inevitable consequence combinations leading to violence and outrage; that they were inseparably causes and effect.'"—*Ann. Reg.*, 1834, pp. 146, 147, note.

with the Irish agitators, if the clause, styled in common parlance "the Appropriation Clause," which put the surplus of Church property, after providing for religious purposes, at the disposal of Parliament, were omitted, as it was the object of the greatest anxiety and vehement demand on the part of the agitators. On 29th July the House went into committee on the Tithe Bill, already before the House; and after having been defeated by a large majority in an attempt to throw out the bill altogether, Mr O'Connell moved, as an amendment, that tithes, instead of being commuted into a rent-charge on land, should be instantly abated 40 per cent. "This," said he, "would be intelligible to the people of Ireland. Every man can understand the difference between twelve shillings and twenty shillings—and if adopted, my opposition shall cease, and the bill may pass in two sittings." This offer proved irresistible to a Government so recently shaken to its centre by this very Irish question. Deeply as the proposed clause trenched on the principle of the bill, and obviously as it admitted that of extinguishing Church property for temporal purposes, it was tacitly admitted by the new Government. Mr O'Connell's amendment was carried, against a very feeble and simulate opposition on their part, by a majority of 82 to 33; and such was the subsequent departure from the original bill, that Mr Lyttleton moved, amidst much laughter, the omission of seventy clauses "at one fell swoop;" and when the bill at last passed, it consisted only of 111 clauses, instead of 172, the original number. In this mutilated state it was read a third time without a division. But as the weakness of Ministers, in thus submitting to have a foreign bantling forced upon them instead of their own offspring, was now evident to all, and had gone far to discredit them, the House of Peers mustered up courage to throw out the bill entirely, which was done by a majority of 67, the numbers being 189 to 122.[1]

Aug. 5.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 151, 161; Parl. Deb. xxiv. 795, 1143.

To Earl Grey's Administration belongs the credit of

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145. Poor-Law Amendment Bill.

an important measure, which was only finally matured and passed under their successors, and which at the time excited a much greater interest and anxiety than its subsequent effects would appear to justify. This was the POOR-LAW AMENDMENT BILL, which, although not, like all those relating to Ireland, a party measure, yet excited the utmost interest in the country, from the magnitude of the interests involved in, and the persons affected by it, and the immensity of the burden which it was the object of the act to reduce. Numerous abuses had in process of time insensibly ingrafted themselves on the original wise and humane system introduced by the 43d Elizabeth; and they were the more serious, that they had arisen from benevolent feelings on the part of the legislature, or those intrusted with the administration of the laws, and had come by the people to be regarded as not the least valuable part of their birthright. In particular, the 36th Geo. III., c. 39, had established the principle, that the relief to paupers should be given in such a manner as to place them in a state of comfort. However desirable it might be to effect this, if practicable, by legislative enactment, the operation of the act was most serious in practice: for as the poor were undoubtedly more comfortable in their own houses than they could ever be made in public workhouses, the practice became general of ordering the poor out-door relief, and of this being done by magistrates at a distance from the applicant, and often very little acquainted with the real circumstances of each particular case. From this had arisen another evil still more serious, which was the system of *making up wages*, as it was called, which consisted in the justices giving the applicant an order to get his wages made up to a certain amount, in proportion to the number of his family, from the parochial funds, if he could not earn so much by his own labour. Farmers, manufacturers, and all the employers of labourers, were not slow in taking advantage of this system to throw a considerable part of the wages of

their workmen, especially during winter, upon the parish; and to such a length did this go, that in many of the counties, especially the agricultural ones in the south of England, nearly half of the entire sums paid annually for the wages of labour had come to be defrayed by the parishes, to the effect of entirely swallowing up the whole rental.[1]

[1] Porter's Progress of the Nation, 87, 89.

146. Vast effect of the contraction of the currency on this matter.

Serious as these evils were, they did not excite any general attention as long as they were partial, or confined chiefly to particular localities. But during the last fifteen years another cause of general influence had come into operation, which had rendered the evils complained of universal, and engendered a general feeling of the necessity of its removal. This was the *contraction of the currency*, the prolific parent of *all* the social and political changes which have taken place in Great Britain during the last thirty years, and the effects of which are far from being yet exhausted. The burden of the poor-rates between 1810 and 1818 was, on an average, about £6,000,000 a-year; and in the last of these years it had attained its *maximum* amount before or since, having reached £7,870,000. Still no great complaints were heard, and no demand for a change arose; for the profits and remuneration of industry were in the same proportion. Wheat was, before 1819, at 83s. But by the alteration in the monetary laws introduced in 1819, this auspicious state of things was immediately changed. By the contraction of the currency by the law of that year, and by the bill of 1826 suppressing small notes, which came into full effect in 1829, prices were so far altered that the remuneration of industry was reduced fully a half. And such was the effect of this cause, coupled with the three fine harvests preceding 1834, that in that year the price of wheat fell to 39s. 8d., and in the next to 39s. 4d., being less than *a half* of what it had been when the change was introduced. Add to this, that from the terror inspired by the Reform agitation, the

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flames of Nottingham and Bristol, employment of every kind had sensibly declined, and the number of those thrown on the poor-rates by being deprived of bread had greatly increased. The effect of these two concurring causes was such, between the year 1829, when small notes finally disappeared from the circulation and the Reform agitation began, and the spring of 1834, that the burden of the poor-rates in England and Wales, as measured by the number of quarters of wheat required to provide for them (the true measure, since they were paid exclusively by the land), had increased *fourfold* since 1800, and *doubled since* 1811, though the population in the same period had only advanced 45 per cent.* The effect of

* The following Table, compiled by Mr Porter, puts the increasing weight of the poor-rates, from the change in the value of money since 1819, in a clear light:—

Years.	Sums expended on Poor.	Population of England and Wales.	Average price of Wheat per Quarter.	Poor-rate in Quarters of Wheat.
	£		s. d.	
1801	4,017,871	8,872,980	115 11	693,234
1803	4,077,891	9,148,314	57 1	1,428,751
1811	6,656,105	10,163,676	92 5	1,440,455
1814	6,294,581	10,775,034	72 1	1,746,740
1815	5,418,846	10,979,437	63 8	1,702,255
1816	5,724,839	11,160,157	76 2	1,503,240
1817	6,910,925	11,349,750	94 0	1,470,409
1818	7,870,801	11,524,389	83 8	1,881,466
1819	7,516,704	11,700,965	72 3	2,080,748
1820	7,330,716	11,893,165	65 10	2,226,913
1821	6,959,249	11,978,875	54 5	2,557,763
1822	6,358,702	12,313,810	43 3	2,940,440
1823	5,772,958	12,508,956	51 9	2,231,034
1824	5,736,898	12,699,098	62 0	1,850,612
1825	5,786,589	12,881,906	66 6	1,740,447
1826	5,928,581	13,056,931	56 11	2,083,855
1827	6,441,088	13,242,019	56 9	2,269,987
1828	6,298,000	13,441,913	60 5	2,084,855
1829	6,332,410	13,620,701	66 3	1,911,671
1830	6,829,842	13,811,467	64 3	2,125,772
1831	6,798,888	13,897,187	66 4	2,049,916
1832	7,036,968	14,185,647	58 8	2,398,966
1833	6,790,799	14,317,229	52 11	2,566,601
1834	6,317,255	14,531,957	46 2	2,736,717
1835	5,526,418	14,703,002	44 2	2,502,528
1836	4,717,630	14,904,456	39 5	2,393,723

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 3d edition, p. 90.

this vast increase in the burden of the poor, contemporaneous with the reduction in the resources of those who were to pay it, was the same as always occur in the case of a great reduction of wages paid to workmen. Both employers and employed go sharply to work, and look closely into small sums, and numerous grievances are discovered and complained of which had passed unnoticed in previous and more prosperous times.

147. Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners recommending a change.

So great was the clamour raised by these causes, that Earl Grey's Ministry, soon after their accession to office, had appointed a committee to inquire into the operation and present state of the poor-laws; and they had made most extensive inquiries, and brought to light a great number of important facts, particularly illustrative of the extreme inequality of the burden of the poor-rates, not only in different counties, but in different parishes in the same county, and even in those immediately adjoining each other. The report was printed and extensively circulated; and such was the effect it produced, as well as the general sense of the necessity of the case, that Government, though perfectly aware of the difficulties with which the question was beset, and the violent resistance which any proposed change would meet with, resolved to grapple with it, and Lord Althorpe brought forward the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill in the House of Commons on the 17th April.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 222, 223; Porter, 89, 90.

148. Argument in support of the bill.

On the part of Government it was argued by Lord Althorpe and Mr Lyttleton: "The necessity of interference arises from this, that the poor-laws, as at present administered, tend directly to the destruction of all property in the country. Even to the labouring classes, whom they have been intended to benefit, nothing could be more fatal than to allow them to continue in their present course. It was the abuse of the system, however, not the system itself, which was to be condemned. These abuses were scarcely older than the commencement of the present century, when a feeling got abroad that

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discontent prevailed among the working classes in the country, and the principle was adopted by the 36th Geo. III., that relief to paupers ought to be given in such a manner as to place them in a state of comfort. The effect of this law had been to give the magistrates the power to order relief to be given to the poor in their own dwellings, which has introduced an entirely different class,—viz., labourers working at *low wages*—into the roll of the paupers; and the effect of this has been, not only greatly to augment the numbers of those who received relief, but to extinguish all feelings of independence in many parts of the country among the labouring poor; and instead of paupers being placed in a state of comfort, all the labouring classes in many districts of the country have been brought into a state of deplorable misery and distress. So great are the dangers of allowing matters to remain as they are, that it has become absolutely necessary to meet the difficulties of the case, to adopt sounder principles, and carry them unflinchingly into execution. In some districts, under the pressure of absolute necessity, parishes have adopted a different and improved system of administration; in others, where the former system prevailed, cultivation has been entirely abandoned, and in consequence the poor have been compelled to resort to the neighbouring parishes, which in their turn have become pauperised, and from each of these, as from a centre, pauperism has spread in every direction.

149. Continued.

"To check these great and growing evils, Government propose to erect a Board of Commissioners, to whom the general administration of the poor-laws is to be intrusted. The Board will be invested with great and extensive powers, heretofore an anomaly in the constitution; but this has been rendered unavoidable by the necessity of the case. A discretionary power must be vested somewhere, either in the Government, the local magistrates, or the Commissioners. The first is objectionable, as being engrossed with the general affairs of the empire;

the second, as immersed in the details of their separate localities, and without the sources of information requisite to form a proper opinion on the subject. The Commissioners alone, being exclusively devoted to the subject, and in possession of the whole information regarding it, are in a situation to form correct opinions concerning it. The first thing to be done is to terminate the *allowance system*, as it is called, or the system of making wages, when low, up to a certain level, from the funds of the parish,—the source of all other evils, and without the extirpation of which, all attempts to amend the poor-laws will prove nugatory. It is proposed to terminate this ruinous system in the ensuing summer, when the labourers are in full employment. Then the Commissioners are to have power to make rules and regulations as to the mode of relief and the regulation of workhouses, which are to receive the sanction of the Secretary of State before they become obligatory, and which will have the effect of establishing one uniform system of administration over the whole country.

150. Concluded.

"Power is to be given to the parochial authorities to unite parishes, and form large workhouses for several parishes massed together. The power of ordering out-door relief is to be taken from the justices, so as to subject all applicants for relief to the 'workhouse test;' this is only bringing matters back to what they were before 1796. The law of settlement, at present extremely complicated, and the fertile source of litigation between parishes, is to be simplified by making the settlement of every child up to sixteen follow that of the parents, and after that, be determined by the place of birth. The power of removal to the parish of the birth is also to be restricted to the grounds specially set forth in the notice.[1] Lastly, the power given to the mothers of illegitimate children of swearing the child to any man she chooses to select, which at present renders prostitution a source of gain to profligate women, is to be taken away,

[1] Parl. Deb. xxii. 874, 888; Ann. Reg. 1834, 223, 227.

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and the mother rendered liable for the support of her child in the same way as pauper widows."

151. The bill is carried by a great majority.

So strongly were the evils of the existing system felt, that the second reading of the bill did not meet with any serious opposition. Sir Samuel Whalley, Alderman Wood, and Mr Walter, strongly objected to the bill as a whole, on the ground of its multiplying offices and the patronage of Government *ad infinitum;* vesting the Commissioners with arbitrary powers exceeding those of an Eastern pacha; centralising power, and depriving the local authorities of all real authority; and offering a premium to immorality and infanticide, by throwing the burden of bastard children exclusively on one of the parties concerned in begetting them, and that the one often the least in fault, and generally the least capable of maintaining them. There was much to be said on these points, but they went to change the details of the bill, rather than resist its general principles; and after a very short debate, the second reading was carried by an immense majority, the numbers being 319 to 20.[1]

[1] Parl. Deb. xxii. 874, 887, xxiii. 952, 1276; Ann. Reg. 1834, 228, 230.

152. Farther progress of the bill.

But although the principle of the bill was thus carried, a more serious opposition arose in committee, when the details of the proposed measure came to be taken into consideration. The great point objected to was the clause throwing the burden of bastards on the mother, to the relief of the father, which was strongly opposed, on the ground both of its injustice and inexpedience. There could be no doubt that the old system of allowing a woman to fix a child upon any man she chose, by simply swearing that he was the father, had led to numberless abuses, and was itself absurd, and contrary to the first principle of justice, because it permitted a party interested to be judge without appeal in her own cause. On the other hand, to lay the burden exclusively on the mother was equally unjust, as it saddled one of the parents, and in general the one least able to bear it, with a burden for

which both, as equally implicated in its formation, were obviously responsible. The bill, as originally proposed, passed the Commons by a majority of 187 to 52. So strong, however, was the public feeling on the subject, that a very vigorous opposition to this clause arose in the House of Peers, and at length it was obviated, and the bill passed, on an amendment proposed by the Duke of Wellington, that the mother should still be allowed to give her oath as to who was the father, but that it should not be conclusive unless supported by other evidence. This is evidently the just and reasonable view of this delicate matter, and which had from time immemorial formed part of the common law of Scotland on the subject;—another instance among the many which contemporary history affords, that from some unknown cause the remote and poor realm of North Britain had been far ahead of its southern neighbours in wise and salutary legislation, and that nearly the whole real improvements introduced into the laws of England during the last half-century, have been nothing but transcripts of the old Scottish statutes one hundred and fifty years before.[1] *

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 237, 255; Parl. Deb. xxv. 271, 277, 1058, 1096.

* The last sentence will sound strange to English ears, and in fact the thing itself is so extraordinary that it is almost inexplicable to those best acquainted with Scotland, and most versed in its laws. Ample proof for the incredulous, and they will probably be many, will be found in the Author's essay on the "Old Scottish Parliament," *Essays*, vol. II. If the point should be contested, he will, in a future edition, give such a list of instances where the Scotch law, during the last seventy years, has been imported into England *without any acknowledgment*, as will bring conviction to the most incredulous. It is impossible to suppose that this early precocity in wise legislation was owing to the superior wisdom or experience of the Scottish nation or legislature, for the former was rude and barbarous, the latter divided and ignorant. It probably arose from its poverty and inexperience, which, affording the nation *no precedents or information of its own* whereon to found legislation, led to the introduction, on all points between man and man, of the Roman law, the most stupendous monument of uninspired wisdom which the annals of mankind had exhibited. It is to the same cause that the ready adoption and universal retention in so many countries of Europe of the Code Napoleon is to be ascribed. That is little more than a transcript of the treatises of Pothier, which are nothing but a digest of the Institutes and Pandects; but they were the result of eight hundred years of thought and experience among the most civilised people upon earth.

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1834. 153. Regulation as to separating husband and wife.

The third reading of the bill was carried without a division, but on the bastardy clause, as it originally stood, the majority was only 11; and the Commons adopted the Lords' amendment without a debate, so that the bill became law. A still more serious opposition arose when it came to be carried into execution, from a regulation of the Commissioners, that when admitted into the workhouse, husband should be separated from wife. It was soon, however, found to be utterly impossible to carry into execution the intentions of the Act in regard to refusing relief except in the workhouses; and accordingly, ever since the passing of the act, the paupers receiving out-door relief have been fully seven times those admitted into the public establishments.* This great preponderance of out-door recipients in a great degree alleviated the hardships of the regulation, as of course, when the money was given to the poor in their own houses, no separation of families took place. In the case of old and infirm persons, there can be no doubt that the separation of partners in life, who have "summered it and wintered it together," is one of the most melancholy severances that can be figured. It would seem as if it were intended purposely to foreclose that termination of the journey of life together, which the poet has justly

* PAUPERS RECEIVING IN-DOOR AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF, FROM 1840 TO 1848.

Year.	In-door recipients.	Out-door recipients.	Total.	Of whom able-bodied.
1840	169,232	1,030,297	1,199,529	497,321
1841	197,106	1,106,942	1,299,048	469,114
1842	222,642	1,204,545	1,427,187	411,890
1843	238,560	1,300,930	1,539,496	466,585
1844	230,818	1,246,743	1,477,561	431,484
1845	215,325	1,255,645	1,470,970	420,096
1846	200,276	1,131,819	1,332,089	382,417
1847	265,037	1,456,313	1,721,350	562,355
1848	265,140	1,361,061	1,626,201	666,338

—PORTER, 3d edition, p. 94.

described as the best alleviation of declining years.* It may be doubted, however, whether such a regulation is not absolutely unavoidable, especially with young persons, for whom the "workhouse test" is more particularly required; and probably the most advisable way to solve the difficulty, is to apply it only to persons in early or middle life, and administer relief to those in advanced years in their own houses.

154. Effect of the bill has not been materially to lessen poor-rates.

It was confidently expected that this great change would effect a very great reduction in the burden of English poor-rates, and the diminution which appeared in them for some years after the passing of the act, seemed in some degree to justify the anticipation. The result, however, after the lapse of a considerable time, has by no means been equally favourable, and the burden, after fifteen years had passed over, became nearly as great, whether measured in money or quarters of wheat, as before the bill passed. The amount levied is still on an average from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000, and the number of persons relieved from 800,000 to 900,000 a-year. This is the more remarkable from the consideration, that for seven years preceding 1854 the annual emigration from the empire has been on an average 266,000, and in one year had reached 368,000. The effect of this vast exodus upon the labour market must have been very great, but it has by no means produced that decrease in the poor-rates which might reasonably have been expected. The truth would appear to be, that the excessive multiplication of poor is a universal and irremediable evil in the advanced stages of society, springing from the

* "John Anderson my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither,
And mony a canty day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither:
Now we maun totter down, John,
But hand in hand we'll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson my jo."—BURNS.

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vast accumulation of wealth in one section of it, and of labourers in another, and is one of the means by which Providence, in such circumstances, induces the decline of aged communities, and provides for the dispersion and renovation of mankind.*

155. Prorogation of Parliament. Aug. 15.

Parliament was prorogued by the King in person on the 15th August, and his Majesty congratulated the House in warm but not undeserved terms on the legislative achievements of the preceding session. He said: "I have not failed to observe, with the greatest approbation, that you have directed your attention to those domestic questions which more immediately affect the general welfare of the community; and I have had much satisfaction in sanctioning your wise and benevolent intentions, by giving my assent to the act for the better administration of the poor-laws in England and Wales. It will be my duty to provide that the authority vested in commissioners nominated by the Crown be exercised with temperance. To the important subjects of our jurisprudence and municipal corporations, your attention will

* POOR-RATES IN ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1834 TO 1849, MEASURED IN MONEY AND IN QUARTERS OF WHEAT.

Years.	Sums expended on Poor.	Population of England and Wales.	Price of wheat per quarter.	Poor-rate in quarters of wheat.
	£		s. d.	
1834	6,317,255	14,531,957	46 2	2,736,717
1835	5,526,418	14,703,702	44 2	2,502,526
1836	4,717,630	14,904,456	39 5	2,393,723
1837	4,044,741	15,105,909	52 6	1,540,853
1838	4,123,604	15,307,363	55 3	1,492,684
1839	4,421,712	15,508,816	69 4	1,275,494
1840	4,576,965	15,710,270	68 6	1,336,340
1841	4,760,929	15,911,757	65 3	1,459,288
1842	4,911,498	16,113,214	64 0	1,534,843
1843	5,208,027	16,314,271	54 4	1,917,065
1844	4,976,093	16,716,128	51 5	1,935,595
1845	5,039,703	16,917,585	49 2	2,050,048
1846	4,954,204	17,119,042	53 3	1,860,733
1847	5,298,787	17,320,042	59 0	1,796,199
1848	6,180,764	17,521,956	64 6	1,916,515
1849	5,792,963	17,723,413	49 1	2,360,460

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, third edition, p. 90.

necessarily be directed next session. The continued increase of the revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of so many taxes, affords the surest proof that the resources of the country are unimpaired, and justifies the expectation that a perseverance in judicious and well-considered measures will still further promote the industry and augment the wealth of my people. It gives me great satisfaction to believe that, in returning to your several counties, you will find a prevalence of general tranquillity, and of active industry among all classes of society."[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1834, 330, 331; Parl. Deb. xxv. 1297.

156. Financial state of the country.

In one respect, the flattering assurances contained in these words were well founded. The public funded debt in this year amounted only to £751,658,000, and the total annual charge on Great Britain and Ireland was £27,782,000; and the unfunded debt was £28,384,000. In 1815 the funded debt was £816,000,000, and the unfunded £42,000,000; and in 1833 it had been only £743,675,000. During the twenty years that had since intervened, therefore, the nation had paid off, notwithstanding the copious bleedings the Sinking Fund had undergone, no less than £73,000,000 of funded, and £12,000,000 of unfunded debt—in all, £85,000,000. These figures deserve to be noted, as marking the lowest point which the public debt had reached since the peace, and the lowest which it has ever since attained. The £20,000,000 borrowed this year to meet the claims of the West India proprietors brought the debt up by that amount; and, subsequently, the disorder of the finances, from the effects of the contraction of the currency, became such, that for a course of years debt was annually contracted, instead of being paid off. In 1847 the debt was £777,000,000. If the Sinking Fund had been kept up to its amount of £15,000,000, which it had reached in 1815, by not repealing the indirect taxes from which it arose, the sum annually paid off would, by the year 1834, have come to exceed £35,000,000, and the debt would have been reduced by £450,000,000.[2]

[2] Finance Accounts, as on Jan. 5, 1834; Parl. Deb. xxv., pp. viii. xvii. xix., Appendix.

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As it was, the Sinking Fund this year amounted only to £1,440,000! Such had been the effect of the contraction of the currency, cheapening system, and consequent unavoidable reduction of indirect taxation.

157. Weakness of Government, and disturbances in Ireland.

But Government had ere long objects of more pressing concern to attend to than the ultimate liquidation of the public debt. Before the session closed, the weakness of Ministers had become apparent; and such was the irritation of the Irish Catholics and English Radicals, that the Reform party, recently so powerful, was in a manner broken up, and it was doubtful whether, on any trying question, the Administration could even command a bare majority. Aware of this, Mr O'Connell renewed his exertions to promote agitation and confusion in Ireland; and with that view, addressed in autumn a series of letters to Lord Duncannon, in which, not confining himself to Earl Grey, who was now not worth assailing, being out of office, he attacked the whole Whig party as the worst enemies of Ireland, and the authors of the whole calamities under which the country laboured. "Never," says he, "was there a more ungenial or hostile Administration in Ireland than that which has subsisted since Earl Grey first obtained office, and still subsists. I am ready to give a detail of the follies, the faults, and the crimes of the Whigs in Ireland. I will not 'set down aught in malice,' but will give a full and unexaggerated detail of the principal acts of *folly, fatuity, and crime*, committed towards and against the people of Ireland by the Ministry since November 1830. . . . . I write more in sorrow than in anger, more in regret than in hostility. It is true, you have bitterly deceived me—bitterly and cruelly deceived Ireland. But we should have known you better. You belong to the Whigs, and after four years of the most emaciating experience, we ought indeed to have known that Ireland had nothing to expect from the Whigs but insolent contempt, and malignant but treacherous hostility."[1]

[1] Mr O'Connell to Lord Duncannon, Sep. 30, Oct. 11, 1834; Ann. Reg. 1834, 332, 333.

The incitement to agitation thus given by the Apostle of Discontent in Ireland, was not long of bringing forth its appropriate and well-known fruits. Predial outrages, which had so rapidly declined under the operation of the Coercion Act, increased as quickly with the yielding of Government, and in the beginning of winter assumed a most alarming character. Resistance was openly made in many different places to the levying of tithes, by large bodies of men, for the most part armed, which was only overcome by the employment of considerable military forces. On December 18th a body of 600 men assembled at the end of a lane at Rathcormack, which was blocked up with a car, which had been overturned, to resist the levying of tithes. The Riot Act was read, the soldiers assailed by volleys of stones, which knocked down several of the men and officers, and the riot was not overcome till they received orders to fire, by which several persons were killed and wounded. So far from repressing, the highest Catholic authorities openly justified these rebellious acts. Dr M'Hale, an able man, who, since the death of Dr Doyle, had been elevated to the See of Tuam, in a published letter at this time to the Duke of Wellington thus expressed himself: "All the united authorities, and the Senate, can never annex the conscientious obligations of the law to enactments that are contrary to right reason and justice; and hence the stubborn and unconquerable resistance of the people of Ireland to these odious acts (I will not call them laws), which have even forced them to pay tribute to the teachers of an adverse creed. I shall freely declare my own resolve. I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise. After paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, proctor, nor agent shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe, *or any other tax*, a penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this or any other country."[1]

158. Riot at Rathcormack. Nov. 11 and Dec. 18.

[1] Dr M'Hale to Duke of Wellington, Dec. 9, 1834; Ann. Reg. 1834, 333, 334.

So rapid had been the change in general opinion, in

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159. Hostility of the press. Lord Brougham's journey in Scotland.

consequence of the resistance of Government to the demands of the English Liberals and Irish Catholics, that the whole London press, lately so unanimous in their support, with the exception of the *Morning Chronicle*, expressed contempt for them. The *Times*, in particular, which had so recently recommended the brickbat and the bludgeon to beat down the Conservatives, and insure the retention of power by the Liberals, now exerted itself to the utmost to expose their weakness and incapacity, and ridicule, in particular, the erratic eccentricities of the Lord-Chancellor, who was on a tour in Scotland, and signalised his arrival at every considerable town by oratorical displays,—not altogether consistent, to say the least of them, with the decorum and discretion expected from a person of his station and talents. At Inverness, he assured his admiring audience that he would write to his Majesty that very night to assure him of their loyal sentiments. At Edinburgh, a great banquet was given to Earl Grey, in a pavilion on the Calton Hill, specially erected for the occasion, on the 15th September, at which the divisions of the Cabinet, and especially the schism between Lord Brougham and Lord Durham, were painfully conspicuous. The former earnestly counselled moderation in political expectations, and a slackened pace in the career of reform; the latter "regretted every hour which passes over the existence of recognised and unreformed abuses." These words were received with loud and prolonged cheers: Lord Brougham attempted no explanation at the moment, though he assailed Lord Durham shortly after at a public meeting at Salisbury, who retorted in very strong terms at another at Glasgow.[1]* The schism in the Ministry

[1] England's Seven Administrations, 114; Mart. ii. 158, 169; Ann. Reg. 1834, 335.

* "He (Lord Brougham) has been pleased to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords. I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect, and so am I. He is a practised orator and a powerful debater; I am not. I speak but seldom in Parliament, and always with reluctance, in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy in an unwilling majority. He knows full well his superiority over me in this respect, and he knows, too, that in any attack he may make upon me in the House of Lords he will be warmly supported by them. With all these advan-

was evident, and of such a kind as gave pain to those who witnessed it at the Edinburgh banquet.

These appearances, and especially the general hostility of the press to the present Government, induced the King to imagine that the time had come when a change of Ministry might with safety be attempted. He mistook the loudly-expressed dissatisfaction of the Reformers at the retarded progress of change for a reaction against reform itself, and he was not sorry of an opportunity of getting rid of a Ministry to whom he had never forgiven the coercion put upon himself on occasion of the passing of the Reform Bill. An opportunity ere long occurred for putting his intentions into effect. The death of Earl Spencer, which took place on November 10, necessarily raised his eldest son, Lord Althorpe, to the Upper House, and it became indispensable to appoint a new Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was also to be leader of the House of Commons. Lord Melbourne, a few days afterwards, waited on the King at Brighton, to take his pleasure on the subject, and suggested Lord John Russell as the person to fill both situations. His Majesty expressed his doubts whether the Government could be carried on as proposed, and stated, it is said, that he had objections to the continuance in office of the Lord-Chancellor, and disapproved of the persons appointed to frame the Irish Church Bill. He therefore stated to Lord Melbourne that he would not impose on him the task of completing the existing arrangements, but would apply to the Duke of Wellington on the subject. The same evening a letter to his Grace was despatched by Lord Melbourne, and on the following day the Duke waited on the King, and advised him to send for Sir R. Peel. As Sir Robert, however, was at the time at Rome, whither he had gone with Lady Peel with the intention of spending the

160. The King dismisses the Ministry, and sends for the Duke of Wellington.

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tages, almost overwhelming, I fear him not. I will meet him there, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he is pleased to call my criticisms."—LORD DURHAM's Speech at Glasgow; *Spectator* for 1834, pp. 1033, 1034.

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winter in Italy, the Duke offered in the mean time to carry on the Government. The temporary arrangements were soon concluded. On the 21st, Lord Lyndhurst received the Great Seal, and took the oaths as Lord-Chancellor, and a messenger was despatched to Rome for Sir R. Peel. He made the journey in a surprisingly short time, having arrived in Rome on the evening of the 25th November. Sir Robert immediately set out, and reached London on the 9th December, and on the same day he had an audience of the King, and accepted the office of Prime Minister. In the interim the Duke of Wellington had singly discharged the duties of the three secretaries, which led to the good-humoured remark, that as the country was to have a military Government, it was right to begin with a dictator.[1]

Ann. Reg. 1834, 335, 336; Mart. ii. 160, 161.

161. Reflections on Earl Grey's fall.

The fall of Earl Grey, and with him, after a brief interval, of the Reform Administration, is one of the most remarkable events in British history, and, like the parallel one of Necker and the Girondists in French story, strikingly illustrative of the moral laws which, under every variety of climate, circumstance, and national character, influence, and in the end control, great political movements such as that in which he was engaged. It was no casual event, no unlucky jealousy, which overturned his Administration; it was the inevitable collision of great principles which occasioned his fall. He perished by the work of his own hands. It was the difficulty of coercing a democratic movement, which he himself had had a large share in creating, which was the cause of the ruin of himself, as it had been of so many of his predecessors engaged in a similar career. The quarrel between Mr Lyttleton and Mr O'Connell was no casual or personal occurrence; it was the collision between the Movement and the Conservative party in Ireland. Lord Brougham's schism with Lord Durham was the collision between the same parties in England. Men could not understand how that which had been encou-

raged and lauded by Government during the Reform struggle, should suddenly become the object of discouragement and prosecution when the objects for which alone they supported the Reform Ministry came to be demanded. This is the usual, it may be said the invariable, fate of the leaders in such organic changes. They are continually advancing before a devouring fire flaming close in their rear. If they advance before it, they *for a time* save themselves, but they destroy their country; if they halt, they destroy themselves, but they may save their country.

162. Great merit of Earl Grey in resisting the movement after the bill was passed.

On this account Earl Grey and his Administration deserve the very highest credit, and have earned the lasting gratitude of their country, for the patriotic and unselfish use which they made of power when it was placed in their hands, almost without limitation, by the passing of the Reform Bill. No one can doubt that they might have preserved their immense popularity and prolonged their tenure of office by conceding the principal demands of the agitators. O'Connell and the Romish priesthood would have been entirely satisfied by the confiscation of the Irish Church property or the extinction of tithes in the Emerald Isle; the English Radicals would have been converted into their noisy supporters by the repeal, without any equivalent, of the house and window tax, and of all duties on the importation of grain. When, therefore, instead of yielding to these demands, the Government manfully resisted them, they insured indeed their own downfall, but they deprived a great social revolution of its chief dangers, and got over a time the most critical that had ever occurred in English history without farther inroads on the constitution. Their legislative measures during the next two years, when they enjoyed unlimited power, if we except Negro Emancipation, which was not their own, but forced upon them by the people, were wise and judicious, and have been decisively vindicated in the result by their beneficial consequences to the country.

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163. Review of his administration.

Earl Grey's conduct on this momentous occasion proves that the great and irreparable change in the constitution, which was effected by the Reform Bill, was done by its promoters, not in the spirit of revolution, but from want of practical acquaintance with the people with whom they were surrounded. This is the great defect observable in aristocratic leaders, when they adventure on measures of social change: we often respect their motives, but we seldom fail to lament their ignorance and want of practical familiarity with affairs. One of the ablest of the Liberal annalists has thus characterised his Administration: "His chief error was an induced incapacity through the evil operation of aristocratic station, uncorrected by timely political labour, and the extensive intercourses which are a privilege attendant upon it. He knew no more of the British people than he did of the Spaniards or Germans. *He did not see the scope of his own Reform Bill,* and could not bear the consequences of his own greatest act, the fruition of the aim of his whole life. When he had himself taken up the House of Lords in his hand, broken its fastenings, and set it down in a lower place, he insisted that it was still where it was before, and 'he would stand by his order' against any who declared to the contrary."[1] Making allowance for some exaggeration incident to the sex and disposition of this able writer, there can be no doubt there is much truth in these observations. But if the great Reform leader erred, and erred grievously, from ignorance of the effect of his own measure, he redeemed his fault by his subsequent conduct, though in so doing he underwent the penalty of his previous transgression. His fate stands forth as a memorable warning to all such as may adventure on a similar career. Earl Grey destroyed the old Constitution of England, and the first victim of the new Constitution was Earl Grey himself.

[1] Mart. ii. 125.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TURKEY, GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE EAST, FROM THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE IN 1828, TO THE TREATY OF 13TH MARCH 1841.

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1. Revolt of distant provinces the usual cause of decay of Eastern states.

SUCH are the natural strength and incomparable local advantages of Constantinople, that it has, both in ancient and modern times, enabled the empire of which it formed the head to survive the usual causes of decay, which, after the lapse of a few generations, generally prostrate the most powerful Asiatic monarchies. Depending entirely on the vigour and capacity of the chief of the State, and having no lasting support from the intelligence and energy of his subjects save under such direction, they commonly fall into decay when the corruptions of the harem or the luxury of the metropolis have enfeebled the race of monarchs who wield their destinies. The first appearance of this decrepitude is seen in the revolt or independence of the distant provinces of the empire. Escaping the control of a firm and vigilant hand in its centre, the remote dependencies raise the standard of revolt, hoping merely to avoid the burden of a tribute, and gain the sweets of independence. The Byzantine empire in ancient, not less than the Turkish in modern times, have felt, during the reigns of imbecile monarchs, the influence of this cause of ruin, and the dependencies of the empire began to break off long before the power of the centre was exhausted. But the strength

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of Constantinople, and the vast resources it derived from the immense commerce of which it was, and ever will be, the emporium, has in both long preserved it from the ruin which otherwise would centuries before have overtaken it. The Turks were settled in European Turkey, and Adrianople was their capital, long before the cannon of Mahomet II. made the fatal breach in the walls of Constantinople; and statesmen and philosophers have been for above a century speculating on the approaching fall of the Ottoman Empire, and yet the Crescent still predominates over the Cross on the shores of the Bosphorus.

2. Weakness of Turkey after the peace of Adrianople.

Although, by the happy audacity of Diebitch, and the ignorance of the European diplomatists at Constantinople of the real state of the army which he had led across the Balkan, Russia made the narrowest possible escape at the conclusion of the late war, and dictated a glorious peace at Adrianople, at the very moment when a disaster rivalling the Moscow retreat awaited her arms,[1] yet was the moral influence of the Osmanlis, and their sway over the various nations which obeyed their rule, not the less weakened by that event. The nations of Asia, equally with those of Europe, were dazzled by what seemed to be so decisive an overthrow; they considered the Muscovites invincible, because during several generations they had never ceased to conquer; and the distant pachas, deeming the ruin of the empire at hand, began to take measures for their separate safety or aggrandisement. It had long been the policy of the Divan at Constantinople, as it had of the feudal monarchs of Europe, to veil their real weakness under the strength of their vassals, and to purchase the aid of one feudatory in suppressing another by promising him his spoils. It was thus that in the last age the formidable insurrection of Ali Pacha, which for years defied the whole strength of the Sultan, was at length overcome by the forces of Chourchid Pacha, the satrap of Macedonia. But now there appeared on the

[1] Ante, c. xv. § 146.

field a more formidable rebel than had yet tried the Ottoman arms; and the Muscovite shock roused to the dream of independence the most powerful vassal of the Sultan, and one whose forces, as the event proved, the Turks were unable to resist.

3. Mehemet Ali: his character and policy.

EGYPT, at this critical period, was under the direction of MEHEMET ALI, one of those remarkable men who often arise on great emergencies, with talents capable of determining their direction. Unlike other Asiatic despots, he was keenly alive to the signs of the times, and not only saw and appreciated the advantages of the European system of government and war, but resolved himself to adopt and profit by it. Too powerful and far removed to be under the actual control of the government at Constantinople, he had, for many years before the Greek war broke out, enjoyed, practically speaking, an independence on the banks of the Nile. Strongly impressed by the result of the war in Egypt in 1801 between the English and French, of which he had been an eyewitness, with the superiority of European discipline and arms, he had laboured assiduously to introduce them into his own territories, and by the aid of several French and English officers, whom he had induced by high rewards to enter his service, he had been eminently successful. Aware of the vital importance of a naval force in all wars in the Levant, he had been indefatigable in his endeavours to establish a respectable marine. His admirals had cautiously avoided disaster, at the expense perhaps of their reputation for courage, in the war with the Greeks; the catastrophe of Navarino had been repaired; and with such success had his efforts been attended, that he now possessed a fleet of seven sail of the line and twelve frigates,—a force at least equal to any which the Ottomans could bring against it. Taking warning from the destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir, he had deepened the entrance to the harbour of Alexandria, so as to enable it to admit ships of the line without unload-

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ing their guns, and its arsenals were amply stored with everything requisite for the equipment of a powerful navy. The superiority of the Egyptian troops and discipline had been fatally experienced by the Greeks in the war of Hellenic independence, and the desultory bands of the Morea had proved unable to withstand their disciplined battalions. It was by their aid that the blood-stained ramparts of Missolonghi had been surmounted, and the Christians reduced to subjection, till the fire of Navarino lighted again the flickering flame of their independence.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 400, 401.

4. His system of civil government.

Imitating not less adroitly the civil system of the Europeans than their military tactics, Mehemet Ali had contrived to establish a government which united the order and regularity of the European to the force and disregard of private right of the Asiatic, and which gives *for a brief space*, and till its effects have been fully experienced, an amount of resources and a degree of strength which neither taken separately could by possibility realise. The strength of the European system of government consists in the vast resources which a regular and just administration permits to grow up in the State, and which on an emergency may be rendered available to its necessities; that of the Asiatic, in the ruthless vigour with which, despite all efforts at resistance, these resources can be extorted from its inhabitants. But a system which combines the order, method, and perseverance of the West with the energy and despotic character of the East, must for the time command an amount of resources capable of rendering it invincible. This is the Russian system of government in Europe, and the British in India, and hence the uniform success which for a very long period has attended the arms of both. The French occupation of Egypt, and their system of administration, carried to such perfection under Kleber and Menou, had not been lost on Mehemet Ali. His career had been facilitated by a slaughter of the Mamelukes, which equalled in per-

fidy and rivalled in atrocity that of the Strelitzes by Peter the Great, and that of the Janizaries by Sultan Mahmoud; and having thus got quit of the chief of his refractory subjects, he succeeded in establishing a pacific despotism in Egypt, which rendered it for a brief season one of the most powerful states on the shores of the Mediterranean.

5. Origin of the war.

The war commenced from a trivial incident hardly adequate to account for a contest fraught in its ultimate results with such disastrous consequences to the Ottoman Empire. Some thousand fellahs, or peasants of the Delta of Egypt, discontented with the endless and systematic exactions of the Egyptian government, had crossed the deserts which separate Asia and Africa, and sought refuge in the territories of the pacha of Acre, by whom they were received with open arms in the autumn of 1831, as likely to bring a valuable accession of agricultural labourers to that province, which, like all parts of the Ottoman dominions, stood much in need of them. For that very reason, however, they were a serious loss to Mehemet Ali, who could ill spare them, and he therefore sternly demanded their re-delivery. This the pacha of Acre, little aware of the magnitude of the force he was going to provoke, refused to accede to, and Mehemet Ali immediately fitted out a powerful army, under the command of his son Ibrahim Pacha, to compel their restitution. In this he had a more important object in view than the recovery of a few thousand runaway peasants. Experience had before this taught him that Syria would form a most important appendage to his dominions, and was in fact indispensable to the dream of independence which already flitted before his eyes. It abounded in all the productions of which the valley of Egypt was destitute. It was watered by the dew of heaven, instead of being an arid waterless wilderness fertilised only by the floods of the Nile; it had woods, pastures, and mines of iron and coal; its inhabitants

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were numerous and warlike, and the transit of the caravans of Mecca through its territory added considerably to its riches. Above all, Mehemet coveted Acre, the key in every age of Syria, and which, from having repelled the arms of Napoleon, had recently acquired an importance much beyond its real value. He gave orders to Ibrahim Pacha to cross the desert and enter Syria with the whole forces at his disposal, which consisted of forty battalions of infantry, eight regiments of cavalry, and 4000 Bedouins, forming in all 30,000 infantry and 8000 horse.[1]

[1] Duc de Raguse, Voyages, ii. 350, 351; Ann. Hist. xiv. 392, 395.

6. Physical description of Syria.

The physical structure of Asia Minor and Syria is very peculiar, and an acquaintance with it can alone explain the important military and naval events of which it ere long became the theatre. Extremely mountainous in almost every part, it is so much so in Syria as to confine military communications to the sea-coast, and consequently render, as in every part of the Levant, the command of the ocean of the very highest importance in operations on land. The great chain of Syria, which under various names traverses its whole extent, follows the coast of the Mediterranean, from which it is never above six or eight leagues distant. So entirely is this the character of the country, that, in approaching it in any part from the westward, the mountains, like the Andes, as seen from the Pacific, appear to rise from the water's edge, and the snows of Lebanon shut in the scene as completely as those of Chimborazo do in the southern hemisphere. This chain rises to its greatest elevation between Acre and Tripoli, in which quarter it is above ten thousand feet in height. It is divided into two distinct ranges, which bear the names of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, both of which run parallel to the Mediterranean, and which are separated by a deep valley, in the bottom of which the Jordan flows. In the lower regions of these vast mountains Nature appears in her most enchanting aspect, and tradition still points to one of the valleys as

the scene of the Garden of Eden, the birthplace of the human race. Immense forests of sweet-chestnut and olive clothe the mountain-sides; vines, apricots, peaches, and nectarines ripen on every rocky declivity; maize is to be seen in every level hollow; and cool streams flowing from the perennial snows, or fed by the showers which are frequent in the higher regions, diffuse an enchantment which can be appreciated only by those who have toiled under the rays of an Eastern sun. The southern extremity of this range rises to the enormous peak of Mount Cassius, which still, as in ancient days, "raises in the air a peaked summit girdled by forests;"[1] and the higher regions in general are clothed to the edge of the snow with dark bands of larch and pine. It is on one of these lofty plateaus, at an elevation of seven thousand feet above the sea, that the enormous forests of cedar once stood coeval with the first work of creation, which beheld the march of Sesostris' columns, which were old when Troy was young, and from whose massy boughs the Temple of Jerusalem was formed.[2] To these relics of a primeval world, even more than the fanes which stand in solitary grandeur on the Ausonian plains, the lines of the poet are applicable:—

[1] Ammianus Marcellian, xxii. c. 33.

[2] Malte Brun, viii. 188, 189.

"'Mid the deep silence of the pathless wild,
Where kindlier Nature once profusely smiled,
Th' eternal *cedars* stand; unknown their age,
Untold their annals in historic page!
All that around them stood, now far away,
Single in ruin, mighty in decay!
Between the mountains and the neighbouring main
They claim the empire of the lonely plain.
In solemn beauty through the clear blue light
The leafy columns rear their awful height!
And they are still the same; alike they mock
Th' invader's menace and the tempest's shock;
And ere the world had bowed at Cæsar's throne,
Ere yet proud Rome's all-conquering name was known,
They stood; and fleeting centuries in vain
Have poured their fury on the enduring fane,
While in the progress of their long decay,
Thrones sink to dust and empires melt away." *

* *Lines on Pictures.* By the Hon. G. HOWARD.

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7. Military character of the country.

This peculiar conformation of Syria and Asia Minor, and the immense mass of mountains which everywhere intersect their inner parts, explain the campaigns which from the earliest times have occurred within their limits. The sea must always be the base of land operations, because it can alone furnish the means of conveyance to supply the contending parties. It was by the aid of their ships that the Greeks at last took Troy : had Hector succeeded in his project of firing their galleys, it had been all over with the host of the King of Men. Alexander the Great did not venture to cross the Lebanon till he had made himself master of Tyre, and he spent seven months before its walls ere he effected its subjugation. The great strife of the Crusaders and Saracens was for the seaport of Ptolemais ; when it was won, the united hosts of France and England would, had they remained united, have found the march to Jerusalem an easy operation. Napoleon said, that, had he taken Acre, he would have changed the face of the world, and that, by defeating him in its assault, Sir Sidney Smith made him miss his destiny. The only way of passing from Asia Minor into Egypt is by the sea-coast road, of which Acre and Jaffa are the keys. When they are won, the career of conquest is open to a powerful invader coming from either side : till they are carried, all progress between the wilderness and the sea is impossible. This narrow strait has been traversed by the armies of Asia and Africa with alternate success from the earliest times. It was through it that the hosts of Sesostris issued to assert the dominion of Africa over Asia, and by the same route that the refluent tide of Asiatic conquest penetrated to the banks of the Nile and the temples of Memphis. The army of Egypt, which Homer has immortalised in the *Iliad* as coming from the city of the hundred gates to the support of Priam, followed the path which was afterwards trod by the Saracen host which Tasso has sung as hastening to the conflict of Europe and Asia before

Jerusalem, and on which Napoleon entered when dreaming of revolutionising the East. It is not manners and customs alone which remain for ever the same in the oriental regions; nature has imprinted one lasting character, and marked out one only channel for conquest in every age.

8. Ibrahim lays siege to Acre.

IBRAHIM PACHA, who possessed the genius of a great general, and had profoundly studied the strategy of modern Europe, began his operations, as Napoleon had done, with the siege of Acre. Following the footsteps of his great predecessor, by Suez and Jaffa, he threaded the narrow pass between the sea-shore and the rocks of the desert, which are strewed with the skeletons of three thousand years; and leaving on his left hand the ghastly heaps of bones which still mark the massacre of Jaffa, he sat down before Acre in the middle of December. A fleet of five sail of the line and seven frigates attended his footsteps, and furnished the artillery and stores requisite for the siege. Abdallah Pacha, the pacha of Syria, had thrown himself into the fortress with 2500 men, being wholly unable to face in the field the forces, ten times more numerous, with which he was assailed. The siege, notwithstanding the great superiority of force on the part of the besiegers, made very slow progress; and the Egyptians who held the trenches during the inclement months of January and February, suffered extremely from the hardship and sickness incident to such a service at such a season. This obdurate defence gave the Turkish government time to collect three armies to raise the siege; and being at length roused to a full sense of their danger from the progress of their rebellious vassal, they made the most vigorous efforts to effect this object. Before the end of March, Ibrahim received information that a body of 18,000 Turks, advancing from Constantinople, had reached Homs, on the Orontes, the ancient Emesa; while another army of equal force was moving up from Anatolia, under Hussein Pacha, the far-famed destroyer of the Janizaries;[1] and a third, of half

Dec. 15, 1832.

[1] Duc de Raguse, Voyages, ii. 351, 352; Ann. Hist. xv. 395, 396.

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the amount, under Osman Pacha, had already occupied Tripoli, and barred all farther progress by the great road on the sea-coast. At the same time a firman was published at Constantinople, declaring Mehemet Ali a rebel and traitor, and offering his pachalic to the faithful pacha who should effect his destruction.

9. Skilful operations of Ibrahim, and capture of Acre.

Assailed by such formidable antagonists, Ibrahim displayed the decision and conduct of a great general. Imitating the course of Napoleon before Mantua in 1796, and of Suwarroff before Tortosa in 1799, he quickly raised the siege, leaving only a small force sufficient to guard the trenches, and with the bulk of his troops took post at Balbek, in a position central between the converging armies, and at the same time covering from afar the siege of Acre. Finding that the enemy did not approach, he moved forward with his light horse to attack

April 7.

the force stationed at Tripoli. The Turkish corps withdrew at his approach, and Ibrahim attacked, defeated, and pursued them as far as Kosseir. Halting there, he left a considerable part of his troops to watch the enemy, and returned with the remainder to the siege of Acre, the garrison of which was now reduced to extremities. The siege had been very unskilfully conducted, the Egyptian troops being unused to that species of warfare; and the besiegers had sustained enormous losses from hardship and disease before the walls. Ibrahim, however, by his return infused new vigour into the operations, and a breach having at last been effected, the assault was or-

May 27, 1832.

dered on 27th May. Such, however, was the vigour of the defence, that the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Upon this, Ibrahim, with one blow, cut off the head with his own hand of a captain who was flying, and immediately turned a battery charged with grape-

1 Ragusa, ii. 333, 334; Ann. Hist. xv. 396, 397.

shot upon the fugitives. Thus constrained to return to the charge, and being strongly reinforced, the assailants at length made themselves masters of the breach, and entered the town.[1] The walls of Acre, however, on this

occasion, maintained their ancient and deserved fame; the conquerors lost 512 killed and 1429 wounded in that single assault.

10. Battle of Homs. July 6.

Secured by this important conquest in a base of operations and easy communication with his fleet, the Egyptian general proceeded to commence the important operations he meditated in the field. Still retaining a considerable corps in the important strategetical position of Balbek, he himself advanced, at the head of 18,000 men, to Kosseir, where 35,000 Turks were assembled. Finding the enemy so strong, he brought up his whole disposable forces, and drew up his troops, now raised to 25,000 men, in three lines, ready for the attack. Instead of remaining in their position, the Turks advanced to meet the Egyptians, and the two armies met in an open plain in front of HOMS. The Ottomans were drawn up in two lines, and presented a very formidable appearance, though, to a practised eye, their unsteadiness in movement was apparent. Ibrahim's order of battle, which was very peculiar, was admirably calculated to take advantage of that deficiency. The first line, which was deployed, consisted of twelve battalions; the second, which was in column, consisted of the like number of battalions; the third also in column of four. The cavalry was stationed on the flanks of the three lines, also in line and column like the foot-soldiers, the artillery in front of the first line. When the two armies approached each other, and the firing began, the four battalions on the right of the second line moved to the right, and deployed, taking a position oblique to the first line on its extreme right. At the same time, the four battalions of the first line nearest to the right moved forward, and came into line with the four come up from the second, forming thus eight battalions on the Turkish left flank; while the battalions thus moved aside were replaced by the like number, who deployed, and advanced up from the second line. The same movement was made by the cavalry on the

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right in both lines, while that on the left moved forward and threatened the Turkish right, to prevent their sending succours to their left, where the real attack was to be made: at the same time the artillery kept up an incessant fire along the whole front. The effect of these movements was to compel the Turks to throw back their left wing, to avoid being outflanked; but this operation, performed by unsteady troops under fire, soon led to general confusion. Attacked vigorously in front and flank while executing their retrograde movement, they speedily fell into confusion, and fled, leaving 2000 slain on the field, and 3000 prisoners, with twelve guns, in the hands of the victors.[1]

[1] Ragusa, ii. 356, 358; Ann. Hist. xv. 397, 398.

11. The Egyptians enter Aleppo. July 8.

So completely was this victory the result of the superior generalship and discipline on the part of the Egyptians that they sustained very little loss. Next day they were in a condition to pursue their advantages, and entered Homs, which the Ottomans evacuated at their approach, leaving 1500 men, chiefly wounded, and twelve more guns, in the hands of the victors. The Turkish army upon this retired to Aleppo, and formed a junction with the corps commanded by Hussein Pacha. The united force attempted a stand in front of that city, but it was a show only. No sooner had Ibrahim brought up his reserve than they retired in two columns—that on the right by Kliss, that on the left by Antioch; while the Egyptian army took possession of Aleppo, where they found repose, and the stores and provisions necessary to recruit them after their fatigues, but unfortunately with them the cholera, which soon made alarming ravages in their wearied ranks.[2]

[2] Ragusa, ii. 358, 359; Ann. Hist. xv. 359, 360.

12. Battle of Beylau. July 29.

When his soldiers had in some degree recovered from their fatigue, Ibrahim again took the field, and moved against the Turkish army, which was by this time concentrated in the neighbourhood of BEYLAU, while detachments of light troops were sent out, some towards the sources of the Euphrates, some towards Antioch, in order

to ascertain what forces of the enemy were to be found in that direction. The Turkish forces, however, 36,000 strong, were concentrated in front of Beylau, on the southern slope of one of the branches of the Taurus, and covered in front by rude intrenchments, hastily thrown up, after the Ottoman fashion. Behind them the heights rose rapidly, and as they were not occupied by the Ottoman forces, the Egyptian general ordered a select corps, by a detour, to gain the eminence, so as to threaten the rear of the Turkish force. As soon as their standards were seen crowning the heights, the signal to attack was given. Finding themselves attacked in front and menaced in rear, the Osmanlis made scarcely any resistance, but instantly began to retreat, those on the right by the road to Beylau, those on the left by the mountains. The first having to retire under the fire of four Egyptian battalions, posted on heights which commanded the road, suffered severely, and ere long fell into confusion, the troops disbanding, and seeking safety in isolated flight. The last, having no road to retire by, were in disorder from the first, and fled in utter confusion over the mountains towards Alexandretta, leaving behind them 25 pieces of cannon and 74 caissons. The Turks next day abandoned Alexandretta in utter confusion, abandoning 14 more pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of ammunition and provisions; and, notwithstanding the rapidity of their flight, the Egyptian light-horse brought in 1900 prisoners. This battle was fought close to the spot where Alexander encountered and defeated the army of Darius on the Issus: so uniformly does the conformation of the country in Asia Minor bring contending armies into the same field of conflict.[1]

[1] Ragusa, ii. 340, 342; Ann. Hist. xv. 399, 400.

By these successive victories Ibrahim had gained the command of the whole sea-coast of Syria, from Egypt to the foot of the Taurus: Acre, Tripoli, and Aleppo had successively fallen into his hands; he had taken eighty pieces of cannon, killed or made prisoners 13,000 men,

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13. Results of the campaign, and great preparations of the Porte.

dispersed two armies, and driven the remains of them into the defiles of the Taurus. These great successes at length roused the Divan from their apathy, and made them sensible of the necessity of making a vigorous effort to avert the approaching dismemberment of their empire. The command-in-chief was taken from Hussein Pacha and given to the Grand Vizier, Redschid Pacha, already celebrated by his victories in Albania and Bosnia, and the subjugation of the rebels in those provinces. His character was noble and lofty, and he possessed all the personal and mental qualities which in all armies, but especially the oriental, are so important an element in success. A fresh army of above 50,000 men, for the most part regular soldiers, with a numerous artillery, was intrusted to his orders.[1]

[1] Ragusa, ii. 343, 345; Ann. Hist. xv. 399.

14. Advance of Ibrahim to Konieh.

Informed of the approach of such formidable forces, the Egyptian army was concentrated at Adana, still, however, holding Aleppo, and keeping up the communication by sea with Egypt, while six battalions, with a corps of irregular cavalry, took post at Orfah, in order to secure the pass by the Diarbekir, over Mount Taurus, to Sivaz and Erzeroum. There it remained, recovering from its

Oct. 13. fatigues, and receiving reinforcements, till the 13th October, when it moved forward in two columns towards the passes of the Taurus. The main body marched on Nimroud, in the front of the Turkish position, while the irregular troops were moved on Tcheskau, to turn the position. These movements had the effect of compelling the Ottomans to abandon their ground in the mountains, and the Egyptian vanguard took possession of Erekli, without opposition, on the 22d October. The troops remained there, being excessively fatigued, till the 11th

Nov. 11. November, when, being provided with bread for six days, they moved direct upon KONIEH, where the Turkish army was concentrated; while a body of irregulars, by a circuit through the mountains, threatened to gain their rear by the route of Karaman. This march was made by Ibra-

him with every precaution, and he was prepared, at a moment's warning, to form order of battle. The troops moved in five columns. The artillery was in the centre, then a column of infantry on the right and left,—the cavalry on either flank. This was as nearly as possible Cæsar's order of march when near the enemy, and very different from that of Korsakoff from Zurich in 1799, who put the *artillery in the rear of the column*, and thereby lost the whole, and occasioned the total defeat of his army.[1]

[1] Ragusa, ii. 344, 345; Ann. Hist. xv. 402, 403; Cæsar, de Bell. Gall.

15. Preparations for a decisive battle.

The Ottomans, however, did not await Ibrahim's approach, but, after a slight skirmish of cavalry, evacuated Konieh, leaving behind them immense magazines of ammunition and provisions. The rudeness of the season now compelled inactivity to both armies, during which the Egyptian general was indefatigable in his endeavours to reinforce and strengthen his position. He selected a field for battle in front of Konieh, which he studied with the utmost care, and on which he frequently exercised his troops in the manœuvres which he anticipated in the approaching conflict. Several cavalry combats took place during this period, in which the superior generalship and discipline of the Egyptians prevailed, and in one of which they took five hundred prisoners and five pieces of cannon. Everything conspired in favour of Ibrahim: the discipline and equipment of his troops were obviously superior to that of the enemy; they had been victorious in every encounter, and the religious spirit of the Mussulmans, which had been severely depressed by their long train of disasters, rapidly revived under a chief who led the Arabs out of their deserts to victories almost recalling those of the early days of Islamism. He seemed an instrument in the hand of Providence to reinstate the true faith, and punish the degenerate Turks, who had departed from the precepts of the Prophet. "How far will you advance?" was he asked one day. "As far as I am understood in Arabic," was the significant reply.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. xv. 401, 403; Ragusa, ii. 346, 347.

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16. Forces on both sides.

Pressed by reiterated orders from Constantinople to exterminate the invader, the Turkish army at length broke up from Ladik, which was about fifteen miles from Konieh, and advanced to give battle. The Turkish force was triple that of the Egyptian; the ranks of the latter having been severely weakened by fatigue and sickness, and a considerable part of the army necessarily left behind to keep up the long line of communication with Egypt. Ibrahim had only twenty battalions of infantry, (about 10,000 combatants), sixteen squadrons of cavalry, mustering 2600 sabres, 36 guns, and 4000 irregular horse; in all not more than 17,000 men. The Ottoman force was above 48,000; but its discipline and equipment were by no means equal to those of its opponents: the troops, in great part newly raised, were little inured to war; they were ignorant of each other, had no mutual confidence, and went into battle with that sad presentiment of defeat which so often works out its own accomplishment.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 404, 405; Ragusa, ii. 346, 347.

17. Battle of Konieh. Dec. 21.

Informed of the approach of such a formidable army, Ibrahim drew up his little force in the position which he had studied with so much care, and on which they had been so sedulously exercised during the last month. They were arrayed in two lines. The first, consisting of eight battalions, was drawn up in line; the second, also of eight battalions, in columns of battalions at deploying distance. The columns on the left and right of this second line were drawn up in hollow squares, and a little thrown forward, so as to cover by their fire both the flanks of its own line and those of the line in front. The four battalions of the Guard were stationed in reserve, and on its two flanks the cavalry, also in column. The artillery was divided, one-half being on the wings of the first line, and the other half in reserve, beside the cavalry in the third line. These positions were taken up and the movements executed with the utmost precision, under cover of a thick fog, which entirely concealed them from

the enemy; and when the mist cleared away, like the raising up of a drop-scene on the theatre, the Ottomans beheld their antagonists marshalled as on a parade, in the finest order. Their force, though much inferior in discipline, was greatly superior in number, and far outflanked on either side the Egyptian host. The Turks were drawn up in four lines; the first deployed, the three others in column, the cavalry on either flank and in reserve, the artillery in front of the first line. Their position was well chosen; their right resting on the mountain of Silè, their left on the morasses of Konieh, both of which were impenetrable for cavalry or artillery; but this was of the less importance, that their force, being so much superior in number, was obviously charged with the duties of attack.[1]

[1] Ragusa, ii. 348, 349; Ann. Hist. xv. 404, 405.

18. Decisive movement of Ibrahim on his right.

The battle began with a general discharge of the Turkish artillery along the whole line, to which the Egyptian replied with a well-directed fire, though from half the number of pieces, and soon the fire of musketry became extremely warm on both sides. Ibrahim wisely drew back his left, so as to compel the enemy, if he followed it, to abandon the strong cover of the mountain of Silè; if not to render a part of it disposable for the attack on his right, where he meditated the chief onslaught, as the ground in that direction was level, and practicable for all arms, and if successful, he might cut the enemy off from the road to Ladik, and force them to abandon their artillery. The Turkish army showed at first a good countenance, and advanced in tolerable order against the Egyptian; but not having calculated the distances correctly, a huge gap was left between the infantry on their left and the cavalry. Ibrahim no sooner perceived this opening than he prepared to take advantage of it, by advancing his reserve infantry, and nearly the whole of his cavalry, into the undefended space. They came up immediately in admirable order, and turning sharp on the Ottoman horse, now entirely severed from support, de-

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feated them entirely, and drove them to a distance from the field of battle. The Grand Vizier, to repair this disaster, brought up his best infantry, and charged the Egyptian Guard, now established in the opening, with great vigour. But they were received with not less intrepidity, and ere long the close and well-directed fire from the Guard threw them into confusion, and they fled behind the second line, which advanced, headed by the Grand Vizier in person. The contest now was short and terrible, but it terminated in the entire defeat of the Turks. Their best battalions, assailed by the Egyptian Guard in front, and the cavalry, which had returned from the pursuit of the discomfited horse, were forced to lay down their arms, and were made prisoners, with the Grand Vizier at their head.

19. Victory of the Egyptians.

While this desperate conflict was going on on the Turkish left, the Egyptian left was exposed to the greatest dangers. The Turkish right there advanced in such force as completely to envelop the Egyptian battalions, which were speedily surrounded by a surging mass of turbans, while the artillery made huge gaps in their ranks. Formed in square, however, they kept up a rolling fire, and though sorely weakened by constantly closing up their ranks, succeeded in maintaining their ground, till Ibrahim, with the victorious right, came up to their support. Meanwhile a corps of three thousand Turkish horse, by a headlong charge, succeeded in breaking through the Egyptian centre, and, passing straight on, reached Konieh, which they pillaged, and spread far and wide the report that all was lost. But this success, considerable as it was, could not compensate the disaster sustained on the centre and the Turkish left, and the capture of the Grand Vizier with the flower of the army. Soon the intelligence of this catastrophe spread through both armies, and the Ottomans, seized with a sudden panic, and being cut off from the line of retreat to Ladik, dispersed in all directions.[1] It was no longer a battle, but a carnage: the victorious Egyptians

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 404, 405; Ragusa, ii. 351, 352; Ibrahim Pacha's Official Account, Dec. 22, 1832; Ann. Hist. xvi. 224, (Doc. Hist.)

continued to pursue and cut down the fugitives, till their wearied arms could no longer wield a sabre; and before nightfall, fifteen thousand Turks had been slain or made prisoners, with forty-four guns, and the whole ammunition, magazines, and camp equipage of the army.

20. Immense effects of this victory.

Such was the great and decisive battle of Konieh, which, in the skill with which it was conducted on the part of the victors, and the immense results with which it was attended, recalls the days when the Macedonian phalanx led by Alexander, or the Roman legions headed by Lucullus and Pompey, dissipated the countless hordes of the Asiatic cavalry. Not less than the battles of the Issus or Arbela, it was a blow which prostrated at once the strength of the Ottomans, and, but for the intervention of Russia, would beyond all doubt have changed the ruling power at Constantinople, and altered the whole face of the East. Great as the victory was, it was exceeded by its effects. Since the days of Timour and Bajazat no such shock had been felt in the East. The army which had fought at Konieh completely dispersed; not two battalions or three squadrons could be collected next day around the standards of the Osmanlis. Had Ibrahim taken advantage of the first moments of consternation, and marched direct upon Constantinople, he would beyond all doubt have made himself master of that capital, and dethroned the race of Othman. But the Egyptian general was ignorant of the magnitude of his own success; he could not conceive that the power of the Sultan was so soon to be overthrown; the empire of Constantinople, in its last extremity, was protected by the shadow of its former renown. He remained inactive at Konieh till the 20th January, when he advanced Jan. 20. without opposition towards the Bosphorus, declaring his intention of letting the Oulemas determine between him and the Sultan, and had reached Kutahieh, near Scutari, on the 1st February, when his farther progress was Feb. 1. stopped, as will immediately appear, by the armed in-

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tervention of Russia and the diplomatic efforts of Europe. But the fame of his victories had preceded him; the sensation in the East was immense; and the whole warlike tribes in Asia Minor were prepared to have joined his standard, and established a new dynasty on the throne of Constantinople. Universally he was regarded by the Mussulmans as the man of destiny who was to punish the backslidings of the followers of the Prophet, and re-establish in their pristine purity the usages of the faithful. Even in Europe the marvellous successes of the Egyptian army attracted great attention among the thoughtful. The interpreters of prophecy were rife, as they always are on any considerable events in the East; and it was said by many that Ibrahim's triumphs were foretold in the words,—"The King of the *South* shall push at him:" forgetting that the Egyptians were even more orthodox Mussulmans than the Turks, and that it was not to be supposed that the Euphrates was to be dried up by the swelling of one of its tributary streams.[1]

[1] Ragusa, ii. 353, 359; Ann. Hist. xv. 403, 405, and xvi. 448.

21. The Porte applies to England for succour, and is refused.

In this extremity the Porte had recourse to the only power which, in the circumstances in which Turkey was placed, could be solicited without danger. The Divan applied to England, the ancient and steady ally of the Ottoman Government, which in 1789 had rescued them from the jaws of Russia, and in 1801 saved them from dismemberment by France, and whose remote situation removed its Government as much from territorial ambition in the East as its powerful navy gave it the means of effective support to its allies in that quarter. Never was such an opportunity afforded for the establishment of a powerful and efficacious barrier against Russia in the East: imagination itself could not have conceived anything more favourable. The British Government was now applied to by an ancient ally for succour against a rebellious vassal, and an opportunity was afforded of rendering a service to the Ottoman rulers

of so essential a kind as to insure future gratitude and dependence, and counteract in a great degree the growing influence of the Muscovites at the court of Constantinople. Incalculable would have been the effects of such aid, if promptly rendered; it would probably have restored the balance of power in the East, and averted, if not altogether prevented, the terrible war of 1854 in the Black Sea. Unhappily, England was not at this period in a condition to take advantage of the extraordinary good fortune thus thrown in her way, and she now began to experience the fatal effects upon her external influence of the political passions by which her people were convulsed, and the new line of foreign policy which the triumph of the Liberal party had imposed upon her Government. So great had been the reduction of her land and sea forces in consequence of the growing passion for economy which had prevailed ever since the peace, and which the contraction of the currency had now rendered a matter of necessity, that Great Britain had no forces at her disposal adequate for an Eastern war, and the few which she had were, as will immediately appear, absorbed in propping up a rickety and unpopular government against the feelings of the Portuguese at Lisbon. The Cabinet of St James's accordingly returned for answer to the Turkish application for succour, that however much inclined to have rendered it, they had not at that moment the means of affording the assistance required.[1] *

[1] Cap. vi. 307, 308; Ann. Reg. 1832, 267; Ann. Hist. xvi. 446.

22. Reasons for not applying to France.

France was the power which, next to England, seemed capable of rendering the most efficacious aid to the Porte in its distress, but there were many reasons which rendered it unadvisable, and indeed hopeless, to make any application in that quarter. The French had never lost sight of the ambitious designs which Napoleon had entertained in regard to Egypt, and their recent expedition to, and permanent occupation of Algiers, had proved that change of dynasty had made no alteration in the

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views of their government in that respect. Even if the cabinet of Louis Philippe had been as favourably inclined as possible to succour the Porte, they had not the means at that period any more than the English of doing so. They had only just recovered from the double shock of the Royalist insurrection in La Vendée, and the Republican in Paris; and a great expedition was preparing to march into Flanders, to unite with the British fleet in planting the tricolor flag on the citadel of Antwerp. Nothing therefore could be hoped from France in this emergency, yet something absolutely required to be done, for Ibrahim's forces might in a week reach Scutari, and his approach, it was well known, would be the signal for an immediate insurrection, and probable dethronement of the Sultan.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 308, 309; Ann. Hist. xvi. 446, 447.

23. The Porte applies to Russia for aid.

In this extremity the Divan had recourse TO RUSSIA, and skilfully represented the revolt of the pacha of Egypt as a part of the general system of insubordination which had invaded Europe, and which all its monarchies, and Russia in particular, were deeply interested in crushing. The Emperor of Russia, as may well be believed, was not slow in accepting the offer of *exclusive protectorate* thus made to him by the Sultan. The Russian consul was immediately recalled from Alexandria, and a tender made of a Russian fleet under Admiral Greig, with 5000 troops on board, and a *corps d'armée* of 25,000 men to operate on the Danube. These offers gave the most extreme satisfaction at Constantinople, and their gratitude was evinced in a circular to the other European powers, which bore, "The rebellion of Mehemet Ali will, without doubt, be considered by the other powers of Europe, as it has been by the Emperor of Russia, as a criminal enterprise, which nothing can justify, and which should be punished by the recall of the ambassadors of all the powers who are interested in the maintenance of legal order. The insurrection which the troops of the Sultan are at this moment combating, has its

origin in the vilest ambition and rapacity: it menaces the commercial interests of all nations which are attracted to the shores of Egypt by their riches. The true way to ruin it is to isolate it. Such a measure, adopted by the Emperor of Russia, and imitated by the other powers of Europe, will at once evince the sincerity of their friendship for the Sublime Porte, and advance the interest of their own subjects, none of whom can be indifferent to the fatal example of rebellion given by Mehemet Ali, and many of whom, if it succeeds, will be inclined to imitate it."[1] The autograph letter of the Sultan to the Emperor of Russia requesting assistance, is still preserved in the imperial archives of St Petersburg, and is justly regarded as one of the proudest trophies of the Russian empire.

[1] Note of the Turkish minister, Jan. 21, 1833; Cap. vi. 308, and vii. 101.

24. Which is joyfully accorded.

The Cabinet of St Petersburg stood in no need of these skilful and well-conceived considerations to accord the assistance requested by the Sultan. The long-wished-for opportunity had at length arrived: Turkey was so reduced that she was compelled to solicit the assistance of her inveterate enemy—

"Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas."

Fortune, the revolutionary passions, and political nullity of the French and English people, had now thrown the much-coveted prize within her grasp; and not only without increasing the hostility, but with the concurrence, and even by the advice, of the Western Powers. No sooner, therefore, had the Porte, under this pressure of the advance of Ibrahim from Konieh towards Scutari, solicited the immediate support of a Russian corps of 4000 or 5000 men sent by sea, than the Russian minister, M. Boutenieff, at once promised not only that aid, but the assistance of an auxiliary corps of 30,000 men, who were to cross the Danube and advance to the support of the capital. So wise had been the foresight, so active the preparations of the Cabinet of St Petersburg, that everything was prepared at Sebasto-

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pol to turn the crisis to the very best account. The troops were ready to step on board the ships of the line prepared to receive them, and set sail, and the admirals prepared with secret instructions to take their orders from the ambassador at Constantinople. No sooner, accordingly, did the formal demand for succour from M. Boutenieff arrive, than the Russian squadron of four sail of the line and six frigates, having on board 6000 troops, set sail from Sebastopol, made straight with exulting hearts for Constantinople, and reached the Bay of Bourgas, near the mouth of the Bosphorus, on the 20th February.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 448, 450.

25. The Porte in vain seeks to countermand the succours, and breach of the negotiations.

Before they arrived, however, the imminence of the crisis had passed, and the Porte was fain to be delivered from the perilous protection of the Muscovites. The French government, more alive than the British to the incalculable consequences of Constantinople being occupied by a Russian subsidiary force, had sent Admiral Roussin with a squadron to Constantinople, and hastened by negotiation to avert the danger, and proposals for an accommodation had been transmitted to Ibrahim, at Kutaya, which had been accepted by Halil Pacha on the part of the Porte, and occasioned the halt of the forces of the conqueror at that place. These terms consisted in the cession of the entire pachalic of Syria, with the district of Adana and Egypt, in perpetuity to Mehemet Ali. The Divan agreed to these terms, very much in order to avert the dreaded intervention of the Russians, and in consequence the Reis Effendi intimated to M. Boutenieff that the aid of the Russian auxiliary force was no longer required, and that it might retire. The Russian admiral, however, would only agree to anchor his fleet in the Bay of Bourgas instead of entering the Bosphorus; and while lying there, intelligence arrived which caused the breaking off of the negotiation, and the military occupation of Constantinople by the Russians. Mehemet Ali positively refused to ratify the treaty proposed by the French, and agreed to by the Turkish government, and his emissaries,

dispersed through Asia Minor, occasioned such a ferment that it became evident that the hearts of the entire inhabitants were with him, and that the dethronement of the Sultan, if he advanced to Scutari, would be effected without firing a shot. Wherever his emissaries appeared, his authority was recognised, and the Turkish officials dispossessed; and without violence or resistance, the richest part of Asia Minor, including the great city of Smyrna, had already passed under the power of the Egyptians.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 452, 453; Cap. vi. 310, 311.

No sooner did the Russian government receive intelligence of the rupture of the negotiations, than they despatched couriers in all directions to hasten the march of the troops they had prepared in various quarters, and embark them at Odessa. This was accordingly done with the greatest expedition. The embarkation took place there on the 29th March, and immediately set sail under the convoy of a division of the Russian fleet, commanded by Admiral Roumani. They effected a junction with the expedition which had come from Sebastopol, in the Bay of Bourgas, and the united squadrons made sail for the Bosphorus. There they arrived on the 5th April, and immediately passed the straits and disembarked the troops on the Asiatic shore, within sight of Constantinople, opposite Buyukdere and Therapia. At the same time, to evince the concurrence of the Western Powers in this extraordinary occupation, the English and French consuls struck their colours and left Smyrna, then in the hands of the Egyptians. Thus, as if to demonstrate the universality of the change in the policy of the whole European powers by the effects of the Revolution of July in Paris, at the very same time an English and French force combined for the siege of Antwerp, and its restoration to the sway of the tricolor flag, English and French diplomacy united in destroying the barrier erected by Marlborough and Wellington in Flanders against France;[2] an English fleet was busied in establishing a revolutionary throne in Lisbon; and with the consent of France and England, a

26. Fresh Russian expedition sails from Odessa. March 29.

April 5.

[2] Ann. Hist. xvi. 455, 456; Cap. vi. 311, 314.

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Russian fleet passed the Bosphorus, and a Russian army of 12,000 men took post on the Mountain of the Giant, within sight of Constantinople.

27. Mission of Lord Durham to St Petersburg, April 1839.

Matters had now reached such a crisis in the East, that, how much soever the Western Powers might be occupied with their internal convulsions, it was impossible any longer to overlook them. Lord Durham was accordingly sent to St Petersburg on the part of England, to unite his efforts with those of Marshal Mortier on that of France, and Count Pozzo di Borgo, to endeavour to obtain some amelioration of the lot of the Poles, who were languishing under the severity of military occupation, and to effect a satisfactory solution of the Eastern question, and the dispute between Mehemet Ali and the Porte. Lord Durham was received in the most distinguished manner at St Petersburg, and all the graceful flattery and high-bred attention, of which the superior classes in Russia are such perfect masters, were lavished upon him. He was almost an inmate of the imperial palace; a succession of magnificent reviews gave a dazzling picture of the military strength of the empire; balls, concerts, and receptions in profusion, of the wealth and splendour of its nobility. But amidst all this external homage and consideration, the Czar was careful to abate nothing of his pretensions either as regarded Turkey or Poland. On the contrary, at that very time appeared an "organic statute," which for ever incorporated Poland with Russia,* and abolished all distinction between the government and armies of the two countries. And as to

* "Le Royaume de Pologne *est pour toujours réuni à l'Empire de Russie*, et en forme une partie intégrante. La liberté du culte est parfaitement garantie: la Religion Catholique, comme celle que professent la majorité de nos sujets dans le Royaume de Pologne, sera toujours l'objet de la protection et de la bienveillance particulière du Gouvernement. La publication des pensées par le moyen de la presse ne sera assujettie qu' à la restriction jugée pour la sûreté due à la religion, pour l'inviolabilité de l'autorité suprême et de la pureté des mœurs. Notre armée dans l'Empire et dans le Royaume fera un tout homogène, *sans distinction des troupes Russes ou Polonaises.* Toutes les affaires administratives et judiciaires seront traitées en langue Polonaise."—*Acte Organique*, April 18, 1833; CAPEFIGUE, vi. 310, 311, note.

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Turkey, while incessantly professing the utmost moderation and disinterestedness, the Czar was careful not to withdraw his troops from the Mountain of the Giant, nor his squadron from the Bosphorus, till he had secured for Russia advantages greater than could have been hoped from a series of the most successful campaigns, and which, in effect, left Turkey entirely at the mercy of its colossal neighbour.[1]

[1] Cap. vi. 311, 314; Ann. Hist. xvi. 455, 456.

28. Treaty between the Porte and Mehemet Ali. May 6, 1833.

To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise that Mehemet Ali, finding, if he persisted in a farther advance to Scutari, he would have the forces of Russia as well as Turkey to combat, changed his policy, and, relinquishing the dream of establishing a new dynasty on the shores of the Bosphorus, confined himself to the more limited object of securing substantial advantages to himself from the successes of Ibrahim in Syria. He lent a willing ear, accordingly, as soon as informed of the Russian intervention, to the French proposals of accommodation, and the result appeared in a firman, entitled a *firman of amnesty*, from the Porte, which, without expressly recognising the Pacha of Egypt as an independent power, secured to him all the substantial advantages of victory, by confirming him in the governments of Crete and Egypt, and adding to them those of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Damascus, and the government of Adana. These great concessions were accompanied by an absolute amnesty to all the subjects of the Porte who had revolted in Anatolia, and were declared to be granted in consideration "of the assurances of *fidelity and devotion* given to me by the governor of Egypt and his son Ibrahim Pacha." Having no longer any pretext for remaining in his advanced and threatening position at Kutaya, Ibrahim now withdrew his forces across the Taurus, and took quiet possession of the ceded districts of Syria.[2]*

[2] Firman, May 6, 1833; Ann. Hist. xvi. 160 (Doc. Hist.), and Ibid. 456; Cap. vii. 104, 105, 125, 127.

* "Les assurances de dévouement, et de fidélité qui m'ont été données en dernier lieu par le Gouverneur d'Egypte, Méhémet Ali Pacha, et son fils Ibrahim Pacha, ayant été agréées, je leur ai accordé ma bienveillance impériale. Les

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29. Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. July 8, 1833.

The Ottoman government being thus delivered from the hostility of its rebellious vassals, nothing remained but to emancipate itself from the still more formidable protectorate of its zealous and officious friends. But this was a more difficult task even than combating Ibrahim's battalions: it is one thing to invoke the succour of a great power; it is another, and a very different thing, to shake off the obligations imposed upon the succoured party. The ascendancy acquired by Russia in Turkish councils by this prompt and effective interposition was so great that it became altogether irresistible, and issued in a vast concession on the part of Turkey, which in effect left its capital at the mercy of the Muscovites, and rendered the Ottoman Empire virtually a tributary power to the Czar. Faithful to its fixed policy of avoiding all open or visible strides towards universal dominion, the Russian cabinet gave orders to its fleet and army to retire from the Bosphorus, in accordance with the demand of France and England, as soon as Ibrahim Pacha's troops had recrossed the Taurus. But not less faithful to its equally fixed system of incessantly pursuing that object, and securing *in secret* all the advantages which might preface it, they did not do so till they had extorted from the weakness or gratitude of the Ottomans a concession which left them entirely at the mercy of their northern neighbours. This was effected by the treaty of UNKIAR-SKELESSI; one of the most important diplomatic acts of modern times, and from which, as a necessary consequence, the great Eastern war of 1854 took its rise.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 456, 457; Cap. vii. 125, 127, 128.

By this treaty, which was arranged in the most profound secresy between the Russian ambassador, Count

gouvernemens de la Crète et d'Egypte ont été confirmés à Méhémet Ali. Par égard à sa demande spéciale, je lui ai accordé les départemens de Damas, Tripoli, de Syrie, Sey de Safid, Alep, les districts de Jérusalem et Naplouse, avec la conduite des pélerins et le commandement de Djidda. Son fils Ibrahim Pacha a eu de nouveau le titre de Scheick-al-haram de la Mecque et le district de Djidda; j'ai en outre acquiescé à la demande qu'il m'a faite du département d'Adana, régi par le Tresor des Fermes à titre de Mohajul."—*Firman*, May 6, 1833; *Ann. Hist.*, xvi. 168 (Doc. Hist.)

Orloff, and the Turkish government, and signed on the 8th July, it was provided that, for the period of eight years, there should be an alliance offensive and defensive between the two powers, in pursuance of which, Russia agreed to put her whole fleets and armies at the disposal of the Porte. In addition to this, it was specially stipulated that, to prevent the embarrassment which might arise to the Porte from furnishing material assistance to Russia in case of attack, "the Ottoman Porte should be bound, in virtue of its obligations towards Russia, *to close the Straits of the Dardanelles*,—that is to say, *not to permit any ship of war of a foreign power to enter those Straits under any pretence whatever*. This separate and *secret* article shall have the same force and effect as if it had been inserted, word for word, in the public and patent treaty." By the *public* treaty, nothing whatever was provided in regard to the closing of the Dardanelles against foreign vessels of war; but a close alliance, offensive and defensive, was agreed upon, and the mutual furnishing of succour in case of attack by any foreign power.[1] *

30. The important public provisions and secret articles.

[1] Cap. vii. 127, 128; Ann. Hist. xvi. 456, 457.

How desirous soever the parties to this important treaty may have been to shroud its secret articles in entire darkness, they were too vital in the Eastern Question to admit of being long concealed. The public treaty,

* The *public* treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi was in these terms :—

"I. There shall be for ever peace and alliance between the Emperor of all the Russias and the Emperor of the Ottomans, their empire and subjects, by sea and land. That alliance having solely for object the common defence of their territories against hostile attack, their Majesties engage to come reciprocally to an understanding, without reserve, on all the objects which regard their respective tranquillity and security, and to afford each other, to that end, the most effective material succour. (The secret article was declared to be in supplement of this.)

"II. The treaty of peace concluded at Adrianople on Sept. 2, 1829, as well as all the other treaties enumerated in it, and the convention signed at St Petersburg on April 14, 1830, and the arrangement concluded at Constantinople on the 9/21 July 1832, relative to Greece, are confirmed, in their whole tenor, by the present defensive treaty of alliance, as if their respective provisions were inserted in the present treaty, word for word.

"III. As a consequence of the principle of conservatism and mutual defence, which constitutes the basis of this treaty of alliance, and in pursuance of their

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31. Remonstrances of the Western Powers.

which contained an alliance offensive and defensive, soon became known, and in spite of the utmost efforts to conceal it, the existence of secret articles, of a still more alarming character, was ere long surmised in diplomatic circles. Indeed, the closing of the Dardanelles against all foreign vessels of war was a public step involving at once the interests of all nations interested in the ocean, the great highway of the world, which of necessity soon proclaimed itself. A French corvette of war presented itself at the entrance of the Dardanelles, and was refused a passage. Explanations were at once demanded on the subject by the English and French ambassadors, and the Divan were not a little perplexed what answer to return. The secret treaty was disavowed, but the treaty offensive and defensive admitted and justified. The Porte alleged that that treaty was purely of a defensive character; that it concerned no States but Turkey and Russia, whose dominions so closely adjoined each other that their interests were identical; that Turkey, being an independent State, was at liberty to contract alliances with any power that it might deem proper, and was under no obligation to justify its conduct to any foreign government. These explanations were accompanied by a communication of the *public* treaty. But as the Dardanelles remained closed to the vessels of war of all nations except Turkey and Russia, the existence of a further secret treaty became self-evident. Thenceforward the Eastern Question

sincere desire to insure its durability, and the maintenance of the entire independence of the Sublime Porte, the Emperor of Russia, if the case should again arise when the Sublime Porte should require the assistance of the naval or military forces of Russia, though such a contingency, please God, is not at present to be anticipated, engages to furnish as many forces by land and by sea as may be judged necessary. In that case, the forces by land or sea which the Sublime Porte may require shall be at his disposal.

"IV. Although the two contracting parties are sincerely disposed to maintain their alliance to the most distant times, yet, as time may prove the expedience of some modification of its conditions, its duration is at present limited to eight years. Constantinople, 8th July, 1833. ALEXIS ORLOFF, A. BOUTENIEFF, HAMED MEHEMET PACHA, FERZI-AKHMET PACHA, HADJI MEHEMET-AKIF-EFFENDI."—CAPEFIGUE, vii. 129, 131.

swelled up to colossal proportions; from being Egyptian it became European. By the closing of the Dardanelles, and the entire subjugation of the Porte to Russian influence, the Cabinet of St Petersburg had acquired such a preponderance in the East that its power could hardly have been more thoroughly established if the Cross had been replaced by Muscovite hands on the dome of St Sophia. But meanwhile the thing was done, and could not be undone; the Dardanelles were closed to all but the Russian flag; the Euxine had become a Russian lake, and Sebastopol was rising in impregnable strength on its northern shore, threatening instant destruction by its fleets to the imperial city in the event of any disobedience to the dictates of the Czar! But the Cabinet of St Petersburg had chosen its time well for this vast aggressive stride. It had only taken advantage of the facilities afforded for making it, by the temporary alienation of reason on the part of the Western Powers. England and France, distracted by political passions, had not only become indifferent to foreign interests, but insensible to the strongest of all animal instincts—that of self-preservation. Antwerp, the great outwork of Napoleon against England, ceded, and the Flemish barrier abandoned in the north, and Constantinople, the Queen of the South, virtually ceded to Russia, were melancholy proofs of the infatuation which had seized upon the nations in Europe the most boasting of their intelligence; and they bequeathed one, probably two, dreadful wars in future times to the British people.

32. Affairs of Greece since the treaty of 1829.

The independence of GREECE was secured by the heroism of its gallant inhabitants and the flames of Navarino; but much required to be done before its boundaries and government could be settled by the intervention of the allied Powers, and still more before the brand of fifteen hundred years of slavery could be erased from the foreheads of its inhabitants, or the descendants of the

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heroes of Marathon and Platæa become qualified to emulate the civil virtues of their immortal forefathers. The great majority of men are always too impatient on these subjects, and the consequence is that their expectations so often end in disappointment. They expect nations to be instantly converted by a change of institutions—men to be at once regenerated by the construction of an improved frame of government—forgetting that, as human degradation is the slow and melancholy result of centuries of oppression and misgovernment, so public elevation is the not less tardy growth of centuries of pacific industry and expanded energies. That men are to be at once changed by a change of the institutions under which they live, is the dream of the enthusiastic, the dogma of the revolutionary, but there is no one opinion which is more constantly negatived by the experience of mankind. The course of events in every age has demonstrated that such expectations are not less chimerical than to expect that a child is to attain the strength of manhood by simply putting on the dress of older years, or a colt the steady daring of a war-horse by merely clothing it in the panoply of battle. Everything, however, must have a beginning, and good things can never be begun too soon. It is no imputation on the wisdom of the authors of the treaty of 6th July 1828, to say that the State they rescued from Mussulman oppression has not yet attained the strength and maturity expected of it, any more than it is to say that he who has redeemed a child from the hands of gypseys has not been able in a few months to give it the habits and knowledge of civilised manhood. But it is no slight imputation on the political wisdom and information of a nation, to say that they become disheartened with a noble and generous act because such expectations have not been in the outset realised.

The government and institutions of Greece, upon the termination of its revolution, were arranged with no regard to the character or necessities of its inhabitants,

but entirely on the principle of compromise between the powers which had taken a part in its liberation. Emerging from a frightful and desolating war of six years' duration, which had destroyed a half of its inhabitants, and almost annihilated its industry, Greece was in the situation in which France was after the expulsion of the English invaders, or Scotland after the liberation of its wasted fields by the genius and heroism of Robert Bruce. What it absolutely required was peace-protection under a strong government, and the extinction of the power of the feudal chieftains, who had acquired so great a sway over their followers during the war with the Turks. But these sober and rational ideas were but little in accordance with the views of any of the allied Powers who had signed the treaty of July 1828. England and France, carried away with the Liberal delusion of the times, thought they insured the happiness of the semi-barbarous Greeks just emerged from four centuries of Ottoman servitude, when they gave them a popular and aristocratic Assembly and elective president; the Russians, better informed as to the real tendencies of savage tribes, disquieted themselves little about the representative bodies, and were satisfied with the nomination of the chief who was to wield the military power of the State. To effect a compromise between these conflicting principles, it was agreed that the infant State should be governed by a senate and chamber of deputies, and president, and that the choice of the latter officer should be accorded to the Emperor of Russia, who conferred it upon his private secretary, COUNT CAPO D'ISTRIA.[1]

33. First settlement of Greece under the presidency of Capo d'Istria.

[1] Ann. Hist. iii. 406, and xiv. 407, 411.

The consequences of intrusting the government of a young State, composed partly of warlike mountain tribes, who owed a feudal obedience to their chiefs, and partly of island traders, whom necessity and suffering had forced to become pirates, to a representative assembly composed of such heterogeneous materials, were soon apparent. Capo d'Istria did not long enjoy the honour bestowed upon him by the favour of Russia. Jealousy of the

34. Who is soon overturned.

CHAP. XXXII. 1831.

foreign influence to which he had owed his appointment, obliterated the recollection of all his services to the Hellenic cause. To such a degree did this feeling proceed, that he was assassinated at Napoli on the 24th October 1831, and anarchy for some time succeeded his decease. At length the presidency was bestowed by the Senate and Provisional Government on Count Augustin de Capo d'Istria, brother to the deceased, on 10th November 1831. This election was followed by a convocation of the entire national assembly, and it at once revealed the magnitude of the dangers with which, under such a form of government, the country was threatened, and the violence of the parties by which it was torn. The island deputies, forty-five in number, met at Hydra, and opened a negotiation with the Provisional Government, the chief object of which was an absolute and unqualified amnesty to all the deputies. This, which was intended to secure the murderers of Capo d'Istria, the Government refused, tendering instead one from which the perpetrators and abettors of that crime were to be excluded. The opposition declined these terms, and in order to prevent the Hydra deputies from joining the Assembly, which was to meet at Argos on 10th December, the majority asked and received the assistance of *Russian* ships of war to blockade the island, and prevent the refractory deputies getting out! This ominous commencement was not belied by the future proceedings of the Greek Assembly. The majority at Argos, who were in the Russian interest, confirmed the election of Augustin Capo d'Istria by the Provisional Government; the minority protested against the election until the Hydra deputies were admitted, and constituted themselves into a separate assembly. This schism in the legislature was speedily followed by sanguinary contests between the two parties in the streets of Argos. Blood flowed on all sides; an hundred persons were slain, and after two days' fighting, Capo d'Istria and Colocotroni, with the government, retired to Napoli di Romania,

Nov. 10, 1831.

and the opposition, headed by Condurriottis, Coletti, and some other chiefs of the rival party, established themselves and elected a separate government at Corinth. Public opinion favoured the opposition. Capo d'Istria stigmatised as a Russian slave, the armed bands from the mountains all flocked to the standard of Coletti, who soon found himself at the head of seven thousand men, while the forces of the Government were not half the number, and its authority did not extend beyond Argos and Napoli. The consideration of the opposition government was soon increased by the appearance of the Hydra deputies, who had contrived to elude the vigilance of the Russian cruisers, and arrived safe at Corinth. As this accession of strength raised their numbers to one hundred and forty-five, they were the majority of the Assembly, and they immediately proceeded to pass a decree, annulling the election of Capo d'Istria to the presidency, and declaring him an usurper, and author of all the calamities in which the country was involved.[1]

Jan. 18.

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 406, 408; Moniteur, Feb. 6, 1833.

35. Otho is elected King of Greece.

These violent dissensions, and the assassination of Capo d'Istria, sufficiently proved that Greece, in its present state, was unfit for an elective and popular form of government, and that its longer continuance would only perpetuate bloodshed and anarchy in the country. The allied Powers accordingly wisely resolved on a monarchical constitution; but much difficulty was experienced in the choice of a sovereign, chiefly in consequence of the refusal of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to whom the crown had been offered, to accept it. At length, as a sort of compromise between the contending influence of Russia on the one side and France and England on the other, it was agreed to offer the crown to Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria, a youth still in minority, and little qualified to hold the helm through the storms with which the infant State was environed, but who had the advantage, inestimable in the eyes of rival powers, of being in a certain degree exempt from the influence of either.

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The offer was accepted, and as the future kingdom was destitute of credit or resources, and a prey to civil war, the allied Powers bound themselves to furnish material succour to establish him on the throne. They engaged to guarantee a loan of £2,400,000, to be raised in London, and paid to the young king as soon as he arrived in his dominions, and an auxiliary force of 3500 men was to be raised in Bavaria, and accompany him to relieve the French troops which hitherto had occupied the principal military points in the Morea. Finally, an important treaty was signed at Constantinople on the 21st July, by which, in consideration of the sum of £1,000,000, to be paid to the Porte by the Grecian government, and guaranteed by the allied Powers, it was agreed by the Divan that the frontiers of the new kingdom should be extended beyond those originally stipulated by the treaty of 1829, to a line drawn from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volo, which embraces the whole districts which properly fall under the denomination of Greece. Candia and Rhodes, however, were still excluded, and remained parts of the Ottoman dominions.[1]

May 7.

July 21.

[1] Treaties, May 7, July 21, and April 30, 1833; Ann. Hist. xv. 215, 218, (App. Doc. Hist.)

36. Great successes of the popular opposition in Greece, and overthrow of the Government.

But while the allied Powers were thus definitively arranging the affairs of Greece, on a footing much more likely to be suitable to the country and durable in its existence than the ridiculous pageant of a republican government, terminating in the real tragedy of civil war which had preceded it, affairs had taken a very different turn in Hellas itself, and the feeling of that country in favour of the popular opposition had been unequivocally manifested. So rapid had been their progress, so general their success, that the civil war might be said to be at an end. District after district, town after town, declared in their favour, and at length the insurgents appeared before Napoli itself, and Augustin de Capo d'Istria was too happy to agree to a convention, in virtue of which he abdicated the government, and embarked with the body of his brother, never more to return. His departure was celebrated by

the Hellenes as the downfall of Russian preponderance in Greece; Condurriottis was chosen president, with an executive council of seven persons to administer the government till the arrival of the prince chosen by the conference of the allied Powers at London. But before Otho had time to arrive, fresh disturbances broke out in the country: Colocotroni and some other chiefs refused to recognise the authority of the new government, and a fresh congress met at Patras, to which the majority of the nation sent in their adhesion, and the opposition soon found their power limited, as that of their predecessors had been, to Napoli and Argos. Combats took place in every part of the country between the adherents of the two factions, which were nearly equal in numbers, courage, and determination. The soldiers, having received no pay, plundered without mercy; a large part of the deputies themselves were carried off to the mountains as a security for their ransom; and such was the misery produced by this desolating warfare, that the people came to regret the comparatively tranquil days of Ottoman oppression.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xv. 409, 410, 413.

37. Arrival of King Otho, and joy of the inhabitants. Jan. 17.

So exhausting and ruinous were the effects of this interminable guerilla strife, that all came at length to sigh for the arrival of the foreign power whose forces might at length terminate it. Even the presence of the French soldiers could not restrain the fury of the contending factions; and in Argos itself a French soldier was slain and eighteen wounded by a band of assassins—an outrage which was immediately avenged by the indiscriminate slaughter of above 300 of the inhabitants of the town. At length, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who had reached the very last stage of suffering, the fleet which bore King Otho and the German auxiliaries hove in sight, and on the 6th February he landed at Napoli amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people, who had flocked from all quarters to hail his arrival. His first act was to publish a general amnesty, without exception, for all political offences whatever;

Feb. 6.

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and so general was the feeling of the necessity of this measure that all parties acquiesced in it, and for a brief season universal tranquillity and peace prevailed in the land. The public offices were filled up with moderate persons of all parties—the partisans of Russia and extreme republicans were alike excluded. The effect of this judicious policy speedily appeared in a revival of industry, an increase of transactions, and growth of confidence; and so general was the satisfaction which prevailed, that it was deemed practicable to leave unrestrained the public press, which returned the obligation by generally supporting the measures of Government.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 461, 463.

38. Institutions and military force of the infant State.

Measures of a very important kind were soon adopted by the Government, which went far to consolidate the infant State. Three criminal tribunals were instituted for the speedy prosecution of offenders; the proceeding before them was summary and without appeal, and the laws they administered, taken from the ancient criminal code of Venice, extremely severe, though probably not more so than was necessary, considering the wild and unsettled state of the country. The territory of the State was divided into ten departments; and the army was fixed at ten regiments of light infantry and eight of the line, six squadrons of cavalry, and artillery in proportion, mustering in all 8904 combatants. These forces, though much beyond what the kingdom could maintain from its own resources, were amply provided for in the mean time from the loan guaranteed by the allied Powers, and a melancholy proof was soon afforded that they were not larger than was required to preserve domestic peace in the country. In the night of the 25th May, a band of robbers, several thousand in number, having collected in the neighbouring hills, descended on the town of Arta in Epirus, which they immediately began to pillage in the most systematic manner; the unfortunate inhabitants underwent all the horrors endured by those of a town taken by assault; the houses of those who made any

May 25.

resistance were instantly burnt; those which opened their doors saw every room rifled, the women violated, the men in part murdered; and after continuing these outrages deliberately for three days, the brigands retired without molestation to their mountains, carrying with them the principal inhabitants, to be ransomed only for enormous sums. At the same time, bands of robbers reappeared in the Morea; and the King having gone on a cruise to the islands of the Archipelago, the regency he left in his absence was so weak that its authority did not extend beyond the walls of Napoli. In July, a synod of the Church was assembled, which declared the King the head of the Church, and evinced such antipathy to Russia that none of the phrases even of the Greek ritual were admitted into their liturgy. At the same time, the French troops, which for five years had occupied the fortresses of Coron, Modon, and Navarin, and were of essential service in the distracted state of this country, were collected and embarked for their own country, leaving Greece to the guardianship of its own forces, aided by the 3000 Bavarians who had followed King Otho from the German plains.[1]

July 14.

[1] Ann. Hist. xvi. 460, 463.

39. Causes of discord still remaining in the East.

The armistice with Ibrahim Pacha, and retreat of his forces across the Taurus, for a considerable time terminated the difficulties of Turkey; and the settlement of King Otho on the throne, joined to the support of the loan and the Bavarian guards, by degrees diminished the license and subdued the barbarity of the Greek tribes. But other complications ere long arose—the Eastern Question was adjourned, not adjusted; and before many years had elapsed, it threatened to involve all Europe in conflagration. The remote cause of this was the magnitude of the advantage gained by Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi and closing of the Dardanelles, joined to the indelible coldness and jealousy which subsisted between the courts of France and Russia,

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from the one being the head of the Revolutionary, the other of the Legitimist, party in Europe. Conscious of the immense accession of power which Russia had acquired from that treaty, and jealous of the preponderance which it gave her in the Levant, the Cabinet of Louis Philippe sought for a counterpoise in cultivating a good understanding with Mehemet Ali, whose strength had been so signally evinced in the recent war with the Turks in Asia Minor, and whose geographical position on the north-east corner of Africa would, in connection with their own establishment at Algiers, give France the command of the entire southern coast of the Mediterranean.

40. Jealousy awakened in the English Cabinet.

Nothing could be more natural than that the French Cabinet should entertain these views, or seek in self-defence a counterpoise to the preponderance of Russia in the Euxine, in such an alliance. But the same circumstances which made them desire, caused the English Government to dread, the establishment of Gallic influence on the shores of the Nile. Egypt had long been an object of contention between France and England; the eagle eye of Napoleon had early discerned its importance; his victorious arms were first directed there in the assault upon this country; and the bitterest mortification which he for long experienced was, when his troops were expelled from it in 1801 by the arms of England. Its importance to Great Britain as a stepping-stone to India, great at all times, had been augmented tenfold by the discovery of steam navigation, and the consequent restoration of the direct communication from Europe with the shores of Hindostan to its original channel by the Red Sea. Thenceforward, if not the possession, at least a preponderating influence and secure transit through the dominions of Mehemet Ali, was a matter of absolute necessity to Great Britain, if her empire in the East was to be preserved; and thence it was that the Emperor Nicholas, in his confidential conferences with the English

ambassador, Sir Hamilton Seymour, declared his willingness, in the event of a partition of the Turkish Empire being agreed to by the European Powers, to permit Egypt and Candia to be ceded to Great Britain.

41. Divergence of views on the Eastern Question between the Cabinets of London and Paris.

These considerations, which suggested themselves so naturally to the statesmen of the two countries that they may be considered as unavoidable, of necessity led to a divergence of views between the Cabinets of France and England on the Eastern Question, as soon as the termination of domestic strife, and the stilling of political passions in the two countries, permitted public attention to be turned to foreign affairs, and the lasting national interests of the two countries, rather than their fleeting passions, to be pursued by their respective Governments. France sought to counteract the predominance of Russia at Constantinople by establishing a similar sway at Cairo; England endeavoured to regain her influence with the Divan by abetting the cause of the Turks in the quarrel with the Egyptians, and making use of her maritime superiority to overawe the government of Mehemet Ali, and secure the means of transit through his dominions to her possessions in the East. These opposite views went far to disturb the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, and break up that alliance between these ancient rivals which had sprung from identity of political feeling, and had for the time rendered them all-powerful in Western Europe. These tendencies had subsisted for some time without producing any other effect than an increasing coldness between their respective diplomatists, when a series of events occurred which again lighted up the flames of war in the East, and all but brought France and England into open collision.

The immediate or at least principal cause of this coldness between France and England, was the cessation of the revolutionary action in Western Europe, and the general calming of the passions which arose from the undisputed triumph of the Conservative principle in Germany,

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the termination of the civil wars in Spain and Portugal by the final defeat of the Carlists, and the establishment of a firm government, based on force and corruption, in France. These events, by calming the passions, gave room for the revival of differences from *interests;* and France and England are too near neighbours, and both too powerful, not to have many such causes of discord, when the temporary alliances arising from common feeling come to an end. The East ere long furnished abundant matter for the revival of the old jealousies: England, sensible at last of the immense advantages which Russia had gained in the Euxine during the eclipse of British intellect, under the influence of the Reform delirium, by rendering that succour to the Porte which the Cabinet of St James's had refused, made the greatest efforts, by separate negotiation, to recover its lost ground with the Divan, and these efforts proved in a certain degree successful.

Causes of the coldness of France and England. Commercial treaty between the latter and Turkey.

June 7, 1838.

In June 1838, Lord Palmerston, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, concluded a treaty of commerce with the Turkish Government, which contained important stipulations in favour of British industry, and in some degree neutralised the advantage gained by Russia by the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. By this treaty it was stipulated "that the English ships should enjoy in the Turkish harbours all the advantages accorded to the most favoured nations; that the English merchants should be permitted to purchase every article of rude produce in the Ottoman dominions, subject only to the same duties as the Turkish subjects; free transit and exportation were permitted without paying any duties, and the Dardanelles was thrown open to British *commercial* vessels, and every facility given to their navigation of the Black Sea." This was the nearest approach yet made in modern Europe to the principles of free trade; and it appears singular, at first sight, that it should have taken place between the greatest manufacturing and a semi-barbarous State.[1] In reality, however, there was nothing surprising in this: between

[1] Treaty, June 7, 1838; Martin's Sup., iv. 437; Cap. ix. 438.

such States, free trade is always beneficial, because the industry on the opposite sides does not come into collision. It is when they are both in the *same line*, as both agricultural or both commercial, that the divergence appears, and the danger is experienced.

43. And with Austria. July 7, 1838.

This great step towards the re-establishment of British influence in the Levant, was soon after followed by another hardly less important. This was a treaty of commerce with Austria, concluded on terms of entire reciprocity, and which promised to open, in the most advantageous manner, the markets of each country to the staple articles of the other. By this treaty it was provided that the ships of each of the contracting Powers should pay the same duties in their respective harbours; that the goods of the two countries, whether rude or manufactured, should be reciprocally admitted on the same terms, whether passing northward by the Elbe, or eastward by the Danube; and that all merchandise not the produce of the inhabitants of the contracting parties, but brought in by the vessels of the latter, should be charged no higher duties than if they were native produce. This treaty, also, was an application of the principles of free trade to a case in which there could be no doubt of their wisdom; for the Danube and the Elbe were not likely to interfere with any important branch of industry in Great Britain; and the opening of the markets of the two countries to their mutual industry was an obvious and reciprocal advantage.[1]

[1] Cap. ix. 442, 444.

44. Increasing coldness of the Porte with France.

These important treaties, so likely to augment the influence of Great Britain in the Levant, by largely increasing its commercial relations, excited no small disquietude in the Cabinet of the Tuileries, to whom the ascendancy of England in the East was ever more an object of jealousy than that of Russia. Naturally, as the ascendant of Great Britain increased at Constantinople, France endeavoured to find a counterpoise to it in cultivating the closest relations with the Pacha of Egypt. Insensibly

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there arose a kind of tacit and understood accord on the two sides; on that of England with the Sublime Porte, on that of France with the Government of Cairo. The influence of Louis Philippe was visibly declining at Scutari; that of Victoria as evidently at Alexandria. Among other causes of discord between the two former Powers, was a demand on the part of the Porte of an annual tribute from France for Algiers, as coming in place of the Bey, one of the vassals of the Turkish Empire, or the payment of a large sum at once in lieu of it. This was made the subject of a special embassy to Paris, which, as might be expected, when such a demand was addressed to so great a power as France, met with a very cool reception, and was entirely unsuccessful. The very fact of its being advanced at all, proved on what distant terms France and Turkey already were.[1]

[1] Cap. ix. 437, 438; Ann. Hist. xxi. 332, 341.

45. Mutual recriminations of the Porte and Mehemet Ali.

Encouraged by the prospect of being supported respectively by such great Powers as France and England, the half-smothered animosity between Mehemet Ali and the Porte now broke out afresh, and threatened instant hostilities. Both sides, it must be confessed, had sufficient grounds of complaint. On the part of the former, it was urged, in a diplomatic communication addressed to the consuls of France and England at Alexandria, that it was high time that his ambiguous situation should be terminated, and his just rights openly recognised by the Western Powers; that the best, and in fact the only way to effect this object, was to emancipate him from the sovereignty of the Porte, and put an end to the humiliating tribute, which, without adding to the real strength of Turkey, was a perpetual source of discord between them; and that if France and England understood their real interests, they would, instead of opposing, strongly support such an arrangement. On the other hand, it was urged by the Divan, that the only way to accommodate matters was to restore the sovereignty of the Porte over Egypt, and reduce Mehemet Ali to his proper rank as a

vassal of the Grand Seignior; that as long as Egypt was independent, it would be constantly intriguing against Turkey, of which the troubles which for a course of years it had succeeded in exciting in Syria afforded the clearest proof. There was in reality a great deal of truth on both sides in these recriminations; matters had come to that point, that their mutual pretensions, like those of England and America in the preceding century, were altogether irreconcilable, and could be decided only by the sword.[1]

[1] Cap. ix. 435, 437; Ann. Hist. xxi. 341, 343.

46. Efforts of France and England to avert hostilities.

Feeling assured of the support of England in any contest which might take place, the Porte now openly made preparations for war. The banks of the Euphrates were crowded with troops, the Turkish fleet in the Dardanelles was equipped for sea, and large bodies of men were assembled at Constantinople ready to be put on board. The Pacha, on his part, strongly reinforced his forces in Syria, and every preparation was made to put the fleet and batteries of Alexandria in a respectable posture of defence. France and England, however, were still so far united as to be desirous to avert hostilities, and their interposition for a short period prevented them. Admiral Roussin intimated to Redschid Pacha that he had positive orders from his Government not to permit the Turkish squadron to leave the Dardanelles; * and Lord Palmerston intimated to the Pacha, through the British consul at Alexandria, that if he put in execution his avowed threat of commencing hostilities, the English squadron would take part with the Turkish to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.[2]† These

[2] Ann. Hist. xxi. 344, 347; Cap. x. 438, 440.

* "L'Amiral Roussin déclara à Redschid Pacha, d'après les ordres positifs du Gouvernement Français, que la flotte Ottomane ne pourrait sortir des Dardanelles, et que l'escadre de l'Amiral Gallois bloquerait le passage, si on tentait de le forcer."—*Note de l'Amiral Roussin*, July 27, 1838; CAPEFIGUE, *Europe depuis* 1830, x. 437.

† "Veuillez déclarer au Pacha que, s'il exécute ses projets hautement avoués, et si les hostilités éclatent entre lui et le Sultan, *la Grande Bretagne prendra part pour le Sultan*, afin de lui faire obtenir la réparation d'une insulte aussi flagrante, et empêcher le démembrement de l'Empire Turc. Le Pacha se

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declarations were made with the entire concurrence of the allied Powers, who were, one and all, anxious to avert hostilities, the issue of which no man could foresee, and which might end in involving the world in conflagration.

47. Commencement of hostilities by the Sultan. June 15, 1839.

Although, however, these decisive steps on the part of the great maritime powers postponed, they did not avert the dreaded rupture. The impatience of Sultan Mahmoud for the punishment of his rebellious vassal was so great, and increased to such a degree with his advancing infirmities and irritability of temper, that in the spring of the following year it broke through all bounds. A great degree of activity was observed for some months previously in all his forces by sea and land, and in the middle of June the Turkish fleet issued from the Dardanelles and made sail for the coast of Egypt. At the same time the Sultan addressed a note to the ambassadors of Austria and Russia, in which he declared "that he preferred any event to the present uncertain state of things; that he could no longer tolerate the insolence of his rebellious vassal, who, trampling under foot the principles of Islamism, had not scrupled to expel by force the guards placed by his sovereign at the tomb of the Prophet; refused of his own authority the passage of Suez to Great Britain, a power in alliance with the Porte; done everything he could to prevent the English getting possession of Aden in the Red Sea; and excited rebellion in the provinces of Bassorah and Bagdad, forming part of the Turkish Empire." At the same time an envoy was sent to Alexandria, who summoned the Pacha, in the name of the Divan, to "re-establish the Turkish guards at the tomb of the Prophet, to pay regularly his tribute to the Sultan, and to renounce formally all rights

tromperait gravement s'il supposait que des rivalités entre les Puissances Européenes les empêcheraient de prêter au Sultan tout le secours qui, dans de pareilles conjonctures, serait nécessaire pour soutenir ses droits légitimes. PALMERSTON."—LORD PALMERSTON *au* COLONEL CAMPBELL, *Consul Brittanique à Alexandrie*, July 7, 1838; CAPEFIGUE, *Europe depuis* 1830, x. 441.

of sovereignty over Egypt, except in so far as it might be formally conceded to him." These were the demands put forth in the East; but the views of the West dived a great deal farther into the depths of futurity, and the attention of the British Cabinet was with justice mainly fixed on preventing hostilities in order to take away from the *Russians* all pretext for a second visit to Constantinople, and drawing yet closer the fatal provisions of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi.[1] *

[1] Ann. Hist. xxii. 337, 338; Cap. x. 73, 75.

48. Forces on both sides at the commencement of hostilities. June 17.

Nothing, however—not even the threatened hostility of France and England—could arrest Sultan Mahmoud in his frantic career. Orders were sent from Constantinople to commence hostilities immediately by sea and land. Bir, on the Euphrates, was fortified as a point of retreat in case of disaster, and the Turkish troops, crossing that river, took possession of several villages occupied by the Arabs in the district of Am-Tib. Mehemet Ali, whose conduct was as prudent as that of the Sultan was impetuous, gave orders to his son Ibrahim to fall back without fighting, and the same to his admirals in regard to the Ottoman fleet. The forces of the Porte, so far as numbers went, were immense, and far exceeded those of the Pacha. The Turkish general had seventeen regular regiments of infantry, nine of cavalry, and one hundred guns,

* The views of Lord Palmerston and the English Cabinet at this juncture were thus expressed to the French chargé-d'affaires at London, 17th June 1839:—"Lord Palmerston m'a dit, 'Vous avez eu jusqu'ici mon propre sentiment sur la Question de l'Orient, je vais vous donner aujourd'hui l'opinion arrêtée du Conseil.' Et il examina toutes les parties du sujet, proposant de forcer le Sultan et le Pacha de déposer *de ne point laisser entrer les Russes à Constantinople.* Le Conseil a examiné ensuite le cas où, devancés par les évènemens au-delà des bornes d'une provision raisonnable, nous trouverions les Russes établis à Constantinople, ou en marche vers la capitale de l'Empire Ottoman. Cette immense question a été discutée sous la profonde impression qu'a causée cette phrase d'une dépêche de votre Excellence, 'Je crains qu'on n'ait pris à Londres bien facilement *son parti d'une seconde expédition Russe à Constantinople.*' Le Conseil a pensé que, dans ce cas, nos escadres devraient paraître devant Constantinople en amies, si le Sultan acceptait nos secours, en ennemies, s'il les refusait. On a même discuté militairement la question du passage des Dardanelles."—M. DE BOURQUENEY, *Chargé-d'Affaires à Londres, au* MARECHAL SOULT, June 17, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, x. 75.

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besides a swarm of irregulars, which brought up his forces to 80,000 combatants. Ibrahim had under his orders only fourteen regiments of infantry, eight of cavalry, eight of artillery, and fifteen hundred irregulars, in all 46,000 men; but they were incomparably better equipped and disciplined, and their chief possessed military talents of a very high order. More than this, he had largely distributed bribes among the Turkish officers; and in consequence of this, joined to the old leaven of discontent which pervaded the Ottoman Empire in consequence of the destruction of the Janizaries, a large part of the troops were prepared to pass over to the enemy. The result was soon rendered painfully apparent.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxii. 339, 341; Cap. x. 76, 77.

49. Battle of Nezib. June 24.

Hafiz Pacha, the Turkish generalissimo, occupied a strong position: his right rested on an inaccessible mountain, his left on the river NEZIB, and his whole front was strengthened by fieldworks armed with heavy guns, whose fire swept every possible approach to the position. Ibrahim advanced to the attack with much inferior forces, though in good order, but they were visibly shaken by the fire of the Turkish artillery, which was greatly superior to his own. But at this very moment, when victory seemed to be declaring for the Turks, treachery did its work—whole battalions and squadrons went over to the enemy; and the remainder, seeing themselves deserted, and huge gaps formed in their line, into which the enemy began to pour without opposition, took to flight, abandoning their guns, caissons, baggage, and everything they had. It was no longer a battle, but a rout. In less than two hours the whole Turkish army had disappeared, leaving behind them their whole artillery, twenty thousand muskets, nine thousand prisoners, their tents, baggage, and even Hafiz Pacha's insignia of command set in diamonds, recently sent him by the Grand Seignior![2]

[2] Cap. x. 89; Ann. Hist. xxii. 339, 340.

This decisive victory was not the only triumph which awaited the audacious and fortunate Pacha of Egypt.

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Hardly had the news of his signal triumph reached Alexandria when the Turkish fleet entered the harbour, having treacherously delivered itself up to the Egyptian force which it had been sent from Constantinople to combat! * This shameful defection took place, if not with the concurrence, at least under the eyes of the French admiral, M. Lalande, who made no attempt to prevent it.† The consuls of the four Powers made strenuous efforts to get the fleet restored to the Turks, but in vain. Mehemet Ali would not consent to do so except on the concession of all his demands, which the consuls were not empowered to grant. In effect, his position was extraordinary, and might well inspire confidence. The Turkish army was annihilated, and the fleet was sailing about before Alexandria united to the Egyptian, and obeying the orders of Mehemet Ali![1]

50. The Turkish fleet is treacherously given up to the Egyptians. July 14.

[1] Cap. x. 90, 91; Ann. Hist. xxii. 340, 341.

The fierce and relentless chief who had been the cause of these disasters falling upon his country was spared the pain of witnessing them. Sultan Mahmoud, whose health had for some time been declining, expired on the 30th June, in his fifty-fifth year, and was succeeded by his son Abdul-Medjid, then a youth of sixteen, who was girded as a token of sovereignty, according to the custom of the Ottomans, with the sword of Othman. The deceased Sultan was a man of remarkable talents, great energy, indomitable courage, and animated by a sincere desire to promote the good of his people: but nevertheless he contributed more than any other sovereign of his race to their

51. Death of Sultan Mahmoud, and his character. June 30.

* "La Flotte Turque est venue le 14 sous le commandement du Capitaine Pacha, se mettre à la disposition de Méhémet Ali. Le Viceroi a dit qu'il ne la rendrait à la Porte, que lorsque le Grand Vizier Khosrow-Pacha serait éloigné des affaires, et qu'on lui aurait accordé l'hérédité des pays qu'il gouverne. L'armée Egyptienne a reçu l'ordre de se retirer derrière l'Euphrate." —*Le Consul de France à M. le Président du Conseil, Alexandrie,* July 16, 1839; CAPEFIGUE, x. 99.

† "Et tout cela se faisait sous les yeux de l'Amiral Français, M. Lalande, déjà un peu en opposition avec l'ambassadeur Baron Roussin, qui loyalement voulait soutenir les interêts de la Porte Ottomane, et surtout ce principe, Que la trahison d'une troupe sous le drapeau, est un fatal exemple pour tous les gouvernemens."—CAPEFIGUE, x. 90.

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ruin! The decline of Turkey was never so marked, the progress of ruin never so rapid, as in the hands of this ruthless reformer. The reason was that he strove to implant among them institutions at variance with their spirit. He endeavoured to make Europeans of the Turks, and the empire of the Osmanlis crumbled in the attempt. By the destruction of the Janizaries, accomplished with such awful severity, he removed indeed one fruitful source of disorder and insubordination, but he did so only by destroying the military strength of the empire. When they were alienated or ruined, the weakness of a State which depends entirely on the support of one limited class in society became at once apparent. In 1808, Turkey had maintained an equal contest with Russia, and after four years of sanguinary warfare, both these inveterate antagonists were still on the banks of the Danube; but four years after the destruction of the Janizaries in 1826, the Muscovite standards were at Adrianople. Disasters unheard of in its long and checkered annals afterwards accumulated round the "falling empire and sinking throne" of Sultan Mahmoud: defeated by his rebellious vassal, he was rescued from destruction only by the officious interposition of his inveterate enemy, and death only saved him from witnessing the utter prostration of his empire by the treachery of its defenders by land and sea! So hopeless is the attempt to ingraft European institutions upon Asiatic customs — so vain the endeavour to exchange Eastern stability for Western progress—and so true the observation of Montesquieu, that no nation ever rose to lasting greatness but by institutions in harmony with its spirit.

The removal from the scene, however, of the iron will and imperious disposition of Sultan Mahmoud, removed one great obstacle to the pacification of the East. The Divan yielded, as the Eastern nations always do, to necessity: they seldom negotiate at a disadvantage till the

dagger is at their throats; but when it is there, it is surprising how tractable they become. The Divan, upon the accession of the new Sultan, despatched envoys to Alexandria to make proposals for peace in lieu of the former ones of Sultan Mahmoud, which had been rejected. The five Powers shortly after presented a note to the Divan, in which they stated that the accord between them was entire, and that they invited the sublime Porte to suspend any final determination without their concurrence, which might shortly be expected. A hatti-scheriff soon after appeared, the terms of which sufficiently indicated the Western influence, which had become all-powerful in the councils of the Divan. It was solemnly read in the plain of Gulhani, near Constantinople, in presence of the Sultan, and promulgated principles of government hitherto unknown in Turkey, and the very meaning of the words conveying which was unknown to the crowd of true believers who listened to it. It announced the termination of arbitrary exactions in the collection of the taxes, equality of taxation in proportion to fortune, and of liability to the military service, publicity of criminal justice, and the termination of confiscation of heirs for the crimes of their predecessors;—noble and just principles, eminently calculated to regenerate an empire, if it were as easy to reform the agents of government as to announce just principles for their regulation.[1]

52. Revival of pacific views with the accession of the new Sultan. July 27.

[1] Ann. Hist. xxii. 341, 342.

The young Sultan proceeded actively in the career of reform, and at the same time judiciously relaxed several regulations made by Mahmoud, which, without being of any real utility, were extremely grating to the feelings of the Orientals. An ordinance permitted the resumption of the turban instead of the red cap, which in the mania for European customs had been enjoined by the late Sultan after the model of the *bonnet rouge* of republican France. By another ordinance the profession of a baker was declared free; and what was of great im-

53. Farther reforms of the new Sultan. Aug. 15.

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portance, the monopoly of the purchase of bread by the *Zahire-Naziri*, or Surveyor-General of Provisions, was abolished, and from that moment all the abuses which had so long existed in that department disappeared. The bakers purchased grain wherever they chose, and the supply of the market proved abundant. Nor were public institutions neglected; on the contrary, much was done to penetrate the murky darkness of the Ottoman Empire. Seven academies were established in Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonica, Broussa, Smyrna, Bagdad, and Trebizond, in conformity with the plan adopted by the late Sultan, where literature and the sciences were to be taught on the European method, and a military school founded in the capital, a naval one at Pera, and at Galata one for the Franks.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxii. 343, 344.

54. Revolution in Servia. May 1839.

These changes, so great a revolution in an Eastern monarchy, sufficiently bespoke the influence which, by means of their maritime superiority, the Western Powers had now acquired in Constantinople. Another revolution, which occurred in the course of this year, tended still farther to demonstrate the increasing weakness and rapid decline of the Turkish Empire. SERVIA, which had ever since 1806 owed only a nominal allegiance to the Porte, had in 1835 accepted an aristocratic constitution, which had been forced upon Prince Milosch, the chief of the State, by the influence of Russia. Being distasteful, however, to the majority of the inhabitants, who longed passionately for the freedom which they heard was enjoyed by the Christians of Western Europe, it was not long of being overturned. The troops raised by the Government revolted in May of this year, and, marching on the capital, compelled Prince Milosch to resign in favour of his eldest son Milav. He soon died, and was succeeded by the second son, Prince Michel; and after long hesitation on the part of Prince Milosch, he was permitted to assume the command. He protested, however, against his dethronement, and appealed both to

Russia and the Porte. Neither, however, were in a condition to afford him any assistance, for the Egyptian Question fully occupied the attention of both. Thus Prince Michel was allowed to remain on the throne, and Servia for the first time enjoyed a chief of her own choice, independent either of Muscovite or Ottoman influence;— another symptom among the many which appeared at this time of the rapid decline of the Turkish Empire, from which province after province was torn away, not so much from their own strength, as from the weakness of the sovereign power which had so long ruled over them.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxii. 344, 345.

55. Views of the European Powers at this juncture.

But this very weakness, which had now become apparent to all the world, only increased the anxiety of the European Powers to terminate the Eastern Question without an intervention, which was more to be dreaded than anything that could possibly occur. The danger was imminent, that Russia, seeing the weakness and peril of the Grand Seignior, should again take upon itself the alarming office of protector, and occupy Constantinople in a military manner, under colour of defending it from the Egyptians. All Europe, and Austria in particular, was deeply interested in averting such a consummation as this, which would at once subvert the balance of power, and, by putting the keys of the Dardanelles in the hands of the Czar, render him absolute master of eastern and southern Germany. The difficulty was fearfully increased by the policy of France, which leaned every day more strongly to a separate treaty with Mehemet Ali, and to an entire divergence from the views of the Allies on the Eastern Question. M. Thiers, who had recently become Prime Minister of Louis Philippe, was known to incline strongly to this policy, from a desire of following out the views of Napoleon regarding Egypt, and providing on the shores of Africa a counterpoise to the influence of England in the Mediterranean.[2] Thus the danger was equal on both sides, and it was hard to say which was most formidable;

[2] Cap. x. 193, 196; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 454, 455.

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for, on the one hand, the Turks in alliance with England were threatened by the united forces of France and Egypt, and, on the other, Russia eagerly watched for the opportunity of throwing her ægis over the Sultan, and extending to the declining Ottomans the withering shadow of her protection.*

56. Ultimate demands of both parties.

The ultimatum of the Sultan was, that the Pacha should obtain the hereditary government of Egypt, and the government, *for life*, of that part of Syria which extended from the Red Sea to the Sea of Tiberius, with the fortress of St Jean d'Acre. The Pacha, on the other hand, contended for the possession of all these territories in absolute sovereignty, and in hereditary right. "The real point at issue," said the Sultan in his last proclamation, "is the territorial division. If, as Mehemet Ali contends, such vast countries should be conceded to him and his heirs in hereditary right, the dominions of the Porte will be split into two parts, and the relations between the subject and sovereign will exist only in name. Never will it be permitted that a governor, in arrogating to himself the sacred rights of sovereignty, should occupy a territory so great, and power so considerable. If the intentions of the Pacha are only to provide for the future fate of his descendants, certainly the hereditary government of Egypt should suffice for him." The Divan was encouraged to hold out for these terms in consequence of an important event which took place in spring 1840.[1] This was no less than an insurrection in Syria among the Druses and Maronites, who, driven to desperation by the systematic

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiii. 454, 455; Cap. x. 201, 203.

* "L'opinion personelle de M. Thiers n'était pas de s'accorder avec les Puissances, mais de préparer un arrangement particulier entre la Porte et Méhémet Ali. L'Europe était informée des instructions secrètes données à M. de Pontois à Constantinople. M. de Metternich avait également instruit Lord Palmerston du projet qu'avait la France, et qu'elle lui avait communiquée comme une espérance, d'obtenir un traité séparé entre le Pacha d'Egypte et le Sultan: traité qui devait sortir des conditions proposées par les quatre Puissances. De là résultait la conviction *que la France se séparait des Puissances, qu'elle avait pris une politique à part*, et Lord Palmerston en concluait que ces mêmes Puissances pouvaient traiter séparément et faire elles-mêmes des conditions."—CAPEFIGUE, *Europe depuis* 1830, x. 194, 195.

and organised exactions of Mehemet Ali, levied with European exactitude, and supported by European force, sighed for the comparative security and freedom from imposts of Oriental decrepitude. 1840.

57. Treaty of July 15, 1840, for the settlement of the East. July 18, 1840.

Keenly alive to the perils which environed Turkey on all sides, and desirous to make the pacification of the East and the protection of the Ottoman empire the joint work of the whole States, not that of Russia or France in particular, the diplomatists of the four Powers, under the able guidance of Lord Palmerston and Prince Metternich, at length brought the long-protracted negotiations on the Eastern Question to a termination. By treaty, signed between Turkey, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, *but without France*, the whole conditions on which the contest was to be terminated were accurately defined, and the means of enforcing them fixed and regulated. By it the Sultan agreed to give to the Pacha, and his descendants in the direct order of succession, the administration of the whole of Egypt, and in addition, *during his life*, the pachalic of Acre, with the fortress of St Jean d'Acre, with the administration of the southern part of Syria, the limits of which were to be afterwards fixed. These offers, however, were made on the express condition that the Pacha should, within ten days after receiving intimation of this treaty, deposit his acceptance of it in the hands of the agent of the Sultan at Constantinople, and at the same time deposit in the hands of that agent the necessary orders to his commanders by sea and land to withdraw his highness's forces immediately from Arabia and all its holy cities, from the isle of Candia, and from all the parts of the Ottoman Empire which are not comprised within the limits of Egypt and of the pachalic of Acre. If, in the space of ten days more, the Pacha should not signify his acquiescence in the treaty, the Sultan withdraws his offer of the life-pachalic of Acre, and limits his offer to the hereditary pachalic of Egypt, but this only on condition that these terms should be acceded to in the

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next ten days. The annual tribute to be paid by the Pacha was to be proportioned to the territory of which he obtained the administration, according as he acceded to the first or second ultimatum. In any event, the Pacha was to engage to deliver up the Turkish fleet, with its entire crews and equipages, to the person empowered to receive it on the part of the Turkish Government, and the commanders of the allied squadrons were to be a party to this delivery.[1]

[1] Traité, July 15, 1840; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 147 (Doc. Hist.)

58. The Pacha refuses the terms, and military arrangements of the Allies to enforce it. July 15, 1840.

When this treaty was intimated to the Pacha, he broke out into the most violent fury. "Vallah-billah-billah!" (by the Almighty God), exclaimed he, "I will not surrender a foot of land which I possess; and should they declare war against me, I will overturn the empire, and bury myself beneath its ruins." But very different preparations from a mere ebullition of Oriental wrath were requisite to withstand the forces of the Allies, whose arrangements were alike complete and effective. By a supplementary treaty signed the same day between Turkey and the four allied Powers, it was stipulated, that if the Pacha should refuse the proposed terms, the allied Powers were, on the requisition of the Sultan, to concert measures for *interrupting the communication between Egypt and Syria;* and for that purpose Great Britain and Austria agreed to unite their naval forces, and give the requisite orders to their respective commanders. In the event of the Pacha directing his forces by sea or land against Constantinople, the high contracting parties agreed to put adequate forces at the disposal of the Sublime Porte, and in particular to put the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus in a sufficient state of defence. It was expressly stipulated, however, "that those steps shall in no way derogate from the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, in virtue of which it has in all ages been forbidden to ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus;[2] and the Sultan, by the present act, declares that, with the exception above mentioned,

[2] Traité, July 15, 1840; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 145 (Doc. Hist.)

he is firmly resolved to maintain in future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of the empire, as long as the Porte remains at peace, to admit no foreign vessel of war within the straits of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles."

59. Conciliatory note of the allied Powers towards France.

France was no party to any of these treaties; so that she was now, as in the latter years of the wars of Napoleon, in a manner isolated from Europe, and the alliance which had grown up since the Revolution of 1830 seemed threatened with dissolution. The allied Governments, however, were careful to do everything in their power to prevent a rupture with her; and in a joint note addressed to the Cabinet of the Tuileries by their ambassadors it was stated: "The French Government has received, during the whole course of the negotiations which have commenced in the autumn of last year, the clearest and most incontestible proofs of the desire of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to arrive at a good understanding regarding the measures to be pursued in the East with the French Government. From these efforts, the Cabinet of Paris may judge of the importance which the four great Powers attach to the moral influence which the entire union of the five Powers would have in a matter so grave and so important to the peace of Europe. The four Powers have perceived with regret that all their efforts to attain this end have been unsuccessful; and though lately they have proposed to France to unite itself to them, in order to complete an arrangement based upon what the French ambassador in London himself proposed in the close of the last year, the French Government has not thought fit to accede to the arrangement. It made its co-operation depend on conditions which the allied Powers deemed incompatible with the dignity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, and the future peace of Europe.[1] The four Powers, however, indulge the hope that their separation from France on this subject will not be of long duration; and they now

[1] Note, July 16, 1840, four Powers to France; Cap. x. 203, 205.

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address themselves in the most earnest manner in order to obtain the moral co-operation of the French Government, in employing its great influence with Mehemet Ali to induce the Pacha to accept the terms offered to him; an interposition which, if effectual, will secure for France fresh claims to the gratitude of the world."

60. Extreme irritation in France.

The French Government, however, was by no means inclined to adopt these pacific views; on the contrary, the irritation in Paris at the adjustment of this treaty apart from them was such, that France and England were on the verge of a war. M. Thiers had never anticipated such rapid and decisive measures on the part of the English Government; on the contrary, he expected to have himself arranged a treaty between the Porte and the Pacha without the interposition of the four Powers, and thereby secured the influence of France in an effectual manner both at Constantinople and Alexandria. Great, accordingly, was the consternation of the French Cabinet, and especially of M. Thiers, when they received intelligence of the signature of the treaty of 15th July. It was communicated with studied courtesy, accompanied by an entire copy of all the documents connected with it, on the 19th July; but so far from the feelings of the French Government being mollified by this courtesy, they were only the more exasperated by it. A burst of warlike enthusiasm immediately broke forth both in the Government and the people. The public indignation knew no bounds. The national honour was thought to be outraged—a slight put upon the people which could be washed out only in blood. On all sides there was a universal cry for arms. Not a single journal in Paris failed to call out loudly for war. The allied Powers, and England in particular, were the objects of the most impassioned invective. The *entente cordiale* was forgotten; the envenomed feelings of the revolutionary war sprung up again with fearful energy. Taking advantage of the public enthusiasm, M. Thiers proposed that the Cabinet should declare its sittings per-

manent; that the army should forthwith be raised to 500,000 men; extensive fortifications be erected round Paris and the frontier fortresses; the fleet in the Mediterranean be largely augmented; and in fine, to meet these extraordinary expenses, a credit of 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) should be given to the Ministers by a simple ordonnance of the King, without awaiting the assembling of the Chambers. To all these proposals the King gave a ready and unqualified assent, and they were adopted by the Council. The idea of encircling Paris with a series of detached forts had long been a favourite one with Louis Philippe, and frequently discussed in the Council, and he was too happy to take advantage of the present moment of excitement and consternation to get it carried into effect with the general concurrence of the nation.[1]

[1] Cap. x. 210, 214; Ann. Hist. xxii. 456, 457.

61. Imminent danger of a rupture between England and France.

Matters had now come to such a pass between England and France, that a rupture between them seemed not only imminent, but inevitable. Already, in the spring of the year, the magnitude of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, which amounted to eighteen sail of the line, had excited the anxiety of Lord Palmerston;* and it was little allayed by the assurance of M. Thiers that it amounted *only to fifteen.* Such was the pitiable state of weakness to which the British naval force had been reduced by the ceaseless reductions of previous years, that the English fleet in the Mediterranean consisted only of *nine line-of-battle ships*, of which the largest bore 110

* "J'ai à faire savoir à votre Excellence que le Gouvernement de sa Majesté Britannique a été informé qu'en addition aux dix-sept vaisseaux de ligne qui sont déjà équipés ou en armement, pour le service de la Méditerranée, l'Inflexible de 90 canons va prendre la mer à Rochefort, et que la France aura bientôt dix-huit vaisseaux de ligne, dont plusieurs à trois ponts, dans la Méditerranée. Si ces renseignemens sont exacts, il y a là matière à l'attention la plus sérieuse du Gouvernement Britannique."—"M. Thiers m'a assuré que le Gouvernement Français n'avait pas équipé, et ne se proposait pas d'équiper, plus de *quinze vaisseaux de ligne,* dont neuf devaient stationner dans le Levant, et six rester à Toulon."—LORD PALMERSTON *à* LORD GRANVILLE, March 5, 1840; and LORD GRANVILLE *à* LORD PALMERSTON, March 9, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 212, 213.

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guns; and the Turkish fleet was ranged with the Egyptian on the other side. The crisis, therefore, was imminent, and the risk extreme; and the two fleets lay side by side during the whole summer, in the bay of Besika, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, hourly expecting the order to commence hostilities. The British were inferior in numbers, but they were confident of the result, and anxiously awaited the signal: in the night, double watches were kept, the decks were kept cleared for action, and the guns double-shotted. The French sailors were equally zealous and enthusiastic, and the consciousness of their superiority of force made them sanguine of success. In France, the revolutionary passions were let loose with the utmost fury, and nothing short of a war of propagandism against Europe seemed capable of satisfying the popular desires;* while Russia eagerly promised an army of 40,000 men to operate in Asia Minor, and Austria agreed to furnish 50,000 men to protect the northern provinces of Turkey from injury or insult. It was evident, from the readiness with which the great Powers proffered their aid for the defence of the Sultan, that each conceived that in so doing it was advancing its own interests. Men are never so liberal but from selfish motives.[1]

[1] Cap. x. 219, 231; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 297, 301.

The plan of the Allies was to strike a decisive blow in the Levant with such rapidity that the contest might be terminated there, before any efficient steps could be taken by France to prevent it. For this purpose the

* "Nous retournons vers 1831, vers l'esprit révolutionnaire exploitant l'entraînement national, et poussant à la guerre sans motif légitime, sans chance raisonnable de succès, dans le seul espoir des révolutions. L'intérêt de la France ne conseille pas de faire de la question de Syrie un cas de guerre. Nous avons hautement dit que la distribution des territoires entre le Sultan et le Pacha nous importait peu. Nous l'avons constamment dit, aucun des intérêts supérieurs de la France n'est attaqué; ce qu'on tente en Orient peut amener autre chose sur ce qu'on tente. Des évènemens peuvent surgir auxquels la France ne saurait rester étrangère. Ce n'est pas une raison d'élever soi-même des évènemens et des questions plus graves encore, et qui ne naitront point naturellement. On n'a voulu ni insulter, ni défier, ni triompher de la France par le traité du 15 Juillet. On lui a demandé son concours, et elle l'a refusé."—M. GUIZOT à M. le DUC DE BROGLIE, July 28, 1841; CAPEFIGUE, x. 215, note.

62. Allied plan of attack, and forces on opposite side.

English squadron, consisting of nine line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and other vessels, under Admirals Stopford and Napier,* received orders to leave its anchorage in the bay of Besika, where it was lying beside the French fleet, at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and make sail for the coast of Syria and Egypt. It was to be joined by two frigates and two sloops of the Austrians; not that their aid was either required by, or could add anything of consequence to the English armament, but that the sight of the Imperial flag beside the British would convince the world that the movement was a joint one on the part of the whole Allies, not a separate one on that of Great Britain. The French, however, had fifteen sail of the line in the Mediterranean, of much heavier weight of metal than the English, and the superiority in the number of the crews was still more decided. The Russian fleet had not yet left Sebastopol; the Austrian consisted only of a few frigates; the Turkish was ranged in the harbour of Alexandria beside the Egyptian. In all, twenty sail of the line were collected on the side of the French and the Pacha, against nine on that of the British and one of the Turks: an immense disproportion, adequate to have deprived the British of the command of the Mediterranean, but not sufficient to intimidate the successors of Nelson and Collingwood, to whom the honour of the national flag was then intrusted.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 1840, 274, 276; Cap. x. 238, 240.

To understand the brief but decisive naval campaign

* Viz.:—

	Line.	Frigates and Sloops.	Steamers.	Turks & Austrians.
Princess Charlotte,	110 guns	Castor, 36	Gorgon	Flagship, 84
Powerful, .	84 „	Pique, 36	Phœnix	Austrian, 60
Ganges, . .	84 „	Carysford, 26	Stromboli	Do. Frigate, 46
Bellerophon, .	80 „	Talbot, 28	Vesuvius	Corvette, 20
Thunderer, .	80 „	Hazard, 18	...	Cutter, 8
Benbow, . .	72 „	Wasp, 16	...	...
Edinburgh, .	74 „	...	...	...
Revenge, .	74 „	...	...	...
Hastings, .	74 „	...	...	...
	9	6	4	1 line & 4 lesser.

—*Ann. Reg.* 1840, p. 192.

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which followed, and comprehend how it came to pass that a *naval* force succeeded in gaining important *land* victories, and the successful bombardment of a few towns on the coast of Syria led to the abandonment of all his important conquests by Ibrahim Pacha, it is necessary to reflect upon the physical circumstances of that country, and the effect the loss of the chain of communication between Asia Minor and Egypt by the coast, must have upon any belligerent carrying on war between these two countries. Nature has rendered that the *sole* line of communication by land between Asia and Africa. Syria is composed of a huge mass of rocky and precipitous mountains, which, under various names, of which the Taurus, Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and Mount Sinai, are the most remarkable, projects into the sea between the Euxine and the Levant, and severs the two continents from each other. They are disunited, save by the coast road which runs between the foot of the mountains and the waves of the Mediterranean. So narrow is the strip of land through which it runs, that Tyre, Acre, Jaffa, and all the maritime towns of Syria, are in a manner overhung by the mountains, and to the mariners who approach the Holy Land from the westward, the Lebanon appears to rise like the Andes, as seen from the Pacific, from the level of the ocean.

63. Nature of Syria in a military point of view.

64. Effect of this peculiar physical conformation on the war then waged.

It results from this peculiar physical conformation, that possession of the coast line is indispensable for any military operations, either of Egypt against Asia, or of Asia against Egypt. All conquerors on either side, from the earliest times, have gone by this route. By it, on the one hand, Sesostris led his invincible hosts to the conquest of Persia, and Saladin brought his fiery squadrons to combat the Crusaders, and Napoleon advanced from the banks of the Nile to revolutionise Asia. By it, on the other, Cambyses passed when on his march to Thebes, and Darius led the Persians to avenge the victories of

the conquering queen, and Alexander marched from vanquished Thebes to the shrine of Jupiter Ammon. An army advancing from Egypt to Syria must bring up all its supplies by this line; its whole communications lie through the seaport towns. Thence their vital importance in war. An enemy who, from the sea, succeeds in interrupting the possession of the line, has achieved the greatest feat in strategy; he has thrown himself on his adversaries' communications without compromising his own. A blow at Acre or Jaffa is like a severe stroke on the spinal marrow; it paralyses all below the wound.

65. Bombardment of Beyrout. Aug. 29, 1840.

Nothing daunted by the formidable forces arrayed against him, Admiral Stopford proceeded to execute the important mission with which he was intrusted. On the 14th August he summoned the Egyptian generals in the name of the allied Powers to evacuate Syria, and as no notice was taken of the requisition, he proceeded to active operations. He divided his squadron into two portions: the first, consisting of three sail of the line, a frigate, and two war-steamers, all English, and two frigates, Austrian, proceeded to the coast of Egypt, and cast anchor before Alexandria; while he himself, with six line-of-battle ships, took post in the roads of Beyrout. The first step taken was to summon the troops of the Pacha to evacuate the town; and this not having been done, the vessels stood in and commenced the bombardment, which was kept up with uncommon vigour for nine successive days. The Egyptians replied vigorously from all their batteries, and at first it was hard to say to which side victory would incline. By degrees, however, the superiority of the English fire became manifest; gun after gun in the fortress was dismounted; bastion after bastion crumbled into ruins, and presented yawning chasms in the scarp to the broadsides of the assailants. At length, after a gallant resistance, the defences were all ruined, the town reduced to ashes, and evacuated by the Egyptians.[1] It was im-

[1] Admiral Napier's Desp., Sep. 10, 1840; Ann. Reg. 1840, 174 (Doc. Hist.); Cap. x. 240, 241.

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mediately taken possession of by the land troops on board the allied fleet, and the Turkish flag hoisted on the ruined battlements.

66. Immense sensation produced by this event over Europe.

Immense was the sensation produced in France and over Europe by this vigorous demonstration. The French had never given credit to the declarations of the Allies; they thought that at the eleventh hour, if not before, the English would recede from the Continental league, and that by simply holding out they would nullify the whole provisions of the treaty of July. Now, however, it was proved that the Allies were in earnest, and that the English, in particular, stood in the very front rank of the confederacy. The broadsides of the Queen Charlotte had defied France as completely as the guns of Marshal Gérard, directed against Antwerp, had thrown down the gauntlet to the Holy Alliance. Surprise at an event so entirely unexpected was the first impression, but that was soon succeeded by indignation. The cry was universal for war; the press, without exception, resounded with impassioned declamations; the public excitement rose to the very highest point, and nothing but a hostile demonstration on the part of Government was wanting to light up the flames of a general war over Europe.[1]

[1] Cap. x. 241, 242; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 508, 514.

67. Views of Louis Philippe at this crisis.

There can be no doubt that Louis Philippe keenly felt the slight put upon the consequence of France by the prompt execution of the treaty of July, and that, if he had been at liberty to follow out his inclinations, and he could have done so without danger, he would have put himself at the head of this national movement, and at once declared war against England. But he was advanced in years, and experienced in the vicissitudes of human affairs: the child of revolution, he was familiar with its passions and acquainted with its designs. The risk to the new dynasty in France, and the cause of order over Europe, was extreme if a general war were now to break out. It would soon lose its national and assume a

social character. The strife of opinion which Mr Canning foresaw, and which had been so near breaking out in 1823 and 1831, was now imminent; and if it took place, all Europe would be on one side, and France alone on the other. The boasted alliance with England, which had been the main-stay of the Orleans dynasty, was at an end. Again, as in 1814 and 1815, France would have to confront the forces of banded Europe on the Rhine. There was enough here to cause the stoutest heart to quail; for the forces of the coalition, headed by Russia, could be encountered only by rousing the revolutionary spirit in France; and if it were once let loose, it was hard to say whether the Citizen King would have most to fear from the blows of his enemies or the success of his supporters.[1]

[1] Cap. x. 247, 248.

68. Conference of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot at the Chateau d'Eu, and its results.

These considerations, which were so obvious as to force themselves on every rational and unprejudiced mind, were much strengthened by the steps taken by M. Thiers at this crisis to rouse the people in France, on the one side, and the assurances given on the part of the allied Cabinets, on the other. In Paris, nothing was to be seen but the enthusiasm of 1793. The Marseillaise was constantly heard in the streets; clubs every day sprung up, which resounded with Jacobinical declamations; the public fêtes all wore a revolutionary aspect. Louis Philippe was startled at this effervescence: he admired the national spirit which was evolved, but he dreaded its alliance with democratic transports which obviously menaced his throne. Impressed with these ideas, and alarmed at the revolutionary tendency of the government of M. Thiers, the King summoned M. Guizot,* the am-

* M. Guizot's ideas on the state of affairs at this crisis were in the highest degree rational and pacific. In a despatch to the French consul at Alexandria, he said: "Le sentiment général, mon propre sentiment, est que le temps ne peut que tourner contre la Pacha et amener des complications nouvelles, dont l'effet pourrait l'atteindre au siège même de sa puissance. Quant à la France, elle ne veut pas, *elle ne fera pas la guerre pour la Syrie:* elle ne veut pas, elle ne fera pas la guerre pour permettre à Méhémet Ali de conserver cette contrée. Il peut encore demeurer possesseur héréditaire de l'Egypte; il a encore

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bassador at the Court of London, to meet him at the Chateau d'Eu in Normandy; and he had there several long and confidential conferences with that accomplished diplomatist on the affairs of Europe in general, and the views of the English Cabinet in particular. From him he learned what was the real truth—that the British Government had been unwillingly drawn into this contest from dread of the effect of any weakening of Turkey in augmenting the preponderance of Russia in the East; that it was sincerely inclined to the French alliance, which it regarded as the best security for the peace of Europe; and that as soon as the Eastern Question was settled, it would gladly revert to the most friendly terms with the French Government. At the same time, Count Appony and M. d'Arnim strongly represented that their courts were sincerely averse to a Continental war, but much alarmed at the magnitude of the armaments preparing in France; and that unless they were discontinued, the German Confederacy must arm also, in which case no one could guarantee even for a day the peace of Europe. Impressed with these ideas, the King resolved to persevere in his pacific course, and as the only means of securing it, to recall the French fleet from the Levant, and to make M. Guizot Prime Minister in lieu of M. Thiers.[1] Orders were accordingly sent out to Admiral Lalande, who commanded in the Levant, to return to Napoli di Romania; and the French squadron, in deep dejection, set sail for the westward at the very time when

[1] Cap. x. 252, 253; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 514, 515.

quelque chance d'obtenir un peu plus que l'Egypte, s'il entre franchement dans cette voie. La France alors redoublera d'efforts pour que les décisions à intervenir soient aussi favorables au Viceroi que la situation le comporte. Mais s'il est dans ses intentions de risquer le tout pour le tout, de risquer l'Egypte pour la Syrie, s'il espère entraîner la France il tombera dans une dangereuse illusion. Personne ne peut entraîner la France dans une guerre interminable pour une cause qu'elle ne considère pas comme suffisante pour lui faire prendre une telle résolution. Le plus grand service que la France puisse rendre à Méhémet Ali est de lui dire la vérité tout entière."—M. GUIZOT *à Consul-Général d'Alexandrie*, Nov. 9, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 301, 302.

the English fleet was divided, and making sail for Alexandria and Beyrout.*

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69. M. Thiers' note of Nov. 8, and its results.

The change which had occurred in the councils of France distinctly appeared in a note of M. Thiers to the allied Cabinets on 8th October. In that document the French Minister receded altogether from the demand of the pachalic of Syria for Mehemet Ali, and contented himself with protesting that "in no event would the dethronement pronounced by the Porte against the Pacha of Egypt be tolerated by the French Government." None of the Allies were contending for that extreme measure; so that, from this moment, the divergence of France from the allied Powers on the Eastern Question was at an end, and the danger to the peace of Europe had blown over. "The dearest interests of Europe," said M. Thiers, "are wound up with the preservation of the Turkish Empire. That empire, retained in a state of debasement, can serve no other end but to contribute to the aggrandisement of the neighbouring States, to the destruction of the balance of power, and its ruin would immediately induce changes which would alter the face of the whole world. France, and the other Powers with her, have so thoroughly understood that eventual result, that, in concert with her allies, she has constantly and honestly contended for the preservation of the Ottoman Empire, how deeply soever the interests of some of them may be wound up in the preservation or ruin of that empire. But the shores of the Black Sea are not

* "Ce ne fut pas sans un vif déplaisir que l'on vit abandonner ainsi le théâtre des évènemens et le mécontentement général fut d'autant plus grand que l'on s'attendait à suivre l'Escadre Anglaise en Syrie, que la possibilité d'une collision avait excité l'enthousiasme des équipages, et que chacun était prêt à faire dignement son devoir, soutenir l'honneur du Pavillon, et venger cette longue et cruelle série d'injures et de défaites qui font, et feront toujours battre le cœur de tous les marins en présence des Anglais. Ce fut donc un profond sentiment d'abattement et de honte qui remplaça ces généreux élans pendant tout le temps que l'escadre resta, pour ainsi dire, cachée et impuissante dans la triste baie de Salamine."—*Note d'un Officier supérieur à bord de la Flotte Francaise*, Oct. 17, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 254, note.

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a more integral part of the Ottoman Empire than those of the Red Sea ; and it is as essential to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Syria as of the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles." But the Allies were entirely in accordance with France on this point, and were determined to enforce its observance by the Sultan; so that there was no longer, after a rupture had been so near, any cause of difference between them.[1] *

[1] Cap. x. 258, 260.

70. Fall of M. Thiers, who is succeeded by M. Guizot.

Although, however, the moment for action had passed, and M. Thiers, by withdrawing the French fleet from the Levant, had in effect yielded the point in dispute in the East to the allied Powers, yet he could not bring himself to abandon the illusion of a warlike propagandism in Europe, and insisted not only on raising the regular army to 500,000 men, and calling out on permanent duty 300,000 national guards, but on a bill of indemnity from the Chambers sanctioning all the warlike expenses already incurred. The majority of the Cabinet went with the Prime Minister in these demands, and insisted farther that the speech from the throne on the opening of the Chambers should announce them, and declare the resolution of the King "to maintain and leave to his son the sacred deposit of the national independence which the *French Revolution* had placed in his hands." The King hesitated, as well he might, at being a party to such announcements. He knew that the ultimatum of the allied Powers had been delivered, and that the continuance of the warlike preparations of France would be the signal for a general war.[2] He refused, therefore, to

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[2] Cap. x. 260, 266.

* "Le Gouvernement de sa Majesté pense qu'il serait convenable que les représentans des quatre Puissances à Constantinople reçussent l'ordre de se rendre auprès du Ministre Turc, et de lui déclarer que leurs Gouvernemens, par l'application de l'article 7 de l'acte separé du Traité du 15 Juillet, recommandent vivement au Sultan de vouloir bien dans le cas où Méhémet Ali ferait promptement sa soumission, et consentirait à rendre la flotte et à retirer ses troupes de la Syrie, d'Adana, de Candie, et des Villes Saintes, non-seulement à réintégrer Méhémet Ali dans son pachalik d'Egypte, mais à lui accorder en outre l'hérédité de ce pachalik."—LORD PALMERSTON *à* LORD PONSONBY, *Ambassadeur Anglais à Constantinople*, Oct. 15, 1840 ; CAPEFIGUE, x. 260, note.

agree to such a speech on the raising of the armaments proposed; and the consequence was, that M. Thiers and the whole Cabinet tendered their resignations, which were accepted, and M. Guizot and Marshal Soult were sent for to form a new Cabinet.

71. The British fleet steers for Acre, and gains great successes.

Before the effect of this decisive change in French councils could be felt in European diplomacy, the Eastern Question had in effect been resolved by still more powerful negotiators. The cannon of the British fleet had torn down the ramparts of ACRE; they had done that which the arms of Napoleon had left undone. Delivered from the inopportune presence of the French fleet, the British Admiral steered for that far-famed fortress, and the standards of England were again seen on the theatre of the greatest exploits of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the greatest reverse in the early career of Napoleon. On the 25th September the British fleet stood along the coast of Syria towards the south, while a land force 12,000 strong, of which the Admiral himself took the command, landed and stormed Sidon on the 26th, though garrisoned by 3000 men. On this occasion Sept. 26. the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was the first on the breach. Upon this success, the army of Ibrahim Pacha, which numbered 14,000 men, and had been much shaken by the fall of Beyrout, dispersed, and a large part joined the Allies. Ibrahim himself retired, or rather fled from Balbec, where he had taken post, attended only by a part of his troops, to Damascus. Meanwhile the ports of Syria were closely blockaded; and on the 10th of Oct. 10. October an engagement took place between the allied forces under Admiral Napier and those remaining to Ibrahim, in which the latter were completely defeated, with the loss of 5000 prisoners, besides 5000 who had previously deserted. Finding it impossible to withstand the allied forces, the Emir Bechir, a strong partisan of Ibrahim's, had previously concluded a convention, whereby he agreed, on condition of having his life and pro- Oct. 5.

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perty secured, to return to his allegiance to the Sultan, whom he immediately joined with all his forces. He was soon after received on board an English steamer at Sidon. These successes opened the gates of the Lebanon, the intrepid mountaineers of which, smarting under the systematic exactions of Ibrahim Pacha, all rose, and, issuing from their passes, flocked down to the sea-coast for arms, which were quickly and amply supplied by the boats of the British squadron. The progress of the allied fleet and army was now a continued triumph. In a short time, Tripoli, Tortosa, and Latakia opened their gates, and no place of strength remained to the Egyptians on the coast but Acre, before which the allied fleets appeared on the 26th October. [1]

[1] Admiral Stopford's Desp., Sept. 20, 1840; Admiral Napier's Desp. Sept. 25 and 29, 1840; Ann. Reg. 1840, 537, 546.

72. Bombardment of Acre. Nov. 3.

This far-famed fortress was at this time garrisoned by 4500 of Ibrahim's best troops, besides 800 cavalry, and its successful resistance to Napoleon had led to a very general opinion that it was impregnable. A summons to capitulate having been disregarded, and 3000 marines and Turkish troops embarked on board the squadron, the whole was arranged in two divisions by Admiral Stopford, who had the chief command. The attack was directed against the west lines and south face of the works. The former were assailed by the Princess Charlotte, Powerful, Bellerophon, Revenge, Thunder, and Pique, under the immediate command of Admiral Napier, with the Phœnix steamer; the latter by the Edinburgh, Benbow, Castor, Carysfort, Talbot, Wasp, and Hazard. The steamers Gorgon, Vesuvius, and Stromboli took a position a little in the rear, and fired shells with great rapidity and precision into the fortress. Admiral Sir R. Stopford took the lead, and commenced the attack in the Phœnix steamer, though his flag still remained flying on board the Princess Charlotte. Admiral Napier, his worthy colleague, led the way to the northward in the Powerful. The Turkish ship of the line and frigates, with the Austrian vessels, stood towards the south. The

fire commenced at two P.M., and immediately became extremely warm on both sides. The line-of-battle ships poured in broadside after broadside point-blank against the batteries with extraordinary rapidity and precision, while the air above was streaked with bombs from the mortar-vessels, which fell almost without exception in the bastions and on the ramparts. Meanwhile the Egyptians were not idle: well did they sustain, in that trying hour, the ancient fame of the Crescent. But it was all in vain; the superiority of European arms and skill was now decisively exhibited. Though they stood manfully to their guns despite the iron tempest which incessantly battered the parapets and came in at the embrasures, yet their shot, ill directed, did little execution on the fleet, while the ramparts were rapidly crumbling and soon began to yawn under the admirable direction and tremendous weight of metal of the English broadsides. At length, at a quarter past four, a shell from the Gorgon penetrated the principal magazine, which immediately blew up with an explosion so tremendous that all firing on both sides ceased for some minutes. First a stream of light shot straight up to a great height in the air, then a vast volume of dark smoke, as from an eruption of Vesuvius, rose to the height of some thousand feet, with a roar which drowned even the thunder of the artillery; next, after the lapse of half a minute, the rattle of the falling fragments on the roofs, bastions, and in the water, made even the bravest thrill with horror. Further resistance was now impossible; the ammunition of the fortress was nearly all destroyed; 1700 men of the troops had been killed or wounded by the explosion; and such was the consternation of the garrison that as soon as it was dark, part evacuated the town, which was taken possession of at three on the following morning by the boats from the British squadron.[1]

[1] Admiral Stopford's Desp., Nov. 4, 1840; Ann. Reg. 191, 192, 547.

The capture of Acre was one of the greatest blows, and attended by the greatest results, ever struck by any

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nation. The immediate trophies of the victory were great, but they were as nothing compared to its ultimate results. On the walls were found 121 guns and 20 mortars mounted, besides 42 not mounted, and in the store 97 brass field-pieces, and the like number of mortars. The loss of the Egyptians was 2300 killed and wounded, and 3000 prisoners were taken. But in its final consequences it was far more important, and, in truth, decisive of the fate of the campaign. The garrisons of Caiffa and Jaffa immediately evacuated these places, and endeavoured to escape into Egypt, but being beset by the insurgents, they were driven back to Acre, where they were all made prisoners. The Syrian tribes declared in favour of the Sultan; the garrison and inhabitants of Jerusalem sent in their adhesion; and the forces of Ibrahim Pacha, which in the beginning of September had been 75,000, were reduced to 20,000, concentrated in the plain of Balbek, cut off from Egypt, surrounded by enemies, and without any resources to carry on the war. These immense successes had been gained with surprisingly little loss; for the allied casualties in the bombardment of Acre had been only fourteen English and four Turks killed, and forty-two wounded! A loss altogether trifling compared to the magnitude of the success gained, and proving that the Egyptian engineers and gunners had been little skilled in their duties, for the English ships met with a very different resistance when, fourteen years after, they came to face the batteries of Sebastopol. [1]

73. Magnitude of the conquest, and its results.

[1] Ann. Reg. 1840, 192, 193; Admiral Stopford's Desp. Nov. 4, 1840; Ibid. 547, 548.

These decisive successes on the part of the English squadron, and, above all, the capture of Acre, the key to the whole line of communication between Egypt and Syria, rendered further resistance on the part of the Pacha impossible. The English Cabinet, on its side, was not less solicitous to come to an accommodation, and avert hostilities, for which it was wholly unprepared, and with which, when they felt their burden, it was certain the nation would be in the highest degree dissatisfied. With

74. Submission of Mehemet Ali to the terms of the Allies. Dec. 1840.

these dispositions on both sides, and the certainty that France had withdrawn from any active support of Mehemet Ali, it was not difficult to come to an accommodation. Admiral Napier, on the part of the allied Powers, reiterated, when off Alexandria, the offer, that if the Pacha would agree to restore the fleet, and withdraw his troops from Syria and Candia, they would use their best endeavours to secure for him and his descendants the pachalic of Egypt in hereditary right. To these terms the Pacha, with the allied fleet ready to bombard Alexandria, at length agreed; and he announced to Admiral Stopford, the British commander-in-chief, the despatch of orders for the entire evacuation of Syria and Candia, and the restitution of the Turkish squadron.* The Eastern Question was therefore resolved, by the acceptance of Mehemet Ali, without reserve, of the whole terms of the allied Powers. The stipulated evacuations took place, and before the middle of February the Turkish squadron was restored, and the Egyptian troops at all points had returned to the banks of the Nile. There was some difficulty, in the first instance, in getting the Sultan to depart from the sentence of confiscation pronounced against the pacha of his Egyptian pachalic; but at length, by the strenuous efforts of the whole allied Powers, and especially of England, this too was effected, and the pacification of the East was complete.[1]

[1] Protocole de Londres, March 5, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 514, 515; Cap. v. 313, 315.

There remained only the conclusion of a final treaty

* Toujours disposé à faire le sacrifice de tout ce que je possède, et de ma vie même, pour me concilier les bonnes grâces de sa Hautesse, et reconnoissant de ce que, par l'intervention des Puissances alliées, la faveur de mon Souverain m'est rendue, j'ai pris des dispositions pour que la flotte Ottomane soit remise à telle personne et de telle manière qu'il plaira à sa Hautesse d'ordonner. Les troupes qui se trouvent en Candie, en Arabie, et dans les Villes Saintes, sont prêtes à se retirer, et l'évacuation en aura lieu sans délai. Quant à la Syrie et au district d'Adana, j'ai appris par une lettre de Ibrahim Pacha qu'il avait dû quitter Damas le 3 ou 4 Chewal (Décembre), avec toute l'armée, pour rentrer en Egypte. La Syrie est par conséquent evacuée en totalité, et par-là mon acte d'obéissance accompli."—MEHEMET ALI *à* L'AMIRAL STOPFORD, Dec. 10, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, x. 314, 315.

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75. Terms of final pacification proposed by M. Guizot, and accepted by the Allies.

for the settlement of the East. With equal judgment and delicacy, the initiative in proposing terms for this purpose was left to France; and M. Guizot, on the part of that power, made the following proposals: 1. That the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should be closed against ships of war of all nations, without distinction. 2. That the pachalic of Egypt, in hereditary right, should be secured to Mehemet Ali and his descendants. 3. That guarantees should be given for ameliorating the condition of the Christian inhabitants of Syria. There was nothing in these proposals which could give rise to any division; the allied Powers themselves might have proposed similar terms. They were accordingly at once accepted. Two firmans

Feb. 13. were issued by the Sultan, confirming Mehemet Ali in his pachalic of Egypt in hereditary right, and in that of Nubia, Darfour, Sennaar, and Kordofan in liferent, on condition of his remaining the vassal of the Porte, and placing his fleets and armies in certain defined proportions at the Sultan's disposal when required. One-fourth of the clear revenue of Egypt was to be paid to the Porte in name of tribute, and the ordinary forces to be maintained in the country were limited to eighteen thousand men; the whole of which, when required, were to be at the disposal of

Feb. 18. the Turks. This done, the fleet set sail from Alexandria, and on the 16th March resumed its place in the Golden

March 16. Horn. It consisted of nine ships of the line, eleven frigates, and four brigs, which were inspected with great pomp on their arrival by the Sultan, who beheld with transport, as the reward of his concessions, the fleet, the sole bulwark of Turkey against Russia, long captive in the hands of his enemies, again moored under the walls of Constantinople.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xxiv. 515, 519, and 129 (Doc. Hist.); Cap. x. 314, 317; Ann. Reg. 1841, 284.

A convention, which became of great importance in after times, was signed by the whole allied Powers, *and France*, which now resumed its place in the European family, defining the rights of Turkey and foreign nations

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in the navigation of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. By this convention it was stipulated,—"1. That the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, in conformity with the ancient usage of the Ottoman Empire, shall remain *permanently closed against all foreign vessels of war, as long as the Ottoman Porte shall enjoy peace.* 2. The Sultan declares, on his side, that he is firmly resolved to maintain immovably the ancient rule of the empire, in virtue of which, it is forbidden to vessels of war of all nations to enter the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, and in virtue of which these straits remain for ever closed, as long as the Ottoman Porte shall be at peace. 3. His majesty the Emperor of Austria, and their majesties the King of the French, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, on their part engage to respect that resolution of the Sultan, and to act in conformity with the principle there expressed. 4. The ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire being thus established and recognised, the Sultan reserves to himself the right to grant firmans of passage to small vessels of war, which, in conformity with usage, are employed in the service of ambassadors of friendly powers. 5. The Sultan reserves to himself the right to notify the terms of this treaty to all the Powers with which he is on terms of amity, and to invite their accession to it."[1]

76. Important treaty of the whole European Powers regarding the navigation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. March 13, 1841.

[1] Treaty, March 13, 1841; Cap. x. 319, 320.

Such were the terms of this celebrated treaty, which has ever since, till the breaking out of the great war of 1854, regulated the affairs of the East, and which put a final period to the undue ascendancy which Mehemet Ali had acquired by his powerful intervention in the war of Greece, and victorious career in that of Syria and Asia Minor. As peace had been concluded on the terms dictated by the allied Powers, and in consequence of the victories of the British fleet, which alone had been engaged in hostilities, the utmost satisfaction was spread throughout the British empire. The glorious triumphs which had immortalised the conclusion of the late war

77. Universal joy at this treaty in Great Britain.

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seemed to be renewed: men beheld with joy that a peace of twenty-five years' duration had neither lessened the energies or weakened the courage of our troops by sea and land; and that Great Britain, victorious in every quarter of the globe, was enabled to take the same lead in European diplomacy which she had done when the British standards waved in triumph over the walls of Paris. Nor did it lessen the general exultation that the theatre of the greatest triumph of this glorious period had witnessed a signal defeat of the French arms; that Stopford had conquered where Napoleon had failed; and that Acre, the scene of the chivalrous exploits of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, again saw the standards of St George conquering and to conquer.[1]

[1] Ann. Reg. 184, 273, 284.

78. The advantages of the treaty were more apparent than real.

These feelings were natural and excusable; and unquestionably the triumph of Acre shed as much lustre on the British arms as the treaties of 15th July 1840, and 13th March 1841, did on the talents and influence of her diplomatists. Yet were the successes of this memorable period in a great degree deceptive; the advantages gained were more apparent than real—the seeds of greater jealousies were sown—the foundation of a more terrible struggle laid than that which had just been appeased. The alliance was concluded, and the chances of war were hazarded, in order to counteract the growing influence of France on the banks of the Nile, and obviate the dangers of the Ottoman Empire on those of the Bosphorus. And unquestionably one set of dangers was obviated by its successful issue, for the authority of the Sultan over Egypt was re-established, and the imminent risk the Ottoman Empire ran after the battle of Konieh removed. But is that the greatest danger which Turkey really ran? is it from the South or the North that its independence is most seriously menaced? Has it nothing to fear from the northern colossus, to whom, by this treaty, the Euxine became an inland inaccessible lake? Undertaken to

rescue Constantinople from the perilous *exclusive* guardianship of Russia, *the war left the Sultan* tête-à-tête *with the Czar in the Black Sea;* intended to secure British influence in the Isthmus of Suez, the high-road to India, it left the Pacha bound by strong ties both of interest and gratitude to the French Government! * The terrible war of 1854, intended to open the Euxine to foreign vessels, and terminate the fatal supremacy of Russia in its waters, was the direct consequence of the treaty of 1841, purchased by the victories of Beyrout and Acre!

79. The refusal of succour to the Turks in 1833 was the fatal step.

These consequences, however, are not to be ascribed so much as a fault to the British Government in 1841, as to the infatuation of counsels or prostration of national strength which led to its refusing succour to the Ottoman Government when the Sultan applied for it in the last extremity after the battle of Konieh in 1833. In 1840 the crisis was imminent—Turkey could be rescued from destruction only by the forcible interposition and close union of the allied Powers, and Lord Palmerston

* "Je remercie la France de n'avoir pas signé le traité de Londres, c'est une consolation et une force pour moi. Je suis profondément touché du service qu'elle m'a rendu en faisant valoir mes droits, et je ne l'oublierai jamais. S'il lui convenait aujourd'hui de s'opposer aux projets des Puissances, je serais fier de combattre à ses côtés; je mettrais à ses ordres ma flotte, mon armée, et mon fils. Si elle ne le fait pas, je comprends sa réserve. Nos positions ne sont pas les mêmes; nos mouvemens doivent peut-être rester indépendans. Que la France agisse comme elle l'entendra; pour moi, je garderai toute ma liberté d'action. On a fait contre moi un traité inique et violent: je n'attaquerai pas ceux qui l'ont signé; je serai patient et modéré; mais je verserai la dernière goutte de mon sang, pour conserver l'empire que j'ai fondé. Si les Puissances se bornent à bloquer les côtes de l'Egypte et de la Syrie, j'ai les moyens d'attendre, et j'attendrai sans tirer l'epée; mais que l'on attaque Saint Jean d'Acre ou Alexandrie, que l'on cherche à allumer l'insurrection du Liban, et sur-le-champ je donnerai l'ordre à mon fils de passer le Taurus. On veut faire une Vendée en Syrie, sur les derrières de mon armée; j'en ferai une dans l'Asie Mineure, où déjà les populations se lèvent à ma voix. Je suis le représentant de l'Ismalisme; je proclamerai la guerre sainte, et tout bon Musulman viendra se ranger derrière moi. On croit m'effrayer par une coalition des quatre Puissances; je saurai bien la dissoudre en marchant sur Constantinople. J'allumerai un tel incendie que l'Europe aura bien assez de ses propres affaires, et l'Empire Ottoman sera sauvé. Quoi qu'il arrive, j'aurai fait mon devoir: je me soumets à la volonté de Dieu."—MEHEMET ALI à M. WALEWSKI, Aug. 15, 1840; CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, x. 227, 228, note.

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evinced his vigour and address in the manner in which he reunited them to England for the attainment of that important object. But it was otherwise when succour was refused to the Sultan by the British Government eight years before. That was, perhaps, the most fatal and inexplicable omission ever made by the Cabinet of Great Britain. The much wished-for opportunity had arrived. Turkey, in the agonies of dissolution at the hands of its rebellious vassal, had flown to England for protection; a few sail of the line would have placed the capital in safety, and the prestige of Muscovite supremacy would have been at once destroyed by the most important of its protected States having voluntarily placed itself under the ægis of another and a rival power. Instead of this, what did England do? She *refused succour;* threw the Ottomans into the arms of Russia, who extorted, as the price of her protection, the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, which converted the Euxine into a Russian lake; and left the forts of the Bosphorus *vis-à-vis* to the bastions of Sebastopol, with a few sail of the line, ill-manned, to combat eighteen line-of-battle ships, the skill of whose gunners England afterwards so fatally experienced on the ramparts of the Malakoff and the Redan! Thus are nations led to destruction by the want of foresight in the national councils.

80. Which arose from the Reform Bill and the contraction of the currency.

But this want of foresight, especially in relation to foreign affairs, was of a very recent origin in the British councils. Mr Pitt, in 1789, had put a bridle in the mouth of the Czar, and in conjunction with Prussia arrested the march of the united Muscovite and Austrian armies when on the high-road to Constantinople. But the England of 1789 was not the England of 1833. The Reform Bill had banished foresight from the national councils, preparation from the national armaments. So vehement had the passion for economy become in consequence of the ascendancy of the class of shopkeepers in the constituency, and the straitened state of

the finances from the contraction of the currency, that the House of Commons was unable to furnish supplies to Government adequate to upholding the national influence in the affairs of the world. Thence the loss of the long-desired opportunity of supplanting Russia at Constantinople in 1833. The British Government openly avowed, when applied to by the Turkish for succour, that they had neither ships nor men to send. The whole subsequent difficulties of the Eastern Question, and the dreadful and costly war which afterwards became necessary to repair the consequences of this omission, arose from that inconsiderate and ill-timed reduction of the national armaments, which rendered it impossible to take advantage of this golden opportunity.

81. Dangers of the nation in 1841 from the mania for reduction.

The high position which the English occupied in the world, in consequence of the victories of Beyrout and Acre, and the peace which followed them, must not render us blind to the magnitude of the dangers which the country incurred in entering upon that hazardous conflict. The whole regular forces of Great Britain at that time were under 100,000 men, of whom three-fourths were absorbed in Ireland and the colonies. Not more than 25,000 men and 40 guns could have been collected to defend the coasts of the Channel from the invasion of a power which had 300,000 men and 300 pieces of cannon at its disposal. Even in the navy, the right arm of England's strength, we had become, from blind reduction, inferior to our ancient rivals. France had fifteen ships of the line in the Mediterranean when the conflict was imminent in 1841, and England only nine. The whole line-of-battle ships in commission in that year were only 16, instead of 100, which during the war were constantly at sea. Sir Charles Adam, a Lord of the Admiralty, had said in his place in Parliament two years before, that it was a mistake to say England was wholly defenceless, for she had *three ships of the line and three frigates* to guard the coasts of the Channel—being just half the force pos-

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sessed by Denmark when assailed by Great Britain in 1807! Yet, with all this deplorable prostration of strength, the Government of England held its head as high, and assumed as dictatorial a tone in foreign diplomacy, as when she possessed 200 ships of the line, and 1000 vessels of war bore the royal flag! Great Britain escaped the enormous peril of this inconsistent line of conduct at this period, not from the wisdom of her own councils, but the strength of her allies; war was averted, not because she was irresistible in the Mediterranean, but because the German Confederacy had 300,000 men ready to appear on the Rhine. But she was not equally fortunate on every other occasion; and the sequel of this History will show what lamentable consequences it induced, and what tears of blood her people shed for a conduct which was now pursued amidst the loud applause of the unthinking multitude, invested by existing institutions with the irresponsible government of the country. England never incurred such danger as she did at this period, from the senseless combination of arrogance of conduct with impotence in preparation; and it is no exaggeration, but the simple historical truth, to assert that she was brought nearer to ruin within ten years by the consequences of the Reform Bill than she had been either by the ambition of Louis XIV. or the genius of Napoleon.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

FRANCE FROM THE SOCIAL ESTABLISHMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE'S GOVERNMENT IN 1834, TO THE FALL OF COUNT MOLÉ'S ADMINISTRATION IN THE END OF 1837.

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1. Repeated defeats of the Republicans. July 1830.

FROM the overthrow of the throne of Charles X., in July 1830, to the result of the elections in October 1834, France had been in a continual state of turmoil and disquietude. The anarchical faction, by whose temporary union with the *bourgeoisie* that revolution had been effected, but who, by the establishment of a regular government, had been, as they conceived, cheated out of its fruits, had been indefatigable in their efforts to overturn the monarchy of their own creation; but all these endeavours had been in vain. The Government of Louis Philippe had succeeded, in the first moments of popular triumph, in obtaining a vast increase to the army, the affections of which had been cultivated with the most sedulous care; and by its aid, and the support of the *bourgeoisie*, now thoroughly awakened to a sense of its danger, they had succeeded in repelling all the attacks made against them. The suppression of the insurrection in Lyons had dispelled the dreams of the St Simonians and Socialists in the manufacturing towns; the defeat of the revolts at the Cloister of St Méri and the Rue Transnonain had dashed to the earth the hopes of the Republicans in the capital. The Royalists in the west had been equally unsuccessful; and the failure of the risings at Marseilles

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and in La Vendée, even when animated by the presence of a heroic princess, had left them no hope, for a long period, of reinstating their affairs by force of arms. All the discontented parties were worn out and discouraged by these repeated failures; and men now found to their cost that there is no government so powerful as that which immediately succeeds a successful revolution, and no prostration of the public liberties so complete as that which follows the triumph of an insurrection commenced in their name.

2. Opening of the Chamber, and great majority for Ministers. July 31.

The elections of June 1834, as already mentioned, carried on amidst the terror produced by the recent Republican outbreak, so cruelly repressed by the slaughter in the Rue Transnonain, had given the Government so decided a majority in the Chambers as to leave the discontented no longer any hope of being able to disturb it. In his opening speech on 31st July to the Chambers, the King said, with truth: "Wherever criminal enterprises have induced a deplorable strife, the national cause has triumphed; the National Guard and the army, whose noble devotedness you will appreciate as well as myself, have repressed disorder with as much energy as fidelity; and the peaceable execution of the laws passed in the last session has proved the weakness of the anarchists, and restored confidence to the nation." The first vote of the Chamber, on the trial of strength for the election of its President, seemed, as already mentioned, to justify this confident tone: for the Ministerial candidate, M. Dupin, had 247 votes; the Opposition, M. Lafitte, 33; the Royalist, M. Royer-Collard, 24; M. Bignon, the Napoleonist, 4; and M. Odillon Barrot, the representative of the Extrême Gauche, only 3. The ministerial triumph was complete, and nothing remained for Government but to make a good use of its victory.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 260, 269; L. Blanc, iv. 523, 531.

Napoleon had shown that he knew how to make use of such a situation, when, after the battle of Marengo, he said, in answer to those who were speculating on the causes

3. Ministerial changes; Marshal Gérard succeeds Marshal Soult. July 18.

of his success, "Everything has succeeded with me, because I was for all the world a LIVING AMNESTY." Napoleon was right: but it belongs only to the noble-minded to carry out these noble words; and it is not to be forgotten that, even in his case, no less than an hundred and thirty of the most dangerous Jacobins had been transported *en masse*, on pretence of their accession to the infernal-machine conspiracy, without any trial, by a measure, as he called it, of the "*haute police*." No punishments had yet been inflicted for the late serious insurrections; and the King thought, with reason, that justice must be satisfied before the voice of mercy is heard. In addition to this, there were less creditable reasons which led to the amnesty at that period being refused. The little, and indeed all ordinary men, are devoured by little jealousies, personal irritation, and ignoble thirst for vengeance. These difficulties ere long appeared in the Cabinet itself. The question of a general amnesty was brought forward in the Chamber, and, from the numbers on all sides interested in it, excited the warmest interest. Ministers, however, were divided upon the subject, and not less upon the reduction of the army, which was loudly demanded by the Chamber, and as strongly opposed by the veteran general. This led to a change. Marshal Soult, whose age and infirmities rendered him little qualified to sustain the labours of office, resigned his situation as Prime Minister on the 18th July, and was succeeded by Marshal Gérard, who made it his principal object, by repeated and earnest declarations of a determination to economise, to allay the terrors of the large body in the Chamber, which was, with reason, alarmed at the enormous expenditure of Government.[1]*

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 271, 277; Cap. viii. 17, 19.

* The immediate cause of Marshal Soult's resignation was a division in the Cabinet, in which he was in the minority, whether the governor of Algiers should be a civilian or military character. The Doctrinaires contended for the former, the Marshal for the latter; and the King agreed with the first, and sent the Duke of Rovigo, upon which Soult resigned. This, however, was rather the pretext than the real ground of his retirement. The true reason was his

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4. Declaration of the new Ministers in favour of economy.

"Vainly," said M. Dupin, from the President's chair, "has the Chamber proclaimed, in three successive addresses, that it is indispensable to bring down the expenses to a level with the revenue, and to labour incessantly to restrain Ministers within the limits of the budget. The contrary has constantly come about: the expenses have invariably exceeded the receipts, and the limits even of the vote of credit have been frequently outstepped. Yet the Chamber of Deputies enjoys the initiative in France; it fixes by allocation to each department the burdens which are to weigh upon the country. It should no longer tolerate the system of forcing money from the treasury, by coming, after it is over, to pay expenses which, despite itself, have been incurred." These bold words were hailed with rapture by the Opposition, who considered them as a declaration of war by the President of the Chamber against the Ministry; but they were ere long re-echoed by the Prime Minister himself. "The same desire of economy," said Marshal Gérard, "which animates the Chambers directs also the Government; it is for it a question of honour and interest. The first rule which I have laid down for all the departments of government is to abstain from all votes of credit, and even, if possible, to keep their expenditure within the sum voted." These words diffused general satisfaction, and materially added to the popularity of the new Minister.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Aug. 10, 1834; Ann. Hist. xvii. 271, 287.

But it was not so easy to get over the question of an amnesty as over that of economy, for there was justice to

decided opinion that, in the disturbed state of France within, and its threatening relations without, no reduction of the army could be effected with safety—a point upon which it was well known the majority of the Chambers was on the other side. The force of the French army at the period when he resigned was as follows:—

Infantry,	205,100
Cavalry,	49,000
Artillery and Engineers,	28,800
Gendarmerie,	28,500
Total,	312,100

—CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, viii. 18, 19, note.

5. Change of Ministry; Count Molé Minister. Oct. 29.

be satisfied, animosities to be satiated with vengeance, and terrors to be allayed by severity. Marshal Gérard, with the feeling of a brave soldier, openly inclined to the humane side: forget and forgive was inscribed on his banner. He supported that opinion with the utmost vigour in the Council; and the same view was warmly espoused by the Liberal press, which was naturally anxious to obtain a screen for their political coadjutors. But the King and the majority of the Council regarding such a step as an indirect censure on the measures of severity which had been adopted, and perilous, before terror had been struck into the disaffected of all parties, were equally decided on the other side; and the consequence was, that the Marshal resigned his situations both as Prime Minister and Minister at War. The King conferred the latter office, which could not be a day vacant, on Admiral de Rigny, who was transferred there from the Foreign Affairs; and he intrusted Count Molé with the arduous task of forming a Ministry. This proved, however, a more difficult task than had been anticipated; and for some weeks there was a sort of interregnum, with no Prime Minister at all. Albeit the King of the Barricades, Louis Philippe was not yet broken in to the constitutional maxim, "Le Roi règne, et ne gouverne pas," and no small difficulty was experienced in reconciling his inclinations with the views of the majority of the Council. At length the difficulties were overcome, and the *Moniteur* of 10th Nov. announced the new Ministry as follows: The resignations of MM. de Rigny, Thiers, Guizot, Duchatel, and Hermann, embracing the whole strength of the Doctrinaire party, were accepted, and the following gentlemen were appointed to the vacant portfolios :[1] the Duke of Bassano was named President of the Council and Minister of the Interior; M. Bresson, then ambassador at Berlin, of Foreign Affairs; General Bernard, of War; M. Charles Dupin, of the Marine and the Colonies; M. Teste, Minister of Commerce; M.

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 10, 1834; Ann. Hist. xvii. 290, 292; Cap. viii. 50, 51.

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Passy, of Finance. Of the whole former Cabinet, M. Persi, the Minister of Justice, alone retained his portfolio.

6. Fall of the new Ministry, and restoration of the old one.

As the new Cabinet was almost destitute of talent, and nearly all the intellectual strength would, it was foreseen, be ranged on the side of Opposition, Government was very desirous to obtain for itself the support of a majority of the Chamber. It was accordingly convoked for the 1st December, instead of the 29th, to which it stood adjourned. Before that time arrived, however, the fate of the new Ministry was sealed. They were unable to withstand the storm of ridicule with which they were assailed; they did not enjoy the confidence of the King; and being conscious of their own incapacity for the conduct of affairs, they voluntarily resigned, after holding office only eight days, and the former Ministry was restored, and officially announced in the *Moniteur* of the Nov. 19. 19th. The only new Ministers were, Marshal Mortier, who succeeded Gérard as Prime Minister and Minister at War, and Admiral Duperré, who became Minister of Marine. Thus terminated this long ministerial crisis; but the minds of men were not made up on the stability of the new Government, and great anxiety was felt in all quarters for the vote of the Chamber which might decide its fate.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Nov. 19, 1834; Ann. Hist. xvii. 292, 294.

7. Flourishing state of Algiers.

The prospects of the new Ministry were considerably improved by the favourable accounts which were received in the latter part of this year from the colony of Algiers. The crisis in that important settlement seemed to be passed, and every successive post brought more favourable accounts of its rapid progress in population, resources, and industry. In the town of Algiers itself, the streets were widened, cleaned, and adorned with buildings in the European style, whose handsome fronts bespoke the increasing opulence of their inhabitants, as well as the active spirit and enlarged resources of the Government. Industry and commerce were rapidly

augmenting, and the roads made by the soldiers into the interior did as much in opening a vent for the produce of the country, as it added to the security of the industry which produced it, by the facility they afforded of military transit. Extensive districts were drained and brought under the plough which from time immemorial had been pestilential marshes; the whole agricultural productions of Europe, and especially wheat, flourished in abundance; and in addition to that, the productions of the tropics, sugar, cotton, indigo, and cochineal, were successfully introduced. When it was known in Algeria that it had been determined by Government at home to retain the colony, universal satisfaction was diffused; the works, both public and private, were prosecuted with redoubled activity, and the province promised again to become like what it had so long been in ancient times, the granary of the Roman Empire. Hostilities in the province of Bona still continued on the frontier with the Bey of Constantina, a powerful chief in the interior; but although success was in some degree varied, it on the whole inclined to the side of the French; and at length the Bedouins, 6000 strong, were defeated in a decisive encounter, which for a time suspended their predatory incursions.[1]

Oct. 10.

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 294, 296.

8. First debate on the Address. Dec. 9.

Great was the anxiety felt on all sides for the first trial of strength between the parties; for the division on the choice of the President on this occasion had afforded no real test of their relative proportions, as M. Dupin had been elected by a combination of the Ministerial and Centre parties,—not by the former taken singly. It was on an amendment proposed to the Address that the trial took place, and it gave rise to the most acrimonious discussion. The great point maintained by the Opposition was, the necessity of supporting the Chamber in its independent functions, independent of the influence or intrigues of the Court. "Gentlemen," said they, "when everything reels around us, amidst

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these sudden and unforeseen changes of power, when everything totters to the ground, shaken by intrigue and ambition, it is for you to strengthen yourselves on the solid ground of principle and national dignity: be faithful to yourselves and to your noble independence, and you have nothing to fear. Heretofore you have denounced as a serious danger the perpetual instability of men and of measures,—an instability which has gone far to lessen the consideration of political power. Let this be a warning to you to preserve your own: never was it more necessary to the country, to the royalty which you have sworn to defend, and to which we will always form a rampart, and as a barrier against the malevolent passions which attack, and the recklessness which compromises it." [1]

[1] Cap. viii. 74, 75; Moniteur, Dec. 6, 1834.

9. Answer of M. Guizot.

Veiled under vague generalities, these and similar words were a sufficient indication of the intentions of the Opposition to rear up the Chamber into a counterpoise to the Crown, and to force upon the latter a policy, especially in regard to the amnesty which so violently agitated the public mind, at variance with the settled determination of the Cabinet. M. Guizot accordingly endeavoured to drive them into some more tangible and distinct charges against the Government. "I will not," said he in reply, "discuss the terms of the Address: I do not understand that its principles are seriously contested. I will not provoke a debate upon nothing; but I assert it as an incontestible fact, that it was this very uncertainty, now so much complained of, which, by enervating power, imposed upon us the necessity of retiring. We should have failed in all our duties towards the country and the Chamber if we had consented to bear any longer a responsibility when liberty of action was taken away. Our principles are still the same. From the moment when it shall be decided that the Chamber has no longer confidence in our administration, we shall resign: other men will succeed us. If they succeed, so

much the better; the experiment will be complete; it will be known what is the intention of the Chamber. If it finds itself deceived, it will acknowledge its error by restoring power to those whom it has dispossessed. We bring no accusation against the Chamber, as has been erroneously pretended; we address ourselves to it frankly and seriously; we only ask, 'Do you, or do you not, give your support to the Administration?'" [1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1834; Cap. viii. 75, 76.

10. Majority for Ministers in the Chamber.

It was sufficiently plain, from these words, that the resignation of the former Ministry had been owing to a deeper cause than appeared upon the surface, and that it was more than either the question of the amnesty or an economical reduction of the army which was really at issue. The King and the Chamber had come to be at variance upon a vital point of policy, and it was as yet undecided which was to obtain the mastery. M. Lauzet openly announced this, and hinted not obscurely to the alarming consequences which might follow a vote substantially one of want of confidence in the Ministry. "Doubtless," said he, "the Chamber is entitled to refuse its support to the Ministry; doubtless it may even prefer an accusation against them, if it finds in the past conduct of the members serious grounds for suspecting them for the future. This, however, is one of those desperate remedies which is reserved for situations where no other extrication of affairs is possible. When the signal of this is once given, it is as much as to say the royal prerogative has been pushed to the wall, and already the thunder of revolution is heard in the distance." The decision of the Chamber, however, adjourned the danger, and terminated for the time the ministerial crisis; the Address was supported by a majority of 77, the numbers being 184 to 107.[2]

[2] Moniteur, Nov. 7, 1834; Cap. viii. 77, 78.

But although the new Ministry had got a decided majority in the Chamber, they soon experienced an insuperable difficulty in their Prime Minister. Marshal Mortier, a frank and loyal soldier, of high honour and

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11. Marshal Mortier is succeeded by the Duke de Broglie as Prime Minister. Feb. 22.

unimpeachable character, was better qualified for the contests of the field than the forum. His lofty stature, commanding air, and military frankness, which would have commanded such respect in the field of battle or in a *champ clos*, were of no avail in the Chamber of Peers, where a thorough knowledge of parties, ready elocution, and acquaintance with every subject which came on for discussion, were the only qualities which were of any importance. Of these he was entirely destitute; indeed, he had so little the command of language that when called on to speak he could scarcely articulate a few words. He had accepted the onerous charge of Prime Minister on the express condition that he was to be permitted to resign when he desired it; and in the end of February, finding himself no longer equal to the task, and perceiving a divergence of opinion arising between M. Thiers and M. Guizot, the great supports of the Cabinet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted. The King immediately sent for Marshal Soult, and pressed him to resume his place as Prime Minister; but to this the Marshal had insuperable objections, unless under a pledge that the military establishment of the country should not be reduced, a condition to which it was well known the Chamber would not accede. Fatigued with the military and political labours of a long life, he sighed for repose, and had no inclination to exchange the peace and tranquillity of his beautiful country retreat for the storms and contests of the capital. He resisted all the instances of the King, therefore, and declined the appointment; and by his advice it was conferred on the DUKE DE BROGLIE, who, as one of themselves, was acceptable to the Doctrinaires, and whose eloquence and abilities pointed him out as well qualified for the commanding situation.[1] He was appointed President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs; the Count de Rigny, who formerly held the latter situation, was appointed *ad interim* Minister at War, with a permanent seat in the Cabinet;

March 12.

[1] Moniteur, March 12, 1835; Cap. viii. 133, 136; L. Blanc, iv. 569.

but that situation was reserved in permanence for Marshal Maison, then ambassador at St Petersburg, who accepted the office. Shortly before, Prince Talleyrand, whose health had suffered severely from the climate of London, was relieved, at his earnest request, of that embassy, which was conferred on Count Pozzo di Borgo.

12. Cause of this crisis.

This ministerial crisis, which had now lasted without intermission for six months, appears at first sight an inexplicable circumstance, considering the immense majority which the ministerial candidate had obtained at the election of the President of the Chamber, the usual trial of strength of parties in France. But a little consideration must show that it arose from that majority itself. The terror excited among all the holders of property in France, from the repeated insurrections and daring language of the anarchical faction, had become such that they had all united in returning a Chamber which might oppose it: thence the immense majority which supported M. Dupin as President. But when the victory was gained, and the terrorists put down, the usual divisions consequent on success at once appeared. Each of the sections of which the Government majority had been composed, strove to work out the victory for its own profit, and openly aspired to nominating the Ministry, and getting the whole patronage of the State at its disposal. The Centre, or *Tiers Parti*, as it was called, whose junction with the Ministerialists had so materially swelled that majority, were particularly loud in the assertion of their pretensions, and Marshal Gérard's Ministry, whose motto was economy, had been its creature. But the King was equally inflexible on the other side; he was by no means broke into the favourite maxim of the Liberals, *Le Roi règne et ne gouverne pas.* On the contrary, he was more than ever determined to exercise his own judgment on the matter. A pamphlet of M. Rœderer's, which inculcated the doctrine that the King should nominate his Ministers just as he did his domestic servants, was read aloud at the

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Tuileries with the warmest applause, especially from the Princess Adélaide, whose ascendancy over her brother had been more than once evinced; and from the divisions in the Chamber, which arose from its being split into so many parties, each desirous to turn the crisis to its own profit, the King was encouraged to hope that, by persevering in his policy, it might in the end be crowned with success. The *Monarchy* was for the time firmly established, but the *Ministry* rested on a most insecure basis; and, as in England after the passing of the Reform Bill, the Cabinet began to totter from the moment of its triumph.[1]

[1] Cap. viii. 51, 70; L. Blanc, iv. 564, 567.

13. Divergence of Thiers and Guizot.

Albeit united at present in a cordial support of the Doctrinaire party, of which they constituted the strength, M. Thiers and M. Guizot were beginning at this time to exhibit symptoms of divergence, and it was the perception of that which was one cause of Marshal Mortier's retirement. It was not merely personal rivalry which occasioned this. They both aspired to be Prime Minister; but, independent of this, their principles and associations were essentially different. M. Thiers was essentially revolutionary, but it was revolution coerced and directed by the sabre of the Emperor. He had no associations with *la veille France;* the ancient stock of the Bourbons was to him an abomination; he felt throughout a cordial hatred at the regime of the Restoration; and when Charles X. was overthrown, he only worked out his principles in contributing to its downfall. He was the friend of order, but it was order emanating from and supported by revolution, and crushing the opposite factions with the sword of despotism wielded by the hands of Republicans. M. Guizot in all these respects was essentially different. Deeply versed in the antiquities, a perfect master of the history of France, he was strongly moved by the traditions and feelings of the ancient monarchy. Too philosophical in his ideas, and too well versed in present affairs not to see the immense

change which the Revolution of 1789, itself an effect of preceding causes, had produced in the social necessities of the State, he was the friend of freedom, but it was freedom resting on the loyalty and traditions of the monarchy, rather than the usurpation of the Empire. He accepted the Revolution of July as a compromise between these contending principles—he served it, when once established, with cordiality and fidelity,—and he indulged in the sanguine hope that, like the English Revolution of 1688, it would become the opening of a long era of prosperity, freedom, and grandeur to France.[1]

[1] Cap. viii. 128.

14. Character of the Duke de Broglie.

The Duke de Broglie, who now assumed the arduous duties of Prime Minister, was different from either of these eminent men, and formed, as it were, an intermediate link between them and the throne. Of high rank and polished manners, he had imbibed liberal ideas, and acquired the power of expressing them with eloquence from the conversation of Madame de Staël, whose daughter he had espoused. From the brilliant genius of the mother he had taken his principal views, both of present events and the future destinies of society. Like her, he had regarded the Restoration as an era of emancipation from the servile despotism of the Empire, and the only period in which real freedom, equally distant from courtly corruption or democratic despotism, had existed in France. He was strongly opposed, however, as Madame de Staël would doubtless have been had she lived to see it, to the ordonnances of Polignac, and, like Guizot, accepted the throne of Louis Philippe as the only possible compromise between the opposite principles of despotism and revolution. His abilities were not of the highest order, but they were of the most available description, and he had lived so much in the society of the most superior men and women, that he had become impregnated with their ideas, and shone in conversation with a lustre not his own.[2]

[2] Cap. viii. 128.

The first difficulty with which the new Ministry had to

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15. Settlement of the question with the Americans.

contend was that arising from the continued demand of the United States for a settlement of their long-standing claim for 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000), which, as already mentioned, had arisen out of their claims for injuries inflicted on the members of the Union by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon. It was impossible to deny the justice of the American demand, for it was founded on a treaty concluded in 1831, by General Horace Sébastiani, with the American Government, and was for the precise sum which he had agreed the French Government should pay as an indemnity. The King, accordingly, admitted its justice, and the Cabinet had long been solicitous that the treaty should be ratified and the debt discharged. It was not so easy a matter to get the Chamber to agree to this, burdened as the finances were with a very large military establishment and extravagant budget, little in harmony with their economical ideas. The ratification had been refused, accordingly, upon various pretensions, in the last session. Upon this the American President inserted in his address to Congress, in the beginning of the winter, a very severe, and even menacing, paragraph, regarding reprisals on French property.* When this message was known in France, it excited the most violent indignation; and so vehement was the clamour that the French envoy was recalled from Washington, and his passports offered to the American Minister at Paris; though, at the same

* "Since France, in violation of the engagements undertaken by its minister, resident here, has so delayed its resolutions on the subject, that they cannot be communicated to this Congress, I propose that a law should be passed *authorising reprisals on the property of Frenchmen*, if in the ensuing session a law is not passed for the payment of the debt. This is not done in the view of intimidation; France is too well known to permit of such a thing being thought of; but only to demonstrate the fixed determination of the Government of the United States to cause its rights to be respected. The French Government, by doing what itself has recognised to be just, will spare the Government of the United States the necessity of taking their redress into their own hands, and save French properties from that confiscation which the American citizens have so long suffered without either reprisals or indemnity." —*President's Message*, Nov. 2, 1834; *Ann. Hist.* 1834, 672, 673.

time, a vote of the requisite amount was demanded from the Chamber. There could be no doubt that the American Government, though right in the main question, were wrong in the way in which they proposed to make their demand effectual; for this was to be done, not by hostilities against the State, but by seizing the property of *individuals* in their harbours, or on the high seas, till enough had been collected to discharge the debt. The French Government, accordingly, replied in a dignified, and yet conciliatory tone, to the President's message, and by degrees more reasonable views began to be entertained on both sides.* The American Congress soothed the irritated feelings of the French, by declining to pass a law in terms of the President's message; and at length the French Chamber, by a large majority (289 to 172), agreed to ratify the treaty and pay the money, upon the Government being satisfied that nothing injurious to the national honour had been intended by that of the United States.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 15, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 81; L. Blanc, iv. 378, 382; Cap. viii. 155, 156.

16. Commencement of the treason trials before the Chamber of Peers. April 1835.

A more serious difficulty awaited the Government in the trial of the persons confined for their accession to the great and combined insurrections in April 1834, who were still in prison in various parts of France. It has been already mentioned, that by an ordonnance of the King, on 15th April 1834, the Chamber of Peers had been erected into a supreme court of justice for the trial of all these offenders; but when the preparatory steps to the trials came to be taken, no small embarrass-

* "La Chambre, nous n'en doutons pas se reportera à ces hautes considérations de Puissance commerciale, et de force maritime, qui ont toujours fait regarder notre alliance avec les Etats-Unis, comme une de ces règles inaltérables de la politique nationale. En parlant ainsi, nous ne voulons que rendre hommage à des vérités de tous les temps, les opposer à des impressions passagères, et surtout déclarer que la France n'impute ni au peuple ni au Gouvernement de l'Amérique les sentimens et les propositions que le Président des Etats-Unis vient d'exprimer. Nous ne voulons voir dans son message au Congrès que l'acte peu réfléchi d'un pouvoir isolé et l'honneur national ne nous en commande par moins de persister dans la politique qui fut toujours celle du Gouvernement du Roi, la politique de la loyauté."—*Moniteur*, Jan. 16, 1835; and *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 81.

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ment was experienced by the Crown officers how to proceed. Out of several thousand persons in confinement, six hundred had been selected as fit for trial and worthy of punishment; and in order to render the proceeding more impressive, and convey a stronger idea of the extent of the conspiracy, it was resolved to bring them all to trial at one time, and under one indictment. As no hall, however, could be found adequate to contain such a multitude of accused persons, and no human strength was adequate to mastering or recollecting the evidence against such a number, it was absolutely necessary very materially to reduce the number; and at length a selection was made of 164, deemed the most culpable, who were brought from various parts of France to Paris, and indicted together before the Chamber of Peers.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 172, 174; L. Blanc, iv. 383, 387; Cap. viii. 81, 89.

17. Ruinous effects of this mode of proceeding.

To any one who has been practically acquainted with the conduct of criminal trials, it must at once appear obvious that a more absurd and hazardous mode of proceeding could not possibly have been adopted. To bring a vast number of prisoners to the bar at once, charged with accession in different degrees to the same conspiracy, is to confound those different degrees together, to incur the hazard to innocence of being included in the category of guilt, and to encourage audacity and provoke interruption from the number of those who will encourage its excesses, or profit by the delays it will occasion. This, accordingly, was exactly what happened. Two committees of the Peers were appointed; one to examine into the evidence, and prepare the indictment during the year which preceded the trial; the other to consider who should be discharged. No less than two thousand persons, against whom the evidence was not deemed sufficient, or who were not considered fit objects of trial, were liberated by their orders. A voluminous and very valuable report on the origin and progress of the secret societies was prepared by M. Girod de l'Ain, which contains a full and authentic account of their ramifications, pro-

ceedings, and designs.* The committees were composed of men of the highest character in the magistracy, and their proceedings were conducted with calmness, moderation, and the most scrupulous attention to the evidence against each individual. M. Pasquier, who held the onerous situation of President of the Chamber, conducted the proceedings with a calmness and impartiality which extorted the admiration even of the accused themselves. But no sooner did the proceedings commence, than an unparalleled scene of violence and disorder ensued, which protracted the trial to an extraordinary length, and would have rendered it interminable, were it not for a fortunate event, which enabled the most guilty to escape from the hands of justice.[1]

[1] Rapport de M. Girod de l'Ain, 22, 36; Ann. Hist. xviii. 207, 231; L. Blanc, iv. 383, 387.

18. Commencement of the trial, and contest with the Bar. March 31.

The excitement produced among all classes of Liberals by this "monster trial" was immense, and exceeded anything before witnessed, even in that land of vehement passion and strong emotion. Scarce any of the Republicans but had a friend, a relation, implicated in its issue; scarce a Liberal but sympathised from the bottom of his heart in the fate of brave men, who had ventured their lives in the cause, as they deemed it, of national freedom. Immense crowds surrounded the court-house long before

* "La Société des Droits de l'Homme, dont le programme avoué est une révolution politique et sociale, organise dans la capitale d'abord, puis dans plusieurs grandes villes, une armée en permanence pour marcher à son but par la révolte. Nous l'avons vue pousser à l'insurrection par les violentes imprécations, spéciales sur la misère du pauvre pour l'exciter *contre l'aristocratie nouvelle qui s'est reconstituée sous le nom de bourgeoisie;* organiser, puis étendre ces déplorables coalitions d'ouvriers, qui troublent si souvent notre industrie; persuader à tous les désordres, s'efforcer de corrompre et de pervertir la sagesse du peuple par les plus détestables pamphlets, systématiser la licence de la Presse, et préparer ainsi l'exécution des attentats qu'elle médite. A Paris le comité central demande et obtient de ses agens le contrôle de son armée, l'effectif de ses forces, et s'assure de l'effet produit par le poison de ses doctrines; et lorsqu'il compte un assez grand nombre d'hommes prêts à marcher avec lui, il fait distribuer par ses agens sectionnaires des munitions destinées à mitrailler notre garde nationale et notre fidèle armée. A Lyon la même société suit la même marche, mais avec un succès plus rapide, et que vient expliquer l'immense population ouvrière de la seconde ville de France: l'Association Lyonnaise était directement sous la direction du comité central Parisien; elle a pris la part la plus directe et la plan active à l'insurrection qui pen-

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the doors opened, and the moment they were so, every corner was filled, and the most breathless anxiety was depicted on every visage. It soon appeared, however, that the proceedings were to be indefinitely protracted, and that the system of defence was by availing themselves of every imaginable point, and insisting on it at great length, to render the trial endless. This system had well-nigh succeeded. The first point taken was the selection of counsel to defend the accused, and this led to such a contest as nearly caused the trial itself, involving as it did the lives of an hundred and sixty persons, to be forgotten. The King had issued an ordonnance on March 30, which allowed the accused to select their defenders from any bar in France; and in default of their doing so, the president was to choose them from the bar of the Cour-Royal at Paris.* Nothing could be more liberal and just than this ordonnance; it merely confined the conduct of the defence to the bar of France, premising that, if counsel were not chosen from some of the provincial bars, the president would assign the prisoners defenders from the bar of Paris.[1]

March 30.

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 175; Cap. viii. 95, 96; L. Blanc, iv. 386, 391.

This equitable arrangement, however, was far from meeting the views of the prisoners, or their coadjutors at

dant six jours livré cette grande cité aux horreurs du pillage et de la guerre civile. A St. Etienne, Grenoble, Marseille, Arbois, Chalons sur Saône, partout où les troubles éclatent, nous avons vu la Société des Droits de l'Homme préparant et réalisant ces attentats, sous les inspirations et l'influence du comité central. Partout, les journaux de cette société sonnent le tocsin d'alarme et appellent les sectionnaires au combat; à Lyon, *La Glaneuse, L'Echo de la Fabrique;* à Marseille, *Le Peuple Souverain;* dans le Jura, *Le Patriote Franc Comtois;* à Paris, *La Tribune,* moniteur officiel du comité central."—Rapport de M. GIROD DE L'AIN; *Ann. Hist.,* xviii. 171, 172.

* "Tout Avocat inscrit au tableau d'une cour, ou des tribunaux du royaume, pourra exercer son ministère devant la Cour des Pairs. Néanmoins les Avocats près la Cour Royale de Paris *pourront seuls être désignés d'office* par le Président de la Cour des Pairs, conformément à l'article 295 du Code d'Instruction Criminelle. Les Avocats appelés à remplir leur ministère devant la Cour des Pairs y jouiront des mêmes droits, et seront tenus des mêmes devoirs que devant les cours d'assises. La Cour des Pairs et son Président demeurent investis, à l'égard des avocats, de tous les pouvoirs qui appartiennent aux cours d'assises et aux présidens de ces cours."—*Ordonnance du Roi,* March 31, 1835, *Moniteur;* and *Ann. Hist.* xviii. 175.

the bar, or in the public press. Their object was, by no means to have the defence of the accused conducted by barristers, or according to the forms, and under the responsibility of professional men, but by the most ardent and eloquent Republicans *of all professions;* and thus to convert the hall of justice into a forum of the most vehement political debate. In addition, therefore, to some eminent Liberal barristers, such as M. Michel de Bourges, whom they were entitled to nominate, the prisoners insisted upon being defended by men unconnected with French law in any department; such as the *Abbé de Lamennais*, MM. Armand Carrel, Raspail, Garnier Pagès, Audry de Puyraveau, and *Daniel O'Connell.* It was easy to foresee to what results the admission of such strange defenders would immediately have led, even in a country less excitable than France. Such as it was, however, the decree limiting the defence to the bar excited the most unbounded animosity in France, and was stigmatised as the most atrocious act of tyranny that ever had been perpetrated. Still more strange, the decree, which was perfectly in accordance with judicial procedure, and indispensable to the right conduct of an important state trial, was denounced by the whole bar of France, metropolitan and provincial, as an unwarrantable stretch, wholly indefensible, and a direct violation of the constitution.[1]

19. Contest about the choice of defenders.

[1] Cap. viii. 96,97; Ann. Hist. xviii. 174, 176; L. Blanc, iv. 336, 338.

The dispute about the counsel who were to defend the accused soon assumed such proportions as almost to cause their trial to be forgotten. It came on, however, at length, on the 2d May; and on the 5th of the same month the proceedings commenced in a vast hall, specially erected for the occasion. The roll being called, only 164 Peers answered to their names: 79, on one pretence or another, had contrived to be absent. The accused, to the number of 121, were brought in together, and took their seats in the benches opposite to the Court. Only twelve gentlemen of the bar were present to assist the accused, chiefly

20. Commencement of the proceedings.

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those assigned by the Court; so strongly had the supposed infringement of the rights of defence affected the feelings of that learned body. The utmost anxiety pervaded the whole audience and the immense crowd assembled round the doors. The leaders of the Republicans were there: Government now no longer struck at a few wretched agents of insurrection, but was resolved to aim a blow at its chiefs. The most extensive preparations had been made to secure the public tranquillity during the proceedings. An immense body of police, with strong detachments of foot and horse, surrounded the building, and powerful reserves, with a large train of artillery, were stationed at no great distance; and, to guard against all eventualities, two other presidents were nominated to succeed M. Pasquier, in the event of his being cut off in the midst of his arduous duties.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 178, 180; Cap. viii. 96, 98; L. Blanc, iv. 587, 590.

21. Refusal of the accused to plead or answer until they got their own defenders. May 5.

To conduct the defence of the accused, and watch over the proceedings, a committee of the leading Republicans in Paris had been appointed, and it sat in permanence. The Paris committee consisted of MM. Godefroi, Cavaignac, Guinard, Armand Carrel, Marrast, Lebon, Vignute, Landolphe, Chilman, Granger, and Péchonnier. In addition to this, the accused from Lyons, who were no less than fifty-nine in number, had a special committee of their own. By the joint advice of both committees, it was determined that the accused should, one and all, refuse to plead, or answer to their names when called on to do so, until they were assisted by defenders of their own selection. This was accordingly done; and a scene of matchless disorder and confusion ensued. Each prisoner, when called on by name, insisted upon the defender he had chosen being introduced, *though a stranger to the bar:* the Procureur-Général insisted that their choice should be confined to that learned body, and that the Court had exercised the powers conferred on them by article 295 of the Criminal Code, in regard to this matter, in a competent manner. So the Peers held; and as the refusal to plead continued, it

was proposed to commence reading the Act of Accusation. This, however, was rendered impossible by the loud clamour of the prisoners. The prisoner first addressed refused to answer to his name till the Abbé Lamennais was introduced as his defender. Cavaignac did the same. In vain the President strove to restore order: an hundred voices drowned the reading of the indictment; and at length, seeing no end to the tumult, the Court was adjourned without having come to any decision, or made any progress in the trial.[1]

[1] Moniteur, May 6, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 179, 185; Cap. viii. 97, 99; L. Blanc, iv. 397, 408.

22. Progress of the trial.

These scandalous scenes were renewed with still greater violence on the succeeding days; the accused protesting, in the most energetic terms, against the length of their imprisonment, now extending to thirteen months, and the severities with which it had latterly been attended; and the Court insisting for the preservation of order and the reading of the indictment. No progress could be made, however, from the incessant tumult kept up by the prisoners, in which the audience and the vast crowd on the outside warmly participated. The Court repeatedly ordered the most violent to be removed; but upon this they all stood up, vociferating that they were all equally innocent or guilty; and the attempt to remove any by force led to personal struggles, still more scandalous in a court of justice. The Court upon this again adjourned; and, after two days spent in anxious secret deliberation, a resolution was adopted, to the effect that the President was authorised to order the removal of any prisoner who interrupted the proceedings, and proceed with the reading of the Act of Accusation, and other written documents, in the absence of such prisoners; they being brought back, together *or separately*, when the witnesses for or against them came to be examined.[2]

[2] Moniteur, May 9, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 184, 187.

In the circumstances, nothing more equitable could be devised, and indeed it was the only possible way of extricating matters, after the deplorable mistake of bringing so great a number of prisoners to trial had been com-

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23. Continuation of the disorders, and letter of Audry de Puyraveau.

mitted. At first it seemed to have some effect in appeasing the tumult, and the proceedings began on the 9th with something like order and decorum. But no sooner did the reading of the indictment recommence, than the noise and vociferations began again. "You may condemn us all to death," said Lagrange, in a voice of thunder, "but the blood of us all will not wipe from your forehead the stain affixed by the blood of so many brave men." Though the prisoners at the bar on this occasion were only twenty-eight, the noise they made was such that the reading of the indictment was mere dumb show; not a word was heard either by the peers or prisoners. It was evident that the accused were proceeding on a deliberate system, the object of which was to render the proceedings interminable by noise and tumult: it was a repetition of the O. P. riots of London, with this difference, that the scene of them was not a theatre but a court of justice. Meanwhile a powerful diversion in their favour was effected by the Parisian committee, in the form of a letter to the accused, which

May 11.

appeared in the columns of the *Tribune*, signed, among others, by M. Audry de Puyraveau and M. Cormenin, who were members of the Chamber of Deputies, which contained the gravest charges against the Chamber of Peers, whose conduct was pronounced illegal and oppressive in the highest degree, and encouraged the accused to persevere in their noble course of procrastination and defiance.[1] * This led to a fresh difficulty; for as the per-

[1] Tribune et le Reformateur, May 11, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 189, 190.

* "Le système de violence proposé par les gens du Roi, et adopté par la Chambre des Pairs, ne s'était révélé jusqu'ici qu'avec une sorte de timidité; aujourd'hui il s'est manifesté à tous égards par l'emploi de la force brutale, par votre expulsion des bancs de la cour à l'aide de la violence. On avait commencé par exclure les défenseurs; maintenant c'est vous qu'on veut exclure: on voulait vous entendre en l'absence de vos conseils; maintenant on veut vous juger en votre propre absence. Laissez faire: ceci n'est pas de la justice; c'est la guerre civile qui se continue au sein de la paix, et dans le sanctuaire même des lois. Persévérez citoyens! Montrez-vous comme par le passé, calmes, fiers, énergiques. Vous êtes les défenseurs du droit commun: ce que vous voulez, la France le veut; tous les partis, toutes les opinions généreuses le veulent. La France ne verra jamais des juges où il n'y a pas de

sons who signed that letter were members of the Chamber of Deputies, they could only be prosecuted on a vote of that body, at the instance of its Keeper of the Seals. It was necessary, therefore, to convoke the Chamber of Deputies; and thus the theatre of contest was transferred to the popular branch of the Legislature.

24. Proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies.

It began there accordingly, and became the signal for debates as stormy, and scenes as violent, as those which had lately taken place in the Upper Chamber. At length, in the midst of a frightful tumult, the accusation was voted by a large majority; but so great was the agitation, that several of the journalists who had taken part in it were arrested on leaving the Chamber, though it was not thought prudent to proceed farther against them. The editor of the *Reformateur* was found guilty by a majority of 264 to 39, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of 10,000 francs (£400.) Meanwhile the original trial in the Chamber of Peers continued to drag on its weary length for six weeks, without, to all appearance, the least prospect of coming to a termination, so incessant were the demands of the prisoners to be tried altogether, not separately, and to have the aid of the defenders whom they had selected. "I will not answer any question," said Gérard, "till my co-defenders and defenders are here. My counsel is M. Carrel. I have been dragged here by force, in the midst of bayonets. I insist upon being sent back to prison." "I will not do as some others have done," cried Didier, struggling violently with the Guards who

défenseurs. Sans doute, au point où les choses en sont venues, la Cour de Paris continuera à marcher dans les voies fatales où le Pouvoir l'entraîne; et après vous avoir mis dans l'Impuissance de vous défendre, elle aura le courage de vous condamner. Vous accepterez avec une noble résignation cette nouvelle iniquité ajoutée à tant d'autres iniquités. L'infamie du Juge fait la gloire de l'accusé: dans tous les temps et dans tous les pays, ceux qui de près ou de loin, par haine ou par faiblesse, se sont associés à des actes d'une justice sauvage, ont encouru la haine de leurs contemporains et l'exécration de la postérité. Salut et Fraternité!—CORMENIN, AUDRY DE PUYRAVEAU."—*Tribune*, May 11, 1835; *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 190, 191.

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surrounded him; "I will hear nothing. I have been dragged here by force, torn, massacred: it is infamous. I will die rather than submit to my political enemies. Kill me; here is my bosom, plunge in your sabres. I will not go on without my defender." These and similar scenes, repeated daily during six weeks, excited the utmost enthusiasm among the Parisians, more passionately fond than any people in Europe of theatrical displays. Vivid descriptions of the dramatic scenes in the Chamber of Peers were sold to agitated and admiring multitudes in the streets every morning after they occurred; lithographic portraits of the leading characters in the strife were exposed for sale, and eagerly bought up; and extravagant sums were given by ladies for real or supposed locks of hair of the accused.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 189, 205; Cap. viii. 108, 112; L. Blanc, iv. 414, 426.

25. Trials disjoined, and escape of twenty-eight prisoners. July 11.

The Chamber of Peers, in the midst of these frightful scenes of disorder, conducted the proceedings with a temper, moderation, and dignity above all praise, and which extorted the admiration even of their enemies. At length, finding the delays interminable, and that no progress was making in the trials, they resolved on a step which should have been taken at the first, and that was *to disjoin the trials*. On July 11, they passed a decree declaring that they would separate the trials. This was a mortal stroke to the defence, as it deprived the prisoners of the means of stopping the proceedings by violence and tumult in the way which had been hitherto done. Accordingly they resolved upon availing themselves of a means of escape which had for long been in preparation for the leaders who were confined in the prison of Sainte Pélagie. In effect, the prisoners there confined had with infinite labour worked out a subterranean passage which led into the garden of a neighbouring house, the proprietor of which was in the secret. It had been ready for some time, but deeming their eventual triumph certain, they disdained to make use of it till that hope was taken away by the disjunction of

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the trials. When this was done, foreseeing a conviction, they no longer hesitated, and at nine at night on the 12th they descended into the subterranean passage. It was forty-five feet long, two feet and a half broad, and three feet high. One by one they advanced with the utmost caution through the narrow passage on their hands and knees, and the whole got through and emerged in the garden, from whence they directly issued into the street. Tilburys, cabriolets, and saddle-horses in plenty awaited them in the neighbouring station of the Jardin des Plantes and Hospice de la Pitié, in which they all got clear off. So cleverly was the whole effected, and so immense the relief which the escape of these twenty-eight prisoners, embracing the principal of those from Paris, about whom the chief interest was felt, afforded to the prosecution, that the opinion generally prevailed at the time, and has not been weakened by anything which has since come to light, that the whole was done with the connivance of the police, and that Government had adopted that means of getting out of a difficulty which in any other way seemed inextricable.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 247, 248; Cap. viii. 116, 119; L. Blanc, iv. 447, 451..

26. Conclusion of the trials.

The escape of these prisoners singularly facilitated the proceedings, as it removed those from danger concerning whom the chief interest on the part of the Liberals was felt. A difficulty, however, presented itself, whether the accused could be convicted and sentenced against whom the evidence had been taken, but who had made their escape, and in consequence could not be brought up to receive sentence, and whether the trial of those who resolutely refused to be brought to the bar could proceed. After anxious deliberation, and adverting to the necessity of the case, it was determined that in these extreme cases, in this particular instance, judgment might be given in absence of the accused. After this all further opposition ceased; the accused were tried in separate sections or categories, and nearly all convicted. The advocates for the accused drew their strongest arguments from the

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example of the Revolution of July, and the difficulty of making the people understand how that which had been deemed the height of civic virtue in 1830, and rewarded as such, could become treason in 1834, and liable to punishment.* The Peers felt the force of this appeal, and, to their honour be it said, notwithstanding the long-continued provocation they had received, displayed great clemency and moderation in the sentences pronounced. The persons convicted were for the most part mere workmen from Lyons and St Etienne, the accused from Paris having escaped; and not one was sentenced to death, though several received very long periods of imprisonment. Seven were sentenced to transportation, two to twenty years imprisonment, three to fifteen, nine to ten, four to seven, nineteen to five, and four to three. In addition to this, twenty prisoners absent, but against whom evidence had been taken, were convicted *par contumace* in absence, and sentenced to various degrees of the same penalties.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Aug. 14, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 258, 259.

27. Reflections on these trials.

"The trials of April," says the Republican historian, "were to the Republican party, which the Revolution of July had engendered, a serious but not a decisive defeat. Some exaggerated the good they would produce; others, in a similar degree, went as far on the other side in over-estimating their evil. They contributed to diffuse and keep alive agitation, and through it prolong the sway of the generous sentiments. They postponed for a little the reign of profound selfishness, the systematic abasement of the public mind which the Government was so solicitous to bring about, and which was ere long effected by the passion for sordid speculation, the thirst for mer-

* "Il faut le dire, et le dire nettement: après la Révolution de Juillet le peuple a été sous l'empire de deux illusions, qui ont pu être funestes à sa tranquillité. D'abord il a cru que le pouvoir nouveau s'occuperait exclusivement de ses intérets. Ensuite, il a pensé que dans le cas où il serait trompé, il aurait encore la faculté de recourir à la force pour reconquérir ses droits illégitimement froissés. Voilà, Messieurs, quelle a été la moralité nécessaire de la Révolution de Juillet."—*Discours de* M. JULES FAVRE; *Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 253.

cantile gain."[1] It will immediately appear that this effect soon after ensued, and from nothing more than the revelations made in this trial itself, which opened the eyes of all sensible persons to the abyss which was yawning beneath their feet, and the hopelessness of any benefit from political change in a country so torn by contending and irreconcilable factions as France was at this time. The views of these opposite factions were so much at variance, that all attempts at an accommodation between them were fruitless, and every State trial became, not a judicial proceeding, but a duel *en champ clos* between them. "This is not a trial," said M. Trélat to the Peers; "it is the revolution in mortal struggle with the counter-revolution —the past with the future—selfishness with fraternity—tyranny with liberty. Tyranny has for its arms, bayonets, prisons, and the gilt collars of peers. Liberty has God on its side; that is to say, the Power which governs the world, which enlightens the human race, and will not permit it to retrograde. We must see with whom the victory will rest, and if, in the final result, the lie will be given to God. I am not defended. You, the Peers, are my political enemies, not my judges. For a trial, the accused and the judges must understand each other; but that is here impossible. We do not speak the same language; country, humanity, religion, laws, science, arts, —all that constitute society—the heavens and the earth —are different to us. There is a world between us. You may condemn me, but you cannot judge my cause; for there is an impassable gulf betwixt us."[2]

[1] L. Blanc, iv. 431.

[2] L. Blanc, iv. 436, 437.

28. Continued.

Yet is it impossible to close the continued survey of these memorable proceedings without melancholy reflections. Among the persons brought to trial on this occasion there were doubtless many reckless and desperate characters—men who would bring disgrace on any cause by the crimes committed in its name. But there were others of a different stamp—men who ventured all for what, in their estimation, was a noble cause, and exhi-

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bited, amidst the selfishness of a corrupted age, the glorious example of unshaken courage and unselfish devotion. It is the melancholy effect of revolution to blend such characters with the lowest and most abandoned of mankind: if victorious, to sear them with their crimes; if vanquished, to involve them in their ruin. There could not be a more striking proof of the truth of these observations than is found in the fact, that the government against which the revolutionists now made these persevering and courageous efforts was the work of their own hands—that the despotism of which they so loudly complained was that which they themselves had imposed on their country. "Five years ago," said M. Trélat, "I heard M. Persil demand the head of the noble Prince Polignac, in the name of the Revolution of July; and now his delegates demand the heads of those who, in obedience to his orders, took part in that memorable conflict. I see at the bar he * who first placed the tricolor flag on the palace of your ancient sovereign; and those who have chased him from France are now delivered over to the vengeance of its new King." [1]

[1] L. Blanc, iv. 435, 436.

29. Fete of July, and conspiracy to murder the King.

But whatever opinion may be formed of this point, or of the comparative merits of the judges and accused in this memorable trial, one thing is perfectly clear, that the conduct of the Republicans ere long afforded too good grounds for justifying the measures of Government on this occasion, and exhibited a proof of the truth of the mournful words extorted from Madame Roland at the foot of the scaffold, "Oh Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!" The Government of Louis Philippe was not yet emancipated from the vexatious necessity of celebrating the anniversary of the Revolution of July; and on this occasion, as if to demonstrate the injustice of those who charged upon it a departure from the principles which had placed it on the throne, it was resolved to celebrate it with more than usual mag-

* M. Guernon.

nificence, and that the King and whole royal family should take part in the ceremony. The extreme revolutionists resolved to take this opportunity of cutting them all off at one blow. Society had now, as is generally the case at the termination of vehement political strifes, arrived at that point when crime takes the place of movement, and revolution degenerates into assassination. Foiled democracy now steeled the heart and armed the hand of the assassin; and the hired murderer, watching for his victim, took his place, like Maurevel when about to strike Admiral Coligny, behind a tree or under the shadow of an arch, and sought escape from justice in the mystery in which his crime was shrouded, or the sympathy with which it would be received.[1]

[1] Cap. viii. 193, 195; Ann. Hist. xviii. 261, 262.

30. Attempted assassination of the King by Fieschi.

On the 28th July, the second of the three glorious days, the King was to pass in review the National Guard drawn up on the Boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Place of the Bastile. Accompanied by his sons, the Duke of Orléans, the Duke de Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, and a brilliant staff, among whom were Marshal Mortier and several of his Ministers, the monarch rode along the wooded and splendid circuit, passing the troops, who received him with acclamations, and in the midst of an immense crowd of spectators. He had already arrived at the gate of the Jardin Turc, when a violent explosion was heard on the right-hand side, in the houses behind the trees, like that of a number of petards which had been fired at once. In an instant a huge void appeared in the cortège which surrounded the King, and the pavement was seen to be covered with dead bodies, wounded men, and horses whose riders had been struck down. Eleven persons were killed, and twenty-nine grievously wounded, many of whom afterwards died of the injuries they had received. Among the former were Marshal Mortier, General Lachasse de Verigny, and Colonel Raffé; among the latter, five other generals, two colonels, and

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nine officers and grenadiers of the National Guard. Among the dead was a girl of sixteen, one of the spectators. The forehead of the King was grazed by a ball, and the horse he rode wounded on the collar, and those of the Duke de Nemours and the Prince de Joinville were struck, the one on the forehead, the other on the side. But, strange to say, and almost by a miracle, the royal family, amidst the scene of carnage, escaped without further injury.[1]

[1] Moniteur, July 29, 1835; Ann. Hist. xvii. 262, 263.

31. Arrest of the assassin, and discovery of the infernal machine.

Amidst the unbounded horror and alarm excited by this wholesale massacre, the murderers had all but escaped. At length, on the third flat of the house directly opposite the entrance of the Jardin Turc, the blinds of a window were seen to open for a second, and a puff of smoke escaped. The house was instantly surrounded by the National Guard and the police, who forced open the door and ascended to the third flat, the entrance to which they found strongly barricaded. Having at length broke down the barriers and got in, they found the implement of destruction, but the assassin had disappeared, and a cord suspended from the back-window into the court of the building showed how he had escaped. He was seen, however, stealthily making his way to the Rue des Fosses du Temple; the track of blood marked his steps; he was pursued and arrested. When taken, he was severely wounded, and covered with blood, from the effects of the explosion; so that he must have possessed great resolution to let himself down in such a state from a height so considerable. His name was first given as Gérard, but it was afterwards found to be Fieschi.* He was a Corsican by birth, and a common me-

* Joseph Fieschi was born in the canton of Vico, in Corsica, on the 3d December 1790. His father was a shepherd, and he was the same at first; but soon tiring of the monotony of his mountains, at eighteen he entered the army, and was incorporated in the Corsican legion, in which he went through the campaign of 1812 in Russia, under General Fianceschetti. Disbanded in 1814, he entered a provincial regiment in Corsica, which was disbanded in 1815, and he then joined the band which followed the fortunes of Murat in Calabria in that year, and on his return to Corsica in 1816 was dis-

chanic in the neighbourhood. The machine by which the massacre had been effected was found in one of the rooms fronting the boulevard. It consisted of twenty-four musket-barrels, arranged on an inclined plane, directed towards the street in such a way as to enfilade the cortège as it passed along, and all going off at once. The match which had set them off was found still burning on the floor. Six of the barrels had burst from the violence of the explosion, and occasioned the wounds found on the prisoner: without doubt it was that accident which saved the life of the King. The King and royal family, who behaved with the greatest coolness on the occasion, after the wounded had been attended to, and the dead removed, pursued their way along the Boulevards, and completed the review, amidst the enthusiastic applause of the multitude.[1]

[1] Moniteur, July 29, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 263, 264; Cap. viii. 200, 204; L. Blanc, iv. 468, 471.

32. Immense effect produced by this event in Paris.

The King arrived at the Tuileries with a calm visage, which concealed the profound emotions which agitated his heart. He now saw the crown of thorns he had put upon his head when he supplanted Charles X.: what would he have given now to exchange for its splendid anxieties the calm retreat of Neuilly, or the unobtrusive splendour of the Palais Royal! But the thing was done, and could not be undone; he had sown the wind, and was doomed to reap the whirlwind. The first feeling of all was thankfulness to Almighty God for the marvellous escape he had made. The Queen fell at the feet of the cross in her private oratory, and returned fervent thanks to her patron saint for the protection vouchsafed to her family; and everything was done which could testify in the most public way the general gratitude for the deliverance of the royal family from

missed the army. After the Revolution of 1830 he passed himself off for a political martyr, and as such received employment from the new Government as a spy upon some of the political societies. Afterwards he was employed in superintending the formation of the aqueduct of Arcueil, and in that capacity embezzled the pay of the workmen, and committed forgery to conceal it, in consequence of which he was obliged to abscond, and took the name of Gérard, which he bore when he undertook the assassination of July.—See CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, viii. 204, 205.

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so imminent a danger. A solemn service was performed in Notre Dame, and in all the cathedrals and churches of France, in token of the general thanksgiving,* in pursuance of a recommendation from the King, which met with a responsive echo in every generous bosom; and the respectable of all classes, Legitimist and Republican, hastened, many of them for the first time, to the Tuileries, to congratulate the sovereign on his wonderful escape. The throne of Louis Philippe had never been so strengthened as it was by this infernal attempt; and it afforded another proof, like those of Charlotte Corday, Louvel, and Sand, that no cause is advanced, but generally essentially injured, by wicked means being employed for its prosecution.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 264, 266; Cap. viii. 205, 207; L. Blanc, iv. 472, 473.

33. Funeral of Marshal Mortier and the other victims. Aug. 5.

The funeral of Marshal Mortier and the other victims of this execrable attempt took place on the 5th of August, and was conducted with extraordinary magnificence. The procession set out from the Church of St Paul in the Rue Saint Antoine, and, following the circuit of the Boulevards, and passing the scene of the murder, passed by the Rue Royale, the Place and Bridge de la Concorde, to the Church of the Invalides, where the victims were to find their last resting-place. Troops of the line and national guards lined the streets the whole way in dense array—the drums all muffled, the officers with the garb of mourning on their arm. Fourteen hearses conveyed the dead bodies of those killed, or who had died of their wounds. The first, which was surrounded by maidens in white, bore the body of the girl of sixteen

* "La Providence a détourné les coups qui nous étaient destinés à moi et à mon fils. Mais si nous devons remercier Dieu d'avoir protégé nos jours en déconcertant les projets des assassins, que de regrets, que de larmes ne devons-nous pas à cet illustre Maréchal, à ses nobles compagnons d'armes, et à ces généreux citoyens que la mort a moissonnés tout autour de nous. J'ai donc à réclamer en leur faveur les suffrages que l'église accorde à tous les Chrétiens morts dans son sein. Ainsi vous aurez à célébrer, à cette intention, un service funèbre dans toutes les églises de votre diocèse, et un Te Deum solennel, en actions de grâce pour la protection éclatante dont Dieu nous a couverts. LOUIS PHILIPPE."—*Lettre du Roi aux Evêques de la France*, July 31; *Moniteur*, August 1, 1833.

who had been killed; the second, that of a married woman who had perished in the same way, was environed by married women similarly clothed. The epaulette of the National Guard placed on each of the six next which followed, indicated that it contained the remains of a citizen-soldier; four others, each followed by a war-horse with arms reversed, betokened the military rank of the next victims. Lastly came the funeral car of Marshal Mortier, surrounded by all the pomp of earthly grandeur, surmounted by the helmet and sword of the illustrious deceased, followed by his charger. Four Marshals of France on horseback held the corners of the pall. The procession was closed by the King's Ministers, the judges, magistrates, and dignitaries of France, deputations of the Peers and Deputies, and of all the constituted authorities and public bodies in Paris. Never was seen a more imposing array, or one which spoke more powerfully to the hearts of all classes of the people. The ceremony of interment in the Church of the Invalides was conducted with similar magnificence, where the Archbishop of Paris and clergy awaited them; and the King and his two sons met the procession, and sprinkled holy water on the coffins before they were placed in their last resting-place. The guns of the Invalides fired every five minutes from the time the mournful procession entered the building; and among the half million of persons who, from first to last, witnessed the spectacle, there were few whose eyes were not suffused with tears. [1]

[1] Moniteur, Aug. 6, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 270, 273; Cap. viii. 207, 210.

34. Trial and execution of the murderers. Feb. 19, 1836.

When apprehended, and asked whether he had any accomplices, Fieschi replied that he had none, and that the whole was his own doing. He persisted in this statement repeatedly when examined before the magistrates. The magnitude of the preparations made, however, and the expense of the infernal machine, clearly indicated the aid of other parties; and it was universally believed that he was the agent merely of some of the secret societies, by

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whom the plot had really been conducted. The police, accordingly, were indefatigable in their searches, especially among those connected with the Liberal press; even Armand Carrel was arrested, though his open and intrepid character forbade the idea of his being involved in secret assassination. At length a clue to the accomplices was discovered, and early in the following year, Fieschi, and four other persons, were brought to trial before the Chamber of Peers. Fieschi, and two others, named Morey and Pepin, were convicted, and sentenced to death. They all belonged to the most depraved and dangerous class in Paris—that class which, hanging about the lower theatres, and having no settled employment, spent their time alternately in the embraces of courtesans, and the conclaves of secret societies. One of the former, as revolting in figure as depraved in character, attended Fieschi at his trial, and bore a prominent part in his declarations. They all three suffered early on the morning of 19th February, with the stoicism characteristic of their age and country;—a poor atonement for fourteen innocent lives sacrificed to their machinations.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 20, 1836; Cap. viii. 250, 253.

35. Speech of M. de Broglie on the introduction of the new law of repression. Aug. 15.

This frightful catastrophe suggested to all the absolute necessity of some additional laws against the secret societies, and the offences of the press, to the incessant action of which, all these attempts, so fatal to the peace of society, were to be traced. The measures of Government to meet the evils were introduced by a speech of M. de Broglie, which, like those of Lord Grey and Sir R. Peel on the disorders of Ireland, threw an important light on the social condition of France at this period. "The evil," said he, "is real; the crime is avowed: is it one of those against which society can shut its eyes? Ask the massacre of 28th July if it is so. A man has been found—men have been found—who knew the King only by the execrable falsehoods of the press of a neighbouring country and of that of France, conducted by persons who never knew the King, who never saw him, but

who, on the faith of that press, considered him a character so abominable that it would be a meritorious work to purge the earth of his presence. These men have come to regard the King as so execrable, that they regarded it as a meritorious work to destroy him, even though in doing so they might annihilate at the same time hundreds of men, women, and children. Read the revolutionary journals since that event; see what intensity of hatred they reveal in their bosoms. With what complacency do they calculate that a few feet, a few inches more, and a whole dynasty was destroyed. Have they not declared that, after such an escape, the Republic may well take courage, and that it accepted the baptism of assassination. Well, gentlemen, let us see what the law will produce. Suppose the King entirely irresponsible, and that we must answer for everything—where will the evil be? where will it be for honourable men of all parties, for the most opposite to each other, provided their opinions are sincere? If there is any one who, out of this assembly, claims the right of insulting the King, insulting the Charter, insulting the public morality, let him show himself, and your indignation will be his answer.

36. Continued.

"Every party, every interest, loses by the unbridled license of the press which now prevails. The Administration loses by it, for it is perpetually obliged to recur to first principles, and waste, in defending the foundation of government, the time which should be consecrated to the progress of society, and the material and moral interests of the nation. The nation loses most of all, for it is entirely forgotten in the midst of that envenomed strife of parties; and yet it has established the present Government, with the precise view that they should not be neglected, and that it might keep pace with and satisfy the ardent desire for industry and prosperity which presages such great destinies. That those great destinies will one day be realised, we have never ceased to hope;

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for a religious and moral reaction, a feeling of the necessity of order, begins to show itself; and in this mighty work of moral regeneration, society calls to its aid the support of power to shield it against the subversive influences. That is the moment to lend to it the succour of legislation. In the midst of a violent and universal crisis, the remedies suited to a period of peace and tranquillity are powerless—when calm is re-established, they are useless. It is when enlightened opinion, and the best interests of society, maintain a painful contest with the intestine passions which convulse it, that it becomes us to aid the moral travail of the world; it is then that we should cut short the pains which society, left to its own resources, would long have to endure in the midst of universal suffering, and for which no remedy could perhaps be found but in a universal overthrow, in which liberty itself would be the first to perish.

37. Continued.

"Whatever may be the insolence of parties, however dangerous they may still be, they are conquered; they no longer bid us defiance, but they still subsist, and every day reveals more of the mischief which they do, and, still more, have done. Everywhere the disastrous traces of their passage are to be seen. They have thrown a poison into men's minds, which is far from being expelled. The prejudices they have diffused, the passions they have awakened, the vices they have caused, still ferment; and if at this moment the reign of insurrection has ceased, the moral revolt still subsists. An exaltation of mind without limit as without end, a mortal hatred for social order, a feverish desire to overturn at all hazards, a blind hope to succeed in the attempt, a profound irritation at failure, implacable humiliation of deceived vanity, shame at yielding, thirst of vengeance,—these are the feelings which remain in the breasts of the seditious minorities whom society has subdued, but by no means conquered. Is it not a fact imprinted in characters of blood in our streets, that under the fire of a hostile press, under the ceaseless

action of barbarous theories and atrocious calumnies, there has been formed in the lower strata of society—there, where meet gross passions with violent intelligences, neither of which can endure restraint—a militia of men capable of undertaking anything, at once fanatical and perverse, ready at any moment for revolt, and where political parricide finds arms with weapons in their hands at all times ready for insurrection?

38. Concluded.

" Revolt is the enemy which the glorious Revolution of July bore in its bosom. We have combated it under all forms, in all fields. It began by raising in front of the tribune, rival tribunes from whence it might dictate its insolent determinations and sanguinary caprices. We have demolished these factious tribunes, we have shut up the clubs; for the first time we have muzzled the monster. Upon this it descended into the streets; you have seen it hurtle against the gates of the King's palace, with bared arms, shouting, vociferating, and hoping to domineer over all by fear. We have met it face to face, with the law in our hand; we have dispersed its assemblages, we have made it re-enter its den. Next it organised itself in secret societies, in permanent conspiracies, in living plots. With the law in our hand we have dissolved the anarchical societies, arrested their chiefs, scattered their bravoes. After having repeatedly given us battle, it has been as often defeated, dragged by the heels through the streets, despite its clamour, to receive due chastisement at the hands of justice. Now it has fled to its last refuge; it has sought an asylum in the factious press; it has sought to intrench itself behind the sacred right of discussion, which the Charter has guaranteed to all Frenchmen. It is there that—like the wretch of whom history has preserved the name, who poisoned the waters of a populous city—it poisons every day the fountains of human intelligence, the channels in which truth should circulate, and pours its venom into all minds. We propose to attack it in its last asylum; we tear from its visage its last mask, and

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after having conquered it in material strife without infringing personal liberty, we shall subdue the licentiousness without infringing on the legitimate liberty of language. Should we succeed, as succeed I trust we shall, with your assistance, come what will, we shall have discharged our duty. Should the King in his wisdom call other men to the direction of affairs; should you, from motives which we shall always respect, withdraw the confidence you have hitherto reposed in us; should we fall from our own fault, or without it, it matters not. When the hour of our retreat has sounded, we shall carry back with us into private life the proud conviction of having exercised power in a conscientious and courageous spirit; we shall carry with us the consciousness of having done nothing for ourselves, but all for our country." [1]

[1] Moniteur, Aug. 18, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 318, 319; Cap. viii. 221, 227.

39. Answer of M. Armand Carrel and M. de Lamartine.

No one acquainted with the state of France at this period could deny that there was much truth in these eloquent words. Unfortunately for the orators, however, it was exactly what had been said five years before, in the manifesto, in 1830, setting forth the reasons for the Ordonnances of the Polignac Administration, drawn by M. de Chantelauze; and for acting on which the men composing the present government had demanded their heads.[2] The orators on the other side, whether in the Chamber or at the bar (for all State trials at this period were political debates), did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance, and keenly reproached the Government for attacking a movement at the head of which they had formerly been found themselves. "The Revolution of July," said M. Armand Carrel and M. Lamartine, "has been much praised for its clemency, and certainly we are not those who would make that clemency a matter of reproach; for if we counselled vigour, we counselled at the same time humanity. But posterity will not fail to reproach it with its inconceivably infatuated trust. Hardly had it escaped from the bayonets of the Swiss, when it fell into that alliance which is now stifling it. We have had our share in the general fault,

[2] Ante, c. xvii. §§ 54, 56.

and we are now bearing the punishment of our inexperienced courage. What remains to us now of the victory of July, of that immortal triumph, but the tricolor flag, which to all appearance will soon be torn from our grasp? CHAP. XXXIII. 1835.

"Imprudent and young that we were the day after the victory! we had our eyes fixed on the future, and we never thought of securing our point of departure! We advanced to new conquests, dreamt of fresh victories, and already the reforms we had gained have slipt from our hands. There is nothing they will not dare, nothing attempt. It is thus that we have seen, during the state of siege in Paris, political writers given up to police sergeants, the sanctity of domicile universally violated, secret correspondence seized and published; association, the principle of protection of the weak against the strong, the sufferers against the oppressors, denounced as a State crime. It is by these means that we have been stripped, one by one, of all our liberties, either of thought, writing, or action, and punished in our persons and our property for having wished to preserve the existence of a journal, from whence has come the first call of the house of Orléans. 40. Continued.

"It is in vain that reference is made to the licentiousness of the press to justify these measures for the annihilation of its liberty. Freedom, difficult with it, is impossible without it. We must bear with its excesses, or abandon all hope of freedom. You must conquer it by putting it in the wrong, but it is a senseless attempt to think of extinguishing it, which cannot fail to recoil upon those who engage in it. Such an attempt leads nations back; it leads to Moscow or to Prague, by the path of blind tyranny, or by that of revolt. Look around you; where are the ruins in society of which we hear so much? The throne has been overturned; it is restored. The good citizens were scattered, and trembled after a victory which had taught the people their strength; they have been rallied under the standard of the National Guard, 41. Continued.

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and form the redoubtable army to which the defence of order is intrusted. The army was dissolved, and now it numbers four hundred thousand men, united as one man. Property was threatened, and now property has swallowed up everything, even the electoral rights, which it is not entitled to engross exclusively. The Archbishop's palace was pillaged, and now the temples are restored, and filled with the faithful, who recognise a common origin for morality and religion. Your elections were once delivered up to the gales of extreme faction; and now all returns, from the Chamber of Deputies to the humblest magistracy, are in the hands of men of property. Revolt was once rife in the streets, and now order and propriety reign in them; and if a fearful crime has been committed, it has filled all France with horror and execration. Royalty itself, so often assailed, so often dragged in the mire by the journals, what has it lost in the strife? I ask those who have witnessed the last atrocious attempt, has not the Sovereign become aggrandised amidst dangers, and honoured the government by his *sang froid* in peril, and the solicitude he has evinced for others?

42. Concluded.

"The Polignac Ministry attempted to effect the counter-revolution by ordonnances; you are seeking to do the same thing by laws. Is the Chamber prepared to second such an attempt? The future of the country is in your hands; with a single word you can cure the evil, and appease all disquietudes. Reject the proposed laws as unconstitutional. Overturn the Ministry which, by its own admission, has come to such a point that it cannot govern but by a violation of the constitution. Unite with us in supplicating the sovereign to choose a new Ministry among those who, better instructed in the wants of the country, may succeed, by means of clemency and conciliation, in calming the passions; among those who, respecting legal right, may govern by conforming to the Charter, not violating it;[1] among those who, believing in the eter-

[1] Moniteur, Aug. 13-17, 1835; Ann. Hist. xviii. 309, 311.

nal law of progress, may introduce with prudence the ameliorations which the nation demands, and who will not prolong beyond the limits which wisdom prescribes, a resistance which it is sometimes necessary to oppose to too vehement impatience."

43. Proposed laws.

The laws brought forward by the Ministry to combat the evils which they so eloquently deplored, consisted of three parts, and were, upon the whole, less violent than in the circumstances might have been expected. By the first, the Minister of Justice was authorised, should circumstances demand it, to form as many jury-courts as might be deemed necessary, and various abbreviations of the forms of procedure were introduced. Power was also given to the presidents of these courts to take such of the accused as might disturb the proceedings out of court, and proceed in their absence. The second authorised juries to convict by a majority of eight to seven, and enjoined secresy on the votes given. The third, which excited the most violent opposition, declared any offence against the person of the Sovereign, or the monarchical principle, by the way of publication, punishable by imprisonment and a fine from 10,000 to 50,000 francs (£400 to £2000). It forbade the citizens, under severe penalties, to take the name of Republicans, to mix up the King's name in political discussions, to express wishes for the destruction or abrogation of the monarchical regime, or wishes for the restoration of the exiled family, to publish the names of jurymen before or after, or collect subscriptions in aid of a condemned journal. Editors were laid under an obligation to reveal the authors of articles prosecuted, and during their imprisonment they were deprived of the direction of their respective journals. No drawing, no emblem, no engraving, was to be exposed to sale without having been sanctioned by the censors; and their authority was also required for any new piece on the theatre or opera stage.[1] The cautions to be found by journalists

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 304, 307; L. Blanc, iv. 478, 479.

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might be increased to the enormous amount of 100,000 francs (£4000), and it was required to be paid in cash, not *rentes*, or other securities.

44. Which pass both Chambers.

Considered in themselves, there could be no doubt that these restrictions were abundantly severe, and that they opened a door which, in the hands of unscrupulous prosecutors and astute judges, might with ease lead to the entire destruction of freedom either in thought or expression. Under the vague expression of these laws, which furnished incitements to crime without any overt acts, there was scarcely any political discussion, if adverse to the Government, which might not be rendered amenable to punishment. So strong was the sense in the Chamber of the necessity of the case, and so general the conviction that it was to the licentiousness of the press that all the evils under which society laboured were to be ascribed, that, though strongly opposed alike by the Royalists, headed by MM. Berryer and Royer-Collard, and the Republicans led by Lamartine and Odillon Barrot, the coercive measures passed both Chambers by large majorities. That in the Deputies was 226 to 153 on the most trying question; that on the laws relating to the press, in the Peers, 101 to 20.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 335, 351.

45. Improved condition of the Government in spring 1836.

The year 1836 opened under the most favourable auspices for the King and the Court party. The massacre of Fieschi had done that which five years of incessant efforts on the part of Government, and the bayonets of 500,000 national guards, had been unable to effect. Atrocious crime had here, as ever, defeated its own object; the reaction had become so strong that it had turned only to the profit of the party against which it had been directed. The religious section of the community saw in the marvellous escape of the King and royal family the evident finger of Providence for the protection of the monarchy; the Doctrinaires and philosophers beheld in the crime of Fieschi the inevitable result of the anarchical principles which had so long dis-

tracted society, and kept open the wounds of the Revolution; the bourgeoisie, without troubling themselves either with religion or philosophy, were keenly alive to the dangers which threatened themselves from the conspiracies of the anarchists, and beheld with dismay a long perspective of lessened sales, and ultimate bankruptcy, resulting from the machinations of the secret societies. Thus all parties, though from different motives, concurred in giving support, in the mean time, to the monarchy; and the King had to thank the murder of Marshal Mortier, and the infernal machine of Fieschi, for having steered him through shoals in which, with all his prudence and power, he might otherwise have suffered shipwreck.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, iv. 483, 484.

46. Increased prosperity in France, and beginning of the railway mania.

Another circumstance, arising from extraneous causes, came into operation at this period, and powerfully contributed to give a new direction to general thought, and turn individual ambition into another channel than those of political change or revolution. Great and long unknown prosperity had now begun to set in in both France and England, the natural result in both of increased confidence in the Government, and enlarged operations in the transactions of commerce. During the long and dreary years, in both, which had succeeded the Revolution of 1830 and the Reform convulsion, trade had been so much checked, and consumption so materially reduced, that when confidence began to be restored, purchases to recommence, and capital to emerge from its places of concealment, a general rush to speculation and enjoyment took place. It was like the universal thirst after pleasure which followed the long and dreary night of the Reign of Terror on the fall of Robespierre. Four uncommonly fine seasons in succession had reduced the price of provisions to nearly one-half its former level in both countries, and, by reducing the importation of grain to a trifle, had entirely closed the chief drain which, in periods of peace, carried off the precious metals from those wealthy and long-established communities. Thus real

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capital was abundant, and paper capital, founded on credit, and supported by a plentiful issue of paper currency, was still more abundant; and speculation in railways, joint-stock companies, and joint undertakings of every kind, became extremely common. The public funds rapidly rose; the Three per Cents, which had been 76 in January, were at 80 in December; bank shares had risen from 1755 to 2145 in the course of the year; the revenue for 1836, for the first time since 1830, was superior to the expenditure, the former being 1,000,700,000 francs (£40,028,000), the latter 999,467,000 (£39,960,000), leaving a small balance at the credit of the Exchequer. The imports and exports, which had been very depressed in 1833 and 1834, became much more abundant in 1835 and 1836;* and speculation, outstripping the progress of real profit, opened to the ardent imaginations of the people the prospects of future and unbounded gain, which soon, like a fever, seized upon and carried away all classes.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 38, 42, App. (Doc. Hist.)

47. Fall of the Duke de Broglie. Jan. 14.

But while everything smiled on the monarchy, it was far otherwise with its Prime Minister; and already everything announced the approaching fall of the Duke de Broglie. He had been selected by the King as a sort of compromise between the contending parties, and though he had conducted himself with firmness and ability, so far as the internal direction of affairs was concerned, he had failed to conciliate either the King or the Foreign Ministers. The former was disconcerted by his dogmatical manner and arrogant assumption of the lead, which was by no means in accordance with the supreme direction of affairs to which he himself aspired. The Foreign Ministers distrusted him, as neither decidedly pronounced for

* Exports and Imports from France.

	Exports (francs).		Imports (francs).
1834, . . .	714,705,000	...	720,194,000
1835, . . .	834,422,000	...	760,726,000
1836, . . .	961,284,000	...	905,575,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xviii. 40, 42; xix. 72; xx. 74.

the aristocratic or the popular party; they did not know whether or not he was to be relied on. M. Thiers and M. Guizot, perceiving this, and being sensible that the Duke de Broglie could not long retain his position as Prime Minister, were secretly taking measures to undermine him, when the catastrophe was accelerated by an unforeseen event. On the 14th January 1836, M. Hermann, the Minister of Finance, in bringing forward the budget for 1837, ventured, of his own authority, without the concurrence of the Cabinet, to broach the dangerous assertion that the moment was favourable for the reduction of the interest of the national debt.* This proposal threw the Prime Minister into the utmost embarrassment; for the question of the reduction of the *rentiers* had always been a trying one for the French administrations, and more than one had been dissolved from the collision of interests which it occasioned. He accordingly disclaimed the proposal, veiling his indecision under an ambiguous declaration that Government intended to bring forward a proposal on the subject at some future period, though not this session, but that the precise time was not yet fixed, and that it would depend on circumstances.[1] † In consequence of this schism, M. Hermann resigned, and his re-

Jan. 18.

[1] Moniteur, Jan. 19, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 32, 36; Cap. viii. 379, 381.

* "Politiquement, Messieurs, est-il besoin de signaler l'effet moral que la réduction de l'intérêt de la dette produirait au dehors? Qui oserait douter encore des ressources et des destinées de la France, si on la voyait réussir peu après une Révolution dans une entreprise qui marque le terme le plus élevé du crédit national? Nous n'oublions pas que de nos jours le crédit financier sert d'appui à l'influence politique: car le crédit est une arme aussi; et cette arme aucun pays ne la devrait posséder plus forte que la France. La réduction de l'intérêt accroîtrait nos ressources: l'économie qui en serait le fruit assurerait l'équilibre de nos finances, et nous permettrait de fonder pour les entreprises d'utilité générale un système d'encouragement qui donnerait une nouvelle et puissante impulsion aux progrès de la richesse."—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 33.

† "On nous demande s'il est dans l'intention du Gouvernement de proposer la mesure. Je réponds, Non: est-ce clair? On dit que mes réponses ne sont pas claires. Eh bien, je dis que l'intention du Gouvernement n'est point de proposer la mesure dans cette Session. On me demande à quelle époque? Je réponds qu'aucun Gouvernement sage, aucun Gouvernement sensé, ne peut prendre un engagement quelconque sur une époque quelconque. C'est une question d'opportunité qui dépend des circonstances."—*Moniteur*, Jan. 19, 1836; *Ann. Hist.*, xix. 37.

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signation having been accepted, M. de Argout was appointed Minister of Finance in his stead.

48. Increasing difficulty of the question of reduction of the interest of the debt.

The change of the Finance Minister, however, only adjourned, it did not remove the difficulty. Great interests were at stake on both sides; for, on the one hand, the necessitous state of the exchequer, owing to the vast national armaments which were kept up, rendered a reduction in the interest of the public debt, if it could be effected, extremely desirable; and on the other, the number of persons interested in preventing any fall in their incomes, derived from this source, was so considerable that it was a dangerous thing for any Administration to provoke their hostility. The saving to be effected by the proposed reduction was no less than 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) a-year; and to a Chamber deeply impressed with economical ideas, this was a temptation not to be resisted. On the other hand, the rents inscribed on the *Grand Livre* amounted to 140,000,000 francs (£5,600,000), and this sum was divided among no less than 293,000 holders of stock, being on an average only 473 francs (£19) a-year each.* It was evidently, therefore, a question of great difficulty, and the schism on the subject in the Cabinet was but the index, as is generally the case, to the corresponding division in society. The question, however, once mooted, could no longer be avoided; for the finance committee of the Chamber, to whom the matter had been remitted, decided, by a majority of 23 to 13, in favour of the reduction; and the secretary to the committee, M. Gouin, brought forward a proposal in its name, which was, to convert the 5 per cent into either a 4 or 3 per cent, providing to the dissentient

* M. Thiers stated some very important and interesting facts, in this debate, on the comparative holders of French and English stock:—

"'La grand livre,' disait il, 'est comme le sol Français très-divisé. Voici l'Etat du Grand Livre Français et la dette publique d'Angleterre en 1830.

"'En Angleterre 700,000,000 (£28,000,000) et 274,000 parties prenantes. En France 140,000,000 (£5,600,000) et 293,000 parties prenantes. C'est l'image du sol Anglais et de la grande propriété Anglaise.'"—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 43, 44.

holders of the stock certain annuities in lieu of their claims on the Government. This proposal excited the utmost interest in the Chamber and the country, for it was well known that the fate of the Ministry hung upon its decision, and that it was to become the great turning-point, both in the strife of parties and the division of social interests, in the ensuing session of the legislature.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 37, 39; Cap. viii. 382, 392.

49. Arguments in favour of the reduction of the interest.

On the part of the committee of the Chamber, it was argued by M. Gouin, its secretary and the reporter: "It is in order to force the Government to break silence on this momentous subject that the Chamber have brought forward the present proposition, in which the holders of stock on the one side, and the mass of the community on the other, are so deeply interested. The reduction of the 5 per cents is a measure at once legal, just, useful, and opportune. In the question between the stockholder and the public, all the advantages have hitherto been on the side of the former. The law has declared his title indefeasible, and *exempted it from every species of taxation.* Is that not enough?—and is it necessary, in addition, to renounce for ever a liberation from the burden of interest which can alone alleviate the burden of the debt to the public? Matters have come to that point, that it is absolutely necessary to re-establish an equilibrium between the receipts and expenses, instead of a deficit of 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 francs (£600,000 or £800,000), which now exists. The Chamber has been long amused with statements of great economical measures, which have turned out rather an augmentation of expense. New taxes are impossible; they would cease to be productive. Here is a measure of economy which goes to save 25,000,000 francs (£1,000,000) yearly, and which would at once restore the finances. No time can be imagined so favourable for this great measure as the present, when the nation enjoys externally profound peace, when internal tranquillity prevails, and abundant harvests for several years have spread contentment through all classes of the community.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. xix. 38, 39; Moniteur, Feb. 5, 1836.

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The details of the measure, and the nature of the indemnity to be given to the stockholders, may be the subject of after consideration; but the Chamber should not lose a day in recognising the principle of the conversion."

50. Answer for the stockholders.

On the other hand, it was contended by M. Delessert: "It is not necessary to discuss the right of Government to effect such a reduction as is now proposed in perpetual annuities; although, when the same question was discussed in 1824 and 1825, it was seriously doubted by General Foy, and the most eminent of the Opposition of that period, whether Government had any such right, especially in regard to the original holders of the 3 per cents consolidated, seeing they have already undergone a reduction of two-thirds of their stock in 1797. But without pleading the case so high, it seems sufficient to observe, that the advantages of the proposed measure have been very much exaggerated, and its evils diminished. The entire saving, supposing the 5 per cents all reduced to 4, would only be 21,000,000 (£840,000), not 25,000,000; and at what price would this reduction be effected? By cutting off a fifth of the income of 180,000 proprietors, and stripping them on an average of 100 francs (£4) a-year, and leaving them only 400 francs to spend. And who compose the class whom it is thus proposed peculiarly to tax? Old men, widows, orphans, and minors, who have expended their little all on government securities, and who now are to meet with this return for having come forward to support it in perilous times. Possibly a year hence, should external and internal peace continue so long, it may be possible to effect something of the kind; but at present we are much too near the period of insurrection, infernal machines, and conspiracies, to attempt it."[1]

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 6, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 40, 41.

The question derived its principal importance from its being understood that it was the touchstone of the Administration. It was no secret that the King was

adverse to the conversion, at least at that time, as likely to breed dissatisfaction, and possibly insurrection, in the capital; and the Ministers unanimously adhered to this opinion at the existing time. Their decided opinion was expressed to be—1st, That the measure proposed was well founded in right; 2d, That it involved a resource considerable, and worthy of being taken into consideration, though less than what was generally supposed; 3d, That it would inevitably be brought about in time; but, 4th, That at the present moment it was dangerous, if not impracticable, and likely, in the highest degree, to impair the internal tranquillity and external credit of France. Their decision, therefore, was, in the mean time, against entertaining the measure. On the other hand, as the proposal was founded on the report of the committee of the Chamber, passed by a large majority, it was evident that a direct collision between the executive and the legislature had taken place, which could not be avoided but by one or other of them being overthrown. The utmost anxiety was felt for the result. The vote was taken on the question, whether the proposal should immediately be taken into consideration, or adjourned; and the former was carried, amidst extreme agitation, by a majority of TWO—the numbers being 194 to 192. The whole Ministers immediately resigned, and the King, having no other resource, accepted the resignations.[1]

51. Decision of the Ministers on the subject, which is against it at the moment, and leads to their overthrow. Feb. 6.

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 7, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 45, 53.

The King had considerable difficulty in forming a Cabinet, as might have been anticipated, when the former one had been displaced by a vote of the Chamber in opposition to his wishes and its unanimous opinion. It was evidently necessary to take the Premier from the Centre, as it was the junction of that body with the Left which had caused the overthrow of the former Administration. Great difficulties were, however, experienced in the selection—to such a degree, indeed, that on the 15th February, the former Ministers were all officially summoned to the palace, which seemed to indicate that their

52. New Ministry: M. Thiers Premier.

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resignations would not be finally accepted. A list of the new Cabinet, with Count Molé at its head, was for some days in circulation; but at length, after an interregnum of above a fortnight, the names of the new Ministers appeared officially in the columns of the *Moniteur*. M. Thiers was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; and the other Ministers bespoke a combination of parties, in which the Centre predominated, but in which the union of men of different principles was so evident, that no long endurance could be anticipated for this more than any other coalition.* The step toward democracy, however, was very apparent: the aristocratic element was entirely excluded, and the philosophic conservatism of M. Guizot no longer had a place in the Cabinet.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 22, 1836; Ann. Hist. xii. 69, 70; Cap. viii. 389, 394.

53. Political character of M. Thiers.

M. THIERS, who thus at the age of forty was to be Prime Minister, and at the same time Foreign Minister of France, was undoubtedly a very remarkable man. No one, even in revolutionary times, raises himself with no other aid but that of his own talents to such an eminence, who is not so. He is not, however, a great man: had he been such, he never would in all probability have attained that eminence; or if he had, he would speedily have lost it. He was not a man of original thought, settled conviction, or unbending character; there is no trace of the former to be found in his speeches or writings, or of the two latter in the various phases of his political career. But it was the very absence of these commanding qualities which occasioned his political success. It is in serious crises only, such as brought forward Mr Pitt on one side, and Napoleon on the other, that really great men obtain or can keep the lead: in ordinary times they are shipwrecked by their own greatness

* The Ministry of 22d February was as follows:—President of the Council and Foreign Affairs, M. Thiers; Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Sauzet; Minister of the Interior, M. Montalivet; of Commerce and Public Works, M. Passy; of Public Instruction, M. Pelet de Lozère; of War, Marshal Maison; of the Marine, Admiral Duperré; of Finance, M. d'Argout. —*Moniteur*, 22d February 1836.

—they fall from their lofty and independent character. Like Mr Burke, they possess the solitary independence of real genius: they may direct future ages, but they will seldom rule the present. To attain and retain political power, the mind must be much more supple and accommodating: it must be equal to affairs, not above them—abreast of the age, not in advance of it.

54. Continued.

M. Thiers was a great political borrower and critic, rather than a great statesman; and this peculiarity appears not less in his writings than his career. Like Sir R. Peel in politics, he was a "huge appropriation clause," and largely imported the ideas of others when it suited his purpose to adopt them: like Lord Jeffrey in discoursing, he enlarged with admirable felicity on these adopted views, and from the very circumstance of their being adopted, and therefore not original, generally carried the majority with him. The majority of men are always directed by the original ideas of the great of the past, not the present generation. He had vast powers of amplification and illustration, prodigious fecundity of language, and occasionally, when warmed in debate, rose to a very high, though not the highest strain of eloquence. He was often inconsistent in principle, never in ambition. Holding a middle place as the leader of the Left Centre, or more Liberal section of the supporters of the Revolution of July, he inclined sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, and was alternately caressed by the Conservative diplomatists of Prince Metternich, and lauded by the Liberal journalists of Paris. Inconsistency was his great defect, as it is with all who are swayed by ambition or impulse, rather than a resolute will and settled conviction. He was vain, fond of flattery, and did not escape the imputation of being desirous of money to maintain the splendour in which he delighted, and little scrupulous in the means which he took to obtain it. His fame in future times will rest on his Histories, where he was truly

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admirable, rather than his political career, which was often fickle and changeable. Yet is this fault rather to be ascribed to the age in which he lived than to himself, and could not, by a successful statesman, be avoided. Those who applaud the popular regime, and yet demand consistency in statesmen, are themselves inconsistent; for how is consistency to be maintained by one who depends on the ever-changing currents of public opinion?

55. Postponement of the question regarding the debt, and first trial of strength in the Chamber.

As the Duke de Broglie's Ministry had been overthrown on the vexed question of the reduction of the *rentes*, it was naturally supposed that the new Administration would immediately bring in a measure in harmony with the views of the majority of the Chamber, and that on its success the fate of the Ministry would depend. It proved otherwise, however: M. Thiers was too skilful a pilot to split upon the rock on which his predecessor had been stranded. He avoided it, accordingly, by a skilful speech, in which, after strongly enforcing the principle of the measure, he concluded by declaring that it was a step of so much importance, and requiring so much attention to details, that it, of necessity, must be left to be matured in another session. The majority in the Centre, satisfied with having got a Ministry of their own creation, and thereby secured the whole patronage of the State to themselves and their constituents, were content, or professed to be content, with this declaration; and the question recently so fiercely debated, and on which a Ministry had been overthrown, was quietly allowed to go to sleep. A trial of strength soon after took place on the election of three Vice-Presidents of the Chamber, in lieu of M. Sauzet, Passy, and Pelet de la Lozère, promoted to the Ministry, and the majority of the Parti-Tiers was unequivocally evinced; for M. Calmon, who was their representative, had 218 votes; M. Duchatel, who belonged to the late Ministry, had 200; and M. Forte, who had the support of the Gauche, only 165.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 71, 73; Cap. ix. 6, 8.

On the 22d February, M. Thiers made, according to

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custom, a sort of profession of faith before the Chamber, and as it elicited a similar declaration from M. Guizot, the leader of the Conservative Opposition, and M. Odillon Barrot, the chief of the Extreme Gauche, their speeches are in the highest degree interesting, as evincing the views of the different parties at this period, when the Government of Louis Philippe had, after repeated struggles, been firmly established. "Gentlemen," said M. Thiers, "the Cabinet is at length constituted, and the Chamber will, without doubt, deem it suitable that, without waiting to be interrogated, I should volunteer to state the principles by which it is to be guided. The men who are now placed on the ministerial bench have all acted in the light of day. You will not forget, I hope, that most of us have conducted the country in the midst of great perils, and that, in facing them, we have combated anarchy with all our strength. Those who were not then in the Ministry, seconded our efforts in the bosom of the Chamber. That which we were then we are still. For my own part, I declare it aloud, for I wish to be unknown to no one: I am what I was, the sincere friend of the Revolution of July, and on that very account convinced of the old truth, that to save a revolution you must preserve it from its own excesses. When these excesses appeared in the streets, or in the abusive use made of our institutions, I combated them with all the force of action and legislation. I feel honoured by having combated alongside of the majority of the Chamber; and were it necessary, I would unite with them again to save our country from the disorders which threaten it. I believe that these sentiments are those of the majority of the Chamber. The troubles which have disturbed our country seem to be approaching their termination; better days are in store for us, and we shall not again see the days of peace uselessly darkened by the features and desolation of war.[1] Here, again, we shall be faithful to the principle of the late Cabinet; it would

56. M. Thiers' profession of faith before the Chamber. Feb. 22.

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 23, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 71, 72.

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not have been abandoned had the Government not become unreasonable and unworthy of its mission."

"The period has come," said M. Guizot, "when every one is called on to declare his sentiments, and I will not be the last to do so. Two charges are brought against our policy. One is, that it is rigorous and retrograde; but I do not think that progress consists in advancing in the dark. When society has been for long buried in license, *progress consists in returning to order*—in restoring the sway of truth re-entering the conditions of society. If society consisted in indefinite extension, and required it, and such was the declared and ascertained will of society, then to delay would be to recede; but if society requires something very different, if it desires to regain the principles of conservatism, of which it has long lost sight, the return to conservative principles is progress. It is not progress to go back to 1791; what was then an advance is now a retrograde movement. The wants of that period are all satisfied; what is desired now was unfelt then. We are not required now to plunge afresh into those dark and tortuous ways, and to open a passage which leads to destruction and ruin. Our opponents are going on blindly in the old track; they demand what was demanded before, without perceiving that all is changed: it is we, and we alone, who are really abreast of the age. Revolutions have always been attended with this immense inconvenience, that they weaken and degrade power. When this has been done, what is required is to restore it—to give it fixity, dignity, consideration. It is in that that progress consists. God forbid I should say nothing has been done. Everything has been begun, nothing concluded. Should the majority in this Chamber, which has been so gloriously formed amidst all our struggles, once allow itself to be divided or broken, you would see in a few months, perhaps in a few days, our whole work—government, peers, deputies, citizens—vanish at once.[1] We have but one thing to do,

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 23, 1836; Cap. ix. 15, 16.

and that is to be faithful to ourselves, to advance in the line we have taken, and not to recede."

"I have no liking," said M. Odillon Barrot, "for commonplaces. I will not go back on what has been said and resaid an hundred times. Doubtless the Opposition, since July 1830, has been placed in the most difficult situation. We have taken the Revolution of July in earnest; we regarded it not as a change of persons but of things—as the commencement of a new political era —as the solemn consecration of the principles for which we have contended during fifty years. Others have considered it as a mere accidental occurrence—as a thing against which they were to be on their guard; and because the Revolution had been made in the name of the Charter, to confine themselves strictly within its limits, to concede as little as possible, and retard what had been torn from them by victory. We, on the other hand, who beheld in that Revolution an immense change, saw in the charter of 1830, not a bounding charter, but an unchangeable contract between king and people, and we wished that all the conditions of that charter should be faithfully observed. Whenever the promises in that charter came under discussion, we have always voted for its interpretation in the largest sense, without hatred, or a spirit of resistance against the Revolution, because we were convinced that, if that Revolution presented dangers, they would arise from resistance to its principles, not from carrying them out in honesty and good faith. Such is the profound difference of opinion which exists between us and another portion of the Chamber. I know that we have suffered under the position in which the violence of parties has placed us; that we have been represented as the accomplices of the excesses in the streets, and of a tendency to that republican despotism with which our opponents charge us. All that is false. We appeal to the future and the good sense of the country, and they will not fail us."[1] Already the nation feels the necessity

56. Of M. Odillon Barrot.

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 23, 1836; Cap. ix. 17, 18.

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of departing from that bitter spirit of distrust which the violence of parties could alone have created."

59. Nullity of legislative measures.

The Chamber was so equally balanced between the three parties who were represented by these eloquent speakers, that legislative improvement, as in Great Britain, at the same period and from the same cause, was rendered impossible. It was not to be expected that a Ministry which had been brought in by a majority of *two* in the Chamber, would adventure on any novel or hazardous measures; and as by the French constitution the initiative of all laws rested with the Ministers, and the Opposition could only move amendments, this put an entire stop to legislative changes. The new Premier made a narrow escape from shipwreck, on a personal attack made upon him, in consequence of his having, in his capacity of Minister of the Interior in the former Cabinet, exceeded the credits allotted to him in the budget, particularly in the Madeleine, where the excess was 1,200,000 francs (£50,000), the obelisk in the Champs Elysées, where it was 1,500,000 (£60,000), and the Hotel on the Quai d'Orsay, where it was 2,000,000 (£80,000). It must be confessed these sums were very large, and with a revenue considerably less than the expenditure, and a Chamber passionately set upon economy, they afforded a very fair ground of attack. M. Thiers, accordingly, was very apprehensive of the result, and spoke warmly, and under emotion, in his defence. At length, however, the just pride of the French in their public monuments overcame their love of economy, and

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the extra expense was sanctioned. A still more trying question was expected on the proposal of a vote of 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) for secret-service money; but, contrary to expectation, it passed by a majority of 251 to 99. Sixty of the Gauche voted for it—a strange circumstance, but not unknown in the annals of popular assemblies.[1]

[1] Cap. ix. 19, 22; Ann. Hist. xi. 68, 76.

The most interesting debate of the session took place

on the budget, and most important revelations on the real state of the French finances were made by the Finance Minister. From it, it appeared that, although the sums voted since 1830 had always exceeded a thousand million francs (£40,000,000), and in some years had reached 1,400,000,000 (£56,000,000), still, the actual expenditure since that period had exceeded the ordinary income by the enormous sum of 848,842,924 francs, or £34,000,000, being at the rate of nearly 210,000,000 francs, or £8,400,000 a-year! * Certainly, if revolutions are an exciting, and to some a profitable pastime, they are enormously expensive and utterly ruinous to the great majority. It is no wonder, in this state of the finances, that the first anxiety of the Chamber was to reduce the expenditure, and bring it, if possible, to a level with the income. It was evident, from this statement, that the annual *exposés* made by the Finance Minister had been fallacious; for they had always exhibited a surplus of income, small, indeed, but still a surplus over expenditure. It was by loans and supplementary credits that the requisite funds for this vast extra expenditure had been acquired, and under a *new Ministry*, these important facts, heretofore carefully enveloped in mystery, were revealed.[1]

60. Important financial statements.

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 168, 169.

The first serious foreign negotiation in which M. Thiers was involved related to the occupation of Cracow, and its little adjacent territory, by the troops of the three allied Powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which had taken place on the 17th February. This violation of the territory of a State declared independent by the treaty of Vienna (Art. 9) in 1815, made a great sensation in Europe, especially as Cracow was the last remnant of Polish nationality, and the violation of its neutrality was

61. Occupation of Cracow by the allied Powers. Feb. 17.

* "Les dépenses pendant les cinq années, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, étaient de 848,842,924 francs. Le déficit pour 1835, était 10,000,000, pour 1836, 23,000,000."—*Paroles du Ministre des Finances*, 18th May 1836; *Ann. Hist.* xix. 168, 169.

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effected by the three Powers which had been parties to its partition. The reason assigned was, that Cracow had become the rendezvous of Polish refugees from the adjoining provinces of Lithuania, Gallicia, and Posen, from whence they were hatching plots and conspiracies against the adjoining States. The three Powers had summoned the Senate of Cracow to remove certain persons designed in a note on February 9 ; and they, being without the means of resistance, had agreed to do so, craving only a delay of a few days for such of the refugees as had become connected by marriage with the inhabitants of Cracow, to remove their effects. To this, however, the allied generals would not agree, their orders being positive to admit of no delay ; and on the 17th the Austrians entered, and were followed a few days after by the Russians and Prussians. The militia was immediately disbanded, as being composed for the most part, it was said, of the suspected persons, and the President of the Senate resigned his office, and was replaced by one in the interest of the allied Powers. The whole refugees, so much the object of apprehension to the allied Powers, were immediately expelled by their troops, and the Senate remodelled, so as to be entirely under their influence. This done, the Russian and Prussian troops were withdrawn, leaving only a small body of Austrians to garrison the forts, and prevent the re-entrance of the refugees.* This violent proceeding, in direct violation of the treaty of Vienna, which had placed the republic of Cracow under the guarantee of the four great Powers, called forth only a

* " Les trois Puissances *protectrices de l'Etat libre* de Cracovie, ayant en grande partie atteint le but qu'elles s'étaient proposé lorsqu'elles furent contraintes à faire occuper temporairement cet Etat par leurs troupes, pour le délivrer des fuyards Révolutionnaires et d'autres individus dangereux et sans aveu, qui s'y étaient agglomérés, se sont empressées, conformément à leur première Résolution, d'ordonner l'évacuation complète de la ville et du territoire de l'Etat libre de Cracovie, en n'y conservant qu'une petite partie des troupes Autrichiennes, qui sont encore nécessaires au maintien de la sécurité publique, et au service militaire, jusqu'à ce que l'organisation déja commencée de la milice de l'Etat fût achevée." — *Manifeste des Trois Puissances*, March 17, 1836; CAP. ix. 59, 60.

powerful expression of dissatisfaction from the Cabinet of St James's, and was in secret approved by that of the Tuileries.

Shortly after, a convention was signed at Constantinople between the Russians and the Turks, in virtue of which it was agreed that, on payment of the last instalment of the sum of 80,000,000 of Turkish piastres (£10,000,000), stipulated by the treaty of 1829, before the 15th August next ensuing, by the Turkish Government, the Russian troops should evacuate Silistria. This was justly regarded as a very important event in the East, as affording an instance, so rare in recent times, of the Muscovite standards receding from what they had once occupied, and the Turkish advancing again to the north of the Danube. At the same time, M. Thiers agreed to pay the proportion belonging to France of the Greek loan of £3,000,000 undertaken by Russia, France, and England, by the treaty of 6th July 1827, and also to defray the debt, so long disputed, due, under the treaty of 4th July 1831, to the United States. By these concessions, which evinced a disposition to be bound by the faith of treaties, and to re-enter the European alliance, M. Thiers gained much with the diplomatists of Europe. The apprehensions which had been awakened by the rise of a Minister from the Centre Gauche were dispelled; and hoping to gain him to their side, the diplomatic body were very assiduous in their attentions, and loaded M. Thiers with those flatteries to which it is well known *parvenus* are always most accessible. His receptions in the splendid hôtel which he now occupied in Paris were numerous and brilliant; and the diplomatists gratified his secret vanity by assuring him they reminded them of those of Prince Metternich at Johannisberg.[1]

62. Other diplomatic treaties. March 15.

[1] Cap. ix. 59, 60.

It soon appeared that these diplomatic courtesies meant more than appeared on the surface. Inquiry had been made at the Courts of Berlin and Vienna whether a visit from the Dukes of Orléans and Nemours would be

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63. Journey of the Dukes of Orléans and Nemours to Berlin and Vienna.

acceptable, and the answer was in the highest degree satisfactory. The two princes set out accordingly, and were received at both Courts in the most distinguished manner. Reviews, balls, and fêtes succeeded each other in brilliant succession; and the ladies of Vienna, in particular, were charmed with the elegance of the Duke of Orléans' manners, and the graces of his person. So favourable was his reception, that it seemed to augur no disinclination for a nearer connection, and a proposal was thought of, on the part of his royal highness, for the Princess Marie-Theresa-Isabella, one of the daughters of the Archduke Charles. But this was going a step too far: the Austrian pride showed itself when marriage was proposed. The young Princess could not conceal a partiality for the Duke of Orléans; and her father, who was considered as the head of the Liberal party in Germany, was rather disposed to favour the alliance. But for that very reason it was opposed by Prince Metternich, who dreaded the union of the daughter of a Liberal German Archduke with the heir of a French revolutionary throne. Accordingly, the usual means were taken to prevent what was not deemed desirable, without allowing matters to come to an actual proposal, and the two Princes, after having exhausted the splendid hospitalities of Vienna, returned in single blessedness, by the Tyrol and Milan, to Paris.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 219, 220; Cap. ix. 64, 74.

64. Fresh attempt to assassinate the King by Alibaud. June 25.

Whatever disappointment the parties principally concerned might feel at this untoward result, an event soon occurred which again brought forcibly before the world the precarious tenure of power, and even life, by the royal family of France, and gave Metternich reason to congratulate himself that he had not, like his predecessor the Duke de Choiseul, been instrumental in placing an Austrian princess on the French throne. As the King was driving out of the courtyard of the Tuileries, at six o'clock on the evening of the 25th June, with the Queen and Madame Adélaide, on his return to Neuilly,

a shot was suddenly heard in the carriage, which was filled with smoke, and it was discovered that a ball had passed through the vehicle, immediately above the King's head, and lodged in the roof. The King, who evinced the greatest coolness on the occasion, merely inquired if any one was hurt outside, and ordered the coachman to drive on. The assassin, whose name was Alibaud, was seized on the spot, with the pistol still smoking in his hand, and carried to the nearest police office, from whence he was sent to the Conciergerie. Being interrogated by the public prosecutor what his motive was for firing at the Sovereign, he replied: "I wished to kill the King, whom I regarded as the enemy of the people. I was unfortunate. The Government was the cause of my misfortune; the King is its chief: that was my reason for wishing to kill him, and my only regret is the not having succeeded in doing so."[1]

[1] Moniteur, June 26, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 220, 221; Cap. ix. 42, 43.

65. Execution of Alibaud, and seclusion of the King.

The proceedings for the trial of this great criminal were conducted with unwonted celerity; and early in July the Court of Peers commenced the trial. Alibaud continued his intrepid demeanour in presence of his judges; he avowed his crime, and gloried in it. "Since the King put Paris in a state of siege," said he, "and he showed that he wished to govern, and not to reign—since he first massacred the citizens in the streets of Lyons, and at the Cloister of St Méri—I have formed the resolution to kill him. His reign was an infamous one—a reign of blood; and I was determined to put an end to it." He was of course convicted, and sentenced to be executed in the dress appropriated to a parricide; a sentence which was carried into execution on July 11, at five in the morning. A confessor having approached, he received him with civility, but declined his services. "I have no need," he said, "of your assistance; I am at peace with my conscience."[2] He exhibited the same stoical firmness on the scaffold as he had done ever since his apprehension: his last words were, "I die for

[2] Ann. Hist. xix. 201, 202; Chron.

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liberty, for the people, and for the extinction of the monarchy." Then turning to the guards, who surrounded him, he added, "Adieu, my comrades!" and the axe fell.

66. Announcement of the seclusion of the King in his palace.

This nefarious attempt led to a measure which excited a great sensation in Europe, and demonstrated more than anything had yet done the precarious foundation on which the throne of Louis Philippe rested. On the 23d July an announcement appeared in the *Moniteur*, that the King was not to leave his palace, and that there was to be no review on the 29th July, the last of the three glorious days. This excited the greater surprise and disappointment, that the inauguration of the Arc de Triomphe, at the barrier of Neuilly, was to take place on that day, and that a military spectacle of more than ordinary magnificence was anticipated. The most sinister rumours were immediately in circulation: one that the ceremony had been remonstrated against by the diplomatic body, as likely to awaken dangerous recollections; another, that a hostile demonstration against the Government from the National Guard was apprehended. The Government hastened, by articles in the *Moniteur*, to put a negative upon these surmises, by confessing what was the simple truth, that the measure was dictated solely by a necessary regard for the King's safety, and a knowledge of the numerous conspiracies on foot against him. Thenceforward the Monarch remained a prisoner of state in his own palace; no review took place on the 29th; the Arc de Triomphe was unveiled without any ceremony; and the celebration of the Revolution of July sunk into an unmeaning ceremonial that excited no attention. This change produced the most melancholy impression: it was at once a confession, in the face of Europe, of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning dynasty, and the inability, even of its mighty army and vast police, to defend the life of its chief.[1] "The soil," says the French annalist, "was so sown with assassins,

[1] Cap. ix. 48; Moniteur, July 23 and 28, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 227, 228.

that there was no safety for the Monarch but within the walls of his palace."

67. State of the secret societies in Switzerland.

The repeated conspiracies which had necessitated this humiliating act of seclusion imposed by the Cabinet on the King, had their chief seat in Switzerland. The secret societies, in some degree kept down in France by the rigid laws of September 1835, took refuge in that secluded and neutral State. Its situation, midway between France and Italy, presented a central point from whence the democratic action could be kept alive in both countries, while its lofty mountains and republican institutions seemed to afford an asylum alike from the jealousy of kings and the persecution of ministers. All the secret societies, accordingly, which were undermining society in France, Italy, and Germany, had their committees in Switzerland, and it was there that the regulating orders for their operations were determined on. The following account of their proceedings was given by a deputy in the National Assembly of Switzerland. "The association," said M. Chambrier, "styled 'Young Europe,' has taken for its device the words 'Liberty, Equality, Humanity,' and it professes to be founded on the rights of man; the manifesto of France to Europe when it was covered with scaffolds. Its members are bound to contribute with all their strength to the destruction of established governments in all countries; they would level everything to let in the flood of revolutionary ideas. Its act of association bears date, Berne, April 19, 1834. There also have successively arisen the other societies, entitled 'Young Italy,' 'Young Poland,' 'Young Germany,' 'Young France,' and 'Young Switzerland.' A directing committee, sitting at Paris, holds in its hands the threads of the different associations which compose 'Young Europe.' Separate committees are at the head of the different sections; but they all implicitly obey the orders of the unknown committee, which, shrouded in darkness, sits at Paris. 'Young

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Switzerland,' established on July 26, 1835, is intrusted with the duty of organising the whole of Switzerland, overturning the government in all its cantons, annihilating the compact of 1815, preparing an appeal to arms, and organising, in conjunction with 'Young Germany,' the free corps which are to liberate both countries. A province of the latter country is to be immediately invaded, and all Europe stirred to support the movement." [1]

[1] Cap. ix. 94, 95; L. Blanc, v. 74, 75.

68. Measures of France and Austria against the refugees.

By means of those secret societies, Switzerland was stirred to its foundation, and revolutionary movements were prepared to convulse all the adjoining States. The Napoleonists, as will immediately appear, were not less active than the Republicans; and the Château of Arenenburg, in the canton of Berne, the residence of the Duchess of St Leu, formerly Queen of Holland, and her son, PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON, became the great centre of this party, from whence an inroad into France was openly discussed, and generally expected. In these circumstances, the Cabinets of the Tuileries and of Berlin not unnaturally took the alarm, and several joint notes were presented in the names of France and Austria, revealing the existence of secret conspiracies, and requiring the instant expulsion of the refugees. A long negotiation ensued, the executive Government of Switzerland promising compliance, and the Vorort protesting against such a violation of the national independence, and declaring they would rather perish with arms in their hands than submit to it.* At length, finding that the executive, placed between two opposite parties and sets of dangers, hesitated, and de-

* "Les Cantons confédérés de Berne, Lucerne, Schwitz, Soleure, Bâle, et Argovie, réunis à Reiden, déclarent unanimement :—

"1. Qu'ils repousseront comme attentatoire à l'honneur, à la liberté, et à l'indépendance du peuple Suisse, toute intervention du diplomate étranger dans les affaires de la patrie : qu'ils sont déterminés à sacrifier leurs biens et leur vie pour appuyer les autorités constitutionnelles Suisses, dans leurs efforts pour maintenir ces biens précieux hérités de leurs ancêtres, et que toute autre conduite serait honteuse.

"2. Qu'ils regardent en particulier comme chose urgente le rappel de l'Am-

layed compliance, M. Thiers brought matters to a crisis by causing the Duke of Montebello, the French Minister at Berne, to intimate to the Swiss Government, that if the demands of France and Austria were not instantly complied with, their respective ministers would leave Berne, all commercial intercourse between Switzerland and the adjoining States would be suspended, its territory blockaded, and the expenses of the blockade claimed and levied from their territories. This demand was made by the Duke of Montebello on the President of the Swiss Directory, on the 6th August, *in the night*, and made a great sensation. The Liberal journals everywhere exclaimed in the loudest manner against what they termed this shameful violation of the law of nations, and were particularly vehement against M. Thiers, "the child of revolution, whose impious hands would strangle his own mother." But the parties were too unequal to render a contest possible; the threat of blockade to a mountainous country depending for its existence upon the import of grain from the surrounding plains, and the export of cattle to them, was too formidable to be disregarded, and at length the demands of the foreign Powers were complied with, and the refugees received notice to quit the Swiss territories.[1]

Aug. 6.

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 236, 238; L. Blanc, v. 74, 92; Cap. ix. 92, 99.

69. Reflections on this subject.

The right of a nation in whose territories refugees from a neighbouring State have sought and found an asylum, to maintain them against the requisition for removal by a neighbouring State, against which their machinations are thought to be directed, is one of very frequent recurrence in recent times, and in which all nations and all parties have an equal interest. It is difficult to say whe-

bassadeur Français, le Duc de Montebello, attendu que par son affectation à prétendre que le peuple ne défendrait ni les constitutions qu'il s'est données ni les autorités qu'il a choisies, par son manque d'égard vers le Président de la Diète, qu'il est venu surprendre par une visite nocturne; et avant tout, par ses prétensions à vouloir s'immiscer dans nos affaires nationales, et par sa conduite en général, ce diplomate a perdu la confiance de la nation."—*Déclaration des Cantons de la Suisse*, Sept. 17, 1836; CAPEFIGUE, *Dix Ans de Louis Philippe*, ix. 85, 86.

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ther the maintenance of the right or the guarding against its abuse is most to be desired by all the real friends of freedom and humanity. If, on the one hand, it is a vast step in civilisation, to which the united efforts of all the friends of the species should be directed, to effect the abolition of the punishment of death in the case of political prisoners, and to substitute for it the milder penalty of the Athenian ostracism; on the other, it is essential to the general adoption of that modified code, that the political enemies who find a refuge in the territories of a neighbouring Power should abstain from engaging in such enterprises as may excite alarm in, or disturb the tranquillity of the adjoining States. If they do not do this—if they abuse the rights of hospitality so far as to render the territory of the neutral State in which they have found an asylum a mere platform, from which, as from a besieger's battery, they may send shells at long range into the States from which they have been expelled, and thereby rekindle the flames which have been extinguished by their removal, *they continue a belligerent Power*, and the State which permits such use to be made of its territory loses its character of neutrality, and becomes a confederate of the belligerent refugees. No right-minded government will ever permit such an abuse of the rights of hospitality; no really independent government will feel offended at the demand for its abatement. All parties have an equal interest in insisting for such a limitation of the supposed rights of misfortune, for none can say how soon it may become their own turn to invoke them. All have in their turn insisted for such a limitation against others, however loudly they may have exclaimed against it when directed against themselves. Were it otherwise, the greatest step in the humanising of manners in recent times would be abandoned, the great lesson taught by the tragedy of the French Revolution would be lost; each party, when it became victorious, would destroy its adversaries like savages in the first ages of warfare; and the boasted improvements of civil-

isation would terminate in the general adoption of the maxim of Barère: "Il n'a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas."

70. The Spanish question, and its urgent dangers.

This question of the expulsion of political refugees from Switzerland drew closer the bonds between France and Austria, for they had an equal interest in demanding it. M. Thiers and Prince Metternich were quite at one on this point. But it was otherwise with the Spanish question, which had now become so alarming as to force itself upon the attention of all the adjoining States, and in an especial manner excited the solicitude of the Liberal party in France. The terrible war of succession, grafted on revolution, which had, ever since the death of Ferdinand VII., bathed the Peninsula in blood, to be recounted in a future chapter, had now arrived at such a point that the royal authority seemed on the point of being destroyed, and the kingdom exposed to the sanguinary mutual and inveterate vengeance of the Carlist and Republican parties. All the valleys of the north of Spain were in the hands of the former; nearly all the cities of the south had declared for the latter. Between the two, the authority of the Crown at Madrid was well-nigh destroyed, and the Queen-Regent herself had recently been subjected to a military outrage and revolt at La Granja, which foreboded the worst horrors of the French Revolution.

71. M. Thiers is for intervention, the King against it, and the former resigns.

In these circumstances, M. Thiers, whose prepossessions were all on the side of revolution, provided it did not impair or endanger his own power, was decidedly in favour of an armed and prompt intervention. The British Government had already, in March 1836, sent a body of marines to co-operate with the Spanish Liberals on the coast of Biscay; but France had declined to intervene at that period; and M. Thiers himself had written a letter on 18th March declining the proposed co-operation, as perilous in the extreme, and likely to induce a European war. When the extreme revolution, however, which led to the outrage at La Granja, broke

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out in Spain, the King consented to the formation of a corps of volunteers from the army at Pau, with a view to finally taking part in the Spanish contest. When the time for action, however, seemed to have arrived, the King, whose desire for peace amounted to an absolute passion, would not be brought to give his consent to preparations being made for entering the Peninsula, and even desired that the corps of volunteers should be disbanded. The whole Cabinet, with the exception of M. Montalivet, was of an opposite opinion; and the consequence was that they resigned in a body, and the King sent for COUNT MOLÉ, who without delay formed a new Ministry, in which the Doctrinaires and Conservatives had the majority, and which was based on the principle of non-intervention.[1] *

Sept. 6.

[1] Moniteur, Sept. 6, 1836; Ann. Hist. xix. 231, 233; Cap. ix. 96, 103.

72. Character of Count Molé.

Count Molé, who thus became Prime Minister of France at a comparatively early age, and held the office for two years, was in every respect the reverse of his brilliant, volatile, and inconsistent predecessor. Of ancient and noble family, and the inheritor of a splendid chateau filled with historic monuments, he had all the charm of manner and elevation of mind which is often found to distinguish aristocratic descent. But he had none of the *légèreté* or frivolity which so frequently accompanies it, and renders even brilliant talents unavailing to the public service. Grave in manner, laborious in habit, and thoughtful in disposition, his conversation had peculiar charms for the King, who was himself well informed on historic subjects, and delighted in unbending his mind, after the fatigues of the council-table, on the manners and incidents of the olden time. He was a judicious and sometimes powerful

* The Ministry of 6th September, as finally constituted, stood as follows:—President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Molé. Keeper of the Seals and Minister of Justice, M. Persil. Minister of the Interior, M. de Gasparin; of Marine, Admiral Rosamel; of Public Instruction, M. Guizot; of Finance, M. Duchatel; of War, Baron Bernard; of Commerce and Agriculture, M. Martin (du Nord).—*Ann. Hist.*, xix. 233, 234.

speaker, but without the eloquence or volatile talents of M. Thiers; and on that account he had more weight in the Chamber of Peers, where he had numerous friends, and his high birth gave him eminent advantages, than in the Deputies, who were chiefly governed by economical considerations, and were never carried away but by the highest flights of popular oratory. His historical information, especially of the annals of his own country, was immense; but on that very account he was perhaps the less qualified to grapple with the difficulties of the present time: he was better acquainted with France as it had been, than as it was,—a fault common to him with many aristocratic leaders, and which has led to many of the most unfortunate steps recorded in history. With all these solid and valuable qualities, which added lustre to a character of unequivocal probity, Count Molé had some weaknesses which seriously impeded his Administration. He was not great enough to be simple; a secret vein of vanity pervaded his character; and his high position in the Chamber of Peers had given him a more lofty idea of his own importance, and the deference due to it, than was consistent either with his real abilities or the influence which any Minister resting chiefly on aristocratic influences could then obtain in France.

73. Liberation of Prince Polignac and the prisoners in Ham.

The first important step of the new Ministry was one in itself graceful and honourable, and which, without exciting disturbances in France, contributed to enhance the estimation in which its Government was held in foreign countries. Ever since their memorable trial in December 1830, in the Luxembourg, Prince Polignac and the other Ministers of Charles X. who had signed the Ordonnances, had remained in close confinement in the citadel of Ham. The humanity of the Government had mitigated the severity of their punishment by allowing them the use of books and pen and ink; and their independence of mind, and conscious rectitude of intention, had prevented them

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from demeaning themselves by soliciting any other indulgence. Public opinion, however, had undergone a great change within the last few years in regard to the propriety of their further detention. For the last four, the new Government had been incessantly engaged in combating insurrections and conspiracies against itself, and the peace of society had only been preserved by re-enacting with additional severity the ordonnances which had occasioned the downfall of Charles X. It was evident, therefore, that they had suffered only for their foresight: they had been punished, not because they had done wrong, but because they had too soon done what was right; because, with inadequate means, they had attempted prevention instead of waiting for cure. These views, long working in the public mind, had prepared them for the pardon of the prisoners in Ham, and enabled Louis Philippe, without risk, to gratify his own humane disposition by extending mercy to them. It was accordingly deemed a gracious and well-timed act when the King, on the 17th October, directed M. de Peyronnet and M. de Chantelauze to be liberated on their parole, to reside in certain places at a distance from Paris; and this was soon after followed by another ordonnance, on 23d November, which commuted the punishment of MM. de Polignac and Guernon de Ranville into banishment for twenty years from France, and in the mean time directed their liberation from their long confinement.[1]

Oct. 17.

Nov. 23.

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 257, 258; Moniteur, Oct. 17, Nov. 23, 1836; Cap. ix. 145, 151.

74. Death of Charles X. Nov. 6.

Hardly had this act of humanity been performed by the French Government, when the monarch in whose service these gallant but injudicious men had incurred the penalties they had undergone, was numbered with his fathers. Ever since his dethronement, Charles X. had led a retired domestic life, alike removed from the whirl of politics and the gaiety of courts. Regarding his fall as the punishment inflicted by Heaven for the sins which he had committed, he submitted in silent re-

signation to its decrees, and neither demeaned himself by complaint, nor struggled to alter his fate. A stranger to all political intrigues, and dividing his time between works of religion and charity and the fatigues of the chase, he had discouraged the attempt of the Duchess de Berri, and uniformly dissuaded any similar undertaking by others. He believed that his grandson would be restored to the throne of his fathers; but he looked for his restoration to the justice of Heaven and the repentance of his people, not to any combination of princes or efforts of human power. But the end of this simple and expiatory life was now approaching. For some years past the habitual residence of Charles and his court had been at Prague in Bohemia,—the British Government having, at the solicitation of Louis Philippe, suggested their removal from Holyrood after the expedition of the Duchess de Berri. He had gone with the Duchess de Angoulême and his household to Gratz in Styria, in the end of October, with a view to enjoying the pleasure of shooting in the pine-clad mountains in its vicinity. Winter set in early in these elevated regions; but still the exiled King enjoyed vigorous health, and at the age of seventy-nine he had, on the 5th November, the day of his fête, been on a long shooting expedition on foot in the hills at a considerable distance. In the evening, however, he was seized with an attack in his bowels, at first slight, but which soon showed symptoms of Asiatic cholera. He sunk rapidly, and expired without suffering or murmur at one o'clock on the following morning, surrounded by his weeping family, who had undergone so many tragedies in their calamitous career. Born at Versailles on the 9th October 1757, he was in his eightieth year when he died, and he was interred without pomp in the church of the Capuchin monks near Gratz. The church of the same order at Vienna contained the remains of the son of Napoleon.[1] These members of the royal and imperial races alike found their final resting-place in a foreign land,

Nov. 6.

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 237, 239; Cap. ix. 150, 154.

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under the care of a poor order of monks, in the midst of their fathers' enemies.

75. Attempt of Louis Napoleon at Strasburg: his early life.

The hand of fate was on the curtain in this eventful year, but it was not drawn up, and the actors in the great drama which was to succeed only appeared as it was for a moment raised. Only a week before the last of the Bourbons who sat on the throne of France died, exiled and discrowned, in a foreign land, sheltered by his enemies from his own people, the representative of a new dynasty appeared on the French territory, and LOUIS NAPOLEON commenced that adventurous career which, after many reverses, has ended in the restoration of the imperial throne. This young prince, the only surviving son of Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, the younger brother of Napoleon, was beyond all doubt, after the death of the Duke of Reichstadt at Vienna, the heir and representative of the great name and boundless inheritance of his immortal uncle. His mother, the Duchess of St Leu, vividly impressed with these magnificent prospects, had, during the whole period of the Restoration, been the centre of all the conspiracies which had for their object the restoration of the imperial line; and young Louis Napoleon, with his brother, who died in the attempt, endeavoured to excite a revolution in their favour in Italy, shortly after the fall of Charles X. in 1830. Foiled in that attempt, he still persisted in his projects with that determined perseverance which so often works out its own destiny, and by never despairing of fortune, at last conquers it. He commenced the composition of works calculated to enlist the public sympathies in his favour by uniting the democratic and imperial parties under the same banner, and holding it out as the only one which could restore liberty and glory to France.[1] These works, especially *Les Réveries Politiques*, and *Des Idées Napoléonnés*, are very remarkable for the reflection and thought which they exhibit, and they were singularly calculated to attain their object from the skilful

[1] Cap. ix. 162, 163; Ann. Hist. xix. 242, 243.

combination which they present of much that was real, with everything which could be figured that was alluring, in the maxims of the imperial government.*

76. Preparations for the attempt at Strasburg.

For some years back the Duchess of St Leu, with her son, had lived in Switzerland, and their residence, the Château of Arenenburg, in the county of Berne, was the centre of all the Napoleon party, and of that portion of the Republicans, by no means inconsiderable, who, warned by their repeated failures when acting alone, deemed it expedient to unite their forces with the more warlike and better disciplined bands of the Napoleonists. The great affluence of refugees of all parties from France, in the course of 1836, into Switzerland, in consequence of the operation of the severe laws of the preceding September, led to the general belief among these exiled adventurers that the time had now arrived when, by a united effort of both parties, it might be possible to overturn the throne of Louis Philippe, and open the way to the imperial crown. Accordingly, a conspiracy, having extensive ramifications in the military of France, was formed, of which the threads centred in the Château of Arenenburg, and which had for its object the overthrow of Louis Philippe, and the restoration of the imperial line in the person of Louis Napoleon. Strasburg naturally presented itself as the place where the inroad might best be attempted, both from its vicinity to the headquarters of the disaffected in Switzerland, and from its being a fortress of the first order, opening the way into the heart of France, and adjoining the provinces where Republican ideas were most prevalent,

* "Je voudrais un Gouvernement qui procurât tous les avantages de la République sans entraîner les mêmes inconvéniens, un Gouvernement qui fût fort sans être despotique, libre sans anarchie, indépendant sans conquêtes, —le peuple ayant la souveraineté réelle et organisée comme source élective, comme contrôle, et comme rectification de tous les Pouvoirs; deux Chambres composant le Pouvoir législatif, la première élue, mais l'une exigeant certaines conditions de services rendues ou l'expérience de la part des éligibles."—*Rêveries Politiques, par* LOUIS NAPOLEON, 27, 49. In Louis Napoleon's career, from first to last, literary and political, there are decided proofs of that *fixity of ideas and moral resolution* which are the characteristics of greatness, and the heralds either of success or ruin in this world.

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and the memory of Napoleon was still held in most veneration. This place was further recommended by the presence in it of the fourth regiment of artillery, commanded by Colonel Vaudrey, a warm partisan of the young Prince, and whose influence with his men rendered it probable that they would all, with their leader, range themselves under his standard. The plan was, to electrify the garrison of Strasburg by the sudden appearance of the young Prince among them; to rally to his colours the whole national guard of Alsace, which it was well known might be relied on; and, with the united force, march direct on Paris, and overthrow the monarchy of Louis Philippe, as Napoleon had done that of Louis XVIII. Authentic evidence exists that this conspiracy had such extensive ramifications in France that it was very near succeeding, and that the throne of the Citizen King depended on the fidelity of a few companies in the garrison of Strasburg.[1]*

1 Hist. de L. Napoleon, i. 21, 22; Ann. Hist. xix. 243, 244; Cap. ix. 165, 166.

77. Breaking out of the conspiracy. Oct. 30.

Everything being prepared, and extensive ramifications of the conspiracy established in the garrison of Strasburg, Louis Napoleon, on the evening of the 28th October, entered that fortress in disguise, accompanied by a few trusty friends. On the morning of the 30th, the Prince, dressed in the well-known costume of Napoleon, made his appearance at the gate of the barracks of the fourth

* The following letter from a leading Republican at Paris at this period to Louis Napoleon, illustrates the views of that extreme party, and the chances of the Prince's success:—"Nous ne jouissons pas du présent, car l'avenir nous effraye: le Pouvoir depuis six ans n'a rien fondé; il a réprimé les nobles passions, énervé les cœurs, sans inspirer ni sécurité ni confiance; et comment l'aurait—il pu, lui qui n'a ni l'appui des siècles ni celui que donne la sanction du peuple, ni même le prestige d'une glorieuse origine? Le plus fort n'est jamais assez fort pour être toujours maître, s'il ne transforme la force en droit, et l'obéissance en devoir. La vie du Roi est journellement menacée; si l'un de ces attentats réussissait nous serions exposés aux plus graves bouleversemens, car il n'y a plus en France ni parti qui puisse rallier les autres, ni un homme qui inspire une confiance générale. Dans cette position, Prince, nous avons jeté les yeux sur vous; le grand nom que vous portez, vos opinions, votre caractère, tout nous engage à voir en vous un point de ralliement pour la cause populaire. Tenez-vous prêt à agir; et quand le temps sera venu, vos amis ne vous manqueront pas."—*Vie de* LOUIS NAPOLÉON, i. 21, 22.

regiment of artillery. He immediately advanced to the colonel, who said to his men, in a loud voice: "Soldiers! a great revolution is commencing at this moment. The nephew of the Emperor is before you! He comes to put himself at your head. He has arrived on the soil of France to restore to it liberty and glory. The time has come when you must act or die for a great cause—the cause of the people. Soldiers of the fourth regiment of artillery! can the nephew of the Emperor count on you?" At these words an indescribable transport seized upon the men; "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was heard on all sides; the sabres leapt from their scabbards, and glittered in the air; and amidst the clash of arms and cheers of the men, the voice of Louis Napoleon could not for some time be heard. At length, the colonel having made a signal for silence, he advanced, deeply affected, and said: "It was in your regiment that the Emperor, my uncle, made his first essay in arms: with you he was illustrated in the siege of Toulon; and it is your brave regiment which, on his return from the island of Elba, opened to him the gates of Grenoble." Then, taking the eagle from the officer who held it, he said, "This is the symbol of French glory, which should also henceforth be of its freedom." At these words the acclamations redoubled; and the whole regiment, with proud steps, in the highest state of excitement, and to the sound of military music, marched out of the barracks to rally the remaining regiments of the garrison.[1]

[1] Vie de Louis Napoleon, i. 23, 24; L. Blanc, v. 132, 133; Cap. ix. 171; Ann. Hist. xix. 244, 245.

78. Its rapid success.

The Prince, at the head of this regiment, proceeded to the headquarters of the Governor-General, when he was received by the soldiers presenting arms, and exclaiming "*Vive l'Empereur!*" He immediately went upstairs to the General, who was just risen, and, offering to embrace, invited him to join the movement. He was, however, coldly received by the General, who refused to join the movement, and was in consequence put under arrest, and left under guard of some of the revolted regi-

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ment in his own house. Meanwhile, three other detachments sent out from the fourth regiment met with the most surprising success. The first made straight to the hôtel of the prefect, opened the gates, and made him prisoner. The second went to the house of the colonel of the third regiment of artillery, took possession of the door, and forbade all ingress or egress. The third got hold of a printing-office, and immediately began throwing off the proclamation to the army and the nation.* A fourth detachment had orders to get possession of the avenues leading to the house of the general commanding the department of the Upper Rhine, which was successfully done. Everything seemed to smile upon the audacious conspirators; all the authorities had been surprised by them, and were either in custody or shut up in their houses; one entire regiment, and detachments of others, had already declared in their favour; and the inhabitants, roused from their slumbers by the loud shouts at that early hour, looked fearfully out of their houses, and when

* "Au Peuple Français.

"On vous trahit! Vos intérêts politiques, vos intérêts commerciaux, votre honneur, votre gloire, sont vendus à l'étranger. Et par qui? Par des hommes qui ont profité de votre belle Révolution, et qui en renient tous les principes. Est-ce donc pour avoir un Gouvernement sans parole, sans honneur, sans générosité, des institutions sans force, des lois sans liberté, une paix sans prospérité et sans calme, enfin, un Présent sans Avenir, que nous avons combattu pendant quarante ans? En 1830 on imposa un Gouvernement à la France sans consulter ni le peuple des provinces ni l'armée Française: tout ce qui a été fait sans vous est illégitime. Un congrès national élu par tous les citoyens peut seul avoir le droit de choisir ce qui convient le mieux à la France. Fier de mon origine populaire, fort de quatre millions de votes qui me destinaient au Trône, je m'avance devant vous comme le Représentant de la souveraineté du Peuple. Il est temps qu'au milieu du chaos des partis une voix nationale se fasse entendre; il est temps qu'au cri de la liberté trahie vous renversiez le joug honteux qui pèse sur notre belle France. Ne voyez-vous pas que les hommes qui règlent nos destinées sont encore les traitres de 1814 et 1815, les bourreaux du Maréchal Ney. Les ingrats! Ils ne gouvernent des barricades que pour préparer des forts detachés; méconnaissant la grande nation, ils rampent devant les puissans et insultent les faibles! Notre vieux drapeau tricolore s'indigne d'être plus longtemps entre leurs mains. Français! Que le souvenir du grand homme qui fit tant pour la gloire et la prospérité de la France vous ranime. Confiant dans la sainteté de ma cause, je me présente à vous le testament de l'Empereur Napoléon d'une main, son épée d'Austerlitz de l'autre. Lorsqu'à Rome le peuple vit les dépouilles ensanglantées de César, il renversa ses hypocrites oppresseurs. Français, Napoléon est plus grand que César; il

they saw what was going on, offered up ardent prayers for the success of the enterprise. The third regiment of artillery joined the insurgents; the entire pontoon corps followed the example. Cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" were heard on all sides. The throne of Louis Philippe hung by a thread; it required only one other regiment to declare in his favour, and the whole garrison of Strasburg would have followed the example, and Louis Napoleon's march to Paris would have been as bloodless and triumphant as that of his immortal predecessor from Cannes had been.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 245; L. Blanc, v. 133, 134; Cap. ix. 173, 174.

79. And ultimate failure.

In this extremity the star of Napoleon was for a time overcast, and the enterprise failed from excess of courage, and undue confidence in his fortune, on the part of its chief. Trusting to the magic of his name, and the overpowering influence which it had already exercised upon the minds of the troops, Louis Napoleon had no sooner arrived at the barracks of the 46th regiment, to which

est l'emblême de la civilisation au dix-neuvième siècle. Vive la France! Vive la liberté.—NAPOLEON.

"A l'Armée.

"Le moment est venu de recouvrer votre ancienne splendeur. Faits pour la gloire, vous pouvez moins que d'autres supporter plus longtemps le rôle honteux qu'on vous fait jouer. Le Gouvernement qui trahit nos intérêts civils voudrait aussi ternir notre honneur militaire. Les insensés! Croit-on que la race des héros d'Arcole, d'Austerlitz, de Wagram, soit éteinte? *Voyez le lion de Waterloo encore debout sur nos frontières;* voyez Huningen privé de ses défenses; voyez les grades de 1815 méconnus; voyez la Légion d'Honneur prodiguée aux intrigants, et refusée aux braves; voyez notre drapeau: il ne flotte nulle-part où nos armes ont triomphé! Voyez, enfin, partout trahison, lâcheté, influence étrangère, et écriez-vous avec moi, Chassons les barbares du capitole! Soldats, reprenez les aigles que nous avions dans nos grandes journées; les ennemis de la France ne peuvent en soutenir les regards: ceux qui nous gouvernent ont déjà fui devant elles. Délivrer la patrie de ses oppresseurs, protéger les droits du peuple, défendre la France et ses alliés contre l'invasion: voilà la route d'honneur où on vous appelle; voilà votre suprême mission.

"Soldats de la République! Soldats de l'Empire! Que mon nom réveille en vous votre ancienne ardeur. Et vous jeunes soldats qui êtes nés comme moi au bruit du canon de Wagram, soeuvenez-vous que vous êtes les enfans des soldats de la Grande Armée. Le soleil de cent victoires a éclairé notre berceau. Que nos hauts faits ou notre trépas soient dignes de notre naissance. Du haut du ciel la grande ombre de Napoléon guidera nos bras, et contente de nos efforts elle s'écriera: Ils étaient dignes de leurs pères. Vive la France! Vive la liberté! NAPOLEON."—*Histoire de la Présidence du Prince Louis Napoléon Bonaparte, par* LESPES, i. 24, 27.

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he next bent his steps, than he entered the courtyard attended only by a very few of his followers. Here, however, a very different reception awaited them. Some shouted "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and threw up their caps in a transport of enthusiasm; but the majority maintained a sullen silence, and the officers all remained true to their oath. A cry got up that the Prince was not the real nephew of the Emperor, but a nephew of Colonel Vaudrey, who had been dressed up to personate him; and a lieutenant named Pleignier rushed out of the ranks to arrest him. A pistol-shot would probably then have decided the struggle, and placed the Prince on the throne of France. But it was not discharged, and the enterprise proved abortive. Pleignier was seized by the few artillerymen who had accompanied the Prince into the barrack-yard, and he had the generosity to order his release. The former no sooner recovered his freedom than he returned to the charge, and some of his company ran forward to support him. A scuffle ensued, in which the artillerymen, few in number, were overpowered by the troops of the line, and both the Prince and Colonel Vaudrey were made prisoners, and shut up in separate apartments in the barracks. The arrest of the chiefs, as is usual in such cases, proved fatal to the enterprise. The other troops which had revolted, deprived of their leaders, and without orders, knew not what to do or whom to obey; distrust soon succeeded to uncertainty; and when the news spread that the Prince and Colonel Vaudrey had been arrested, they became desperate, and, dispersing, every one sought to conceal his defection by regaining his quarters as speedily as possible. By nine o'clock all was over: an empire had been all but lost and won during a scuffle in a barrack-yard of Strasburg.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 245, 246; L. Blanc, v. 134, 135; Cap. ix. 177, 179.

When the telegraph first announced this audacious enterprise, the Government at Paris were thrown into the most mortal apprehension, which was hardly removed by

the intelligence which soon after arrived of its speedy suppression. The defection of so large a portion of the troops, and the magical sway which the name of Napoleon evidently exercised over them, revealed the brink of the precipice on which they stood. Their conduct towards the chief of the conspiracy, however, was humane and judicious in the highest degree. He expected nothing but death. Before engaging in the enterprise, he had intrusted to a tried friend two letters to his mother,—one sealed with red wax, announcing his triumphant success; the other with black, bidding her an eternal adieu. The latter had already been sent, in conformity with his instructions; but the mournful herald proved fallacious—another destiny awaited the young aspirant for the throne. Arrived at Paris, where he expected the fate of the Duke d'Enghien, he found that the Bourbons, if inferior to his uncle in capacity, were his superiors in generosity. After an examination of two hours before the chief of the police in Paris, he was informed that his punishment was restricted to banishment to the United States of America for ten years, whither he was to be conducted on board one of the government vessels. The Prince conducted himself with dignity in these trying circumstances, expressing his gratitude to the King for his clemency, but preferring no petition but for his companions in misfortune. He soon after embarked for the place of his destination; but his career was not destined to be terminated in the New World, and ere long he returned to Europe, to visit his dying mother—the scene of his ambition, his perils, and his ultimate greatness.[1]

80. Humane conduct of the Government to Louis Napoleon.

[1] Vie de L. Napoleon, i. 31, 32; L. Blanc, v. 193; Ann. Hist. xix. 246, 247.

The course of events soon demonstrated that the Government had acted not less wisely than humanely in adopting this course towards this formidable competitor, and that any attempt to bring him to trial would have produced such a convulsion as would, in all probability, have overturned the throne. On the 6th January 1837, the principal parties, other than the Prince

81. Trial and acquittal of the Strasburg conspirators. Jan. 6.

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himself, concerned in the Strasburg revolt, were brought to trial before the ordinary court of assizes of Strasburg, and the proceeding excited the utmost interest in every part of France. Among the accused were both civilians and military persons. In the former category were found MM. de Persigny, Lombard, and Gros; in the latter, Colonel Vaudrey, Lieutenants Laity and Querelles, —in all seven. The former were condemned for non-appearance, but the latter were all in custody; and, as if the Government specially desired to give the whole proceeding a theatrical air, there was brought to trial along with them a young and handsome actress, Mademoiselle Gordon, who had entered into the conspiracy with all the enthusiasm of her sex and profession. The evidence against the military was perfectly clear, for they had been seized in open rebellion against their sovereign; and that against their fascinating female accomplice was not less decisive, for she had been taken in the very act of burning a number of letters which compromised herself not less than others. So strong, however, was the popular feeling on the subject in Alsace, that from the first it was evident that a conviction was impossible. The trial speedily became, as all political trials do in France and Ireland, not a judicial investigation into guilt or innocence, but a civil tournament or wager of battle between the chiefs of contending parties, who exchange deadly thrusts at each other, with a scaffold or civic ovation hanging on the issue. After several days' suspense, during which the interest and enthusiasm of the people went on hourly increasing, they were all acquitted, in the face of the clearest evidence, amidst universal applause. Lamartine afterwards said with truth, in the Chamber of Deputies, that the issue of this trial was a lasting disgrace to the administration of justice in France; [1] and, with many others in that country and Ireland, as well as some in the Highlands of Scotland, suggests the doubt whether trial by jury is suited for the ardent tempera-

L. Blanc, v. 195, 197; Cap. ix. 181, 184; Ann. Hist. xix. 247, 249.

ment of the Celtic race, and whether it can safely be intrusted to any other than the Teutonic.*

1837. 82. Law for disjunction of trials, which is rejected.

The Government were extremely disconcerted by this acquittal, the more especially as the evidence, especially against the military, was so decisive, and their conviction before a court-martial would have been certain. A strong sense of the necessity of the case, and of the impossibility of intrusting juries with the trial of military men in political cases, induced them to bring forward a measure on the subject, which excited a very warm opposition, and presented the only feature worthy of notice in the legislative session of 1837. To understand this subject, it is necessary to premise that, by the French law, when several persons were to be tried for their accession to an offence committed in common by several persons, some civil, some military, they required all to be tried before the *same tribunal;* and it was on account of this necessity that so many political cases embracing both sets of

* Prince Louis Napoleon, who acted most generously and honourably in this whole affair, was extremely desirous to have shared the trial and fate of the other conspirators at Strasburg, instead of being sent to America. He composed, during the few days he was in prison at Strasburg, a speech in his own defence, intended for the jury, which concluded with these remarkable words:—"J'ai voulu faire la révolution par l'armée, parcequ'elle offrait plus de chances de réussite, et pour éviter aussi les désordres si fréquentes dans les bouleversements sociaux. Je me suis gravement trompé dans l'exécution de mon projet, mais cela fait encore moins d'honneur à des vieux militaires qui revoyant l'aigle n'ont pas senti le cœur battre dans leur poitrine. Ils m'ont parlé de nouveaux serments, oubliant que c'est la présence de douze cent mille étrangers qui les a déliés de celui qu'ils avaient prêté. Or un principe détruit par la force peut être rétabli par la force: JE CROIS AVOIR UNE MISSION A REMPLIR: JE SAURAI GARDER MON RÔLE JUSQU'A LA FIN."—*Histoire de Louis Napoléon*, i. 29, 30.

The idea of a destiny, and his having a mission to perform, was throughout a fixed one in Louis Napoleon's mind. No disasters shook his confidence in his star, or his belief in the ultimate fulfilment of his destiny. This is well known to all who were intimate with him in this country after he returned from America in 1837. Among other noble houses the hospitality of which he shared was that of the Duke of Montrose at Buchanan, near Lochlomond, and the Duke of Hamilton at Brodick Castle, in the island of Arran. His manner in both was in general grave and taciturn; he was wrapt in the contemplation of the future, and indifferent to the present. In 1839, the present Earl of W——, then Lord B——, came to visit the Author, after having been some days with Louis Napoleon at Buchanan House. One of the first things he said was, "Only think of that young man Louis Napoleon:

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defenders had been sent to the Supreme Court of the Chamber of Peers, which was competent to both. As the proceedings of April 1835, however, had sufficiently proved the inconvenience attendant on trials before that tribunal, Count Molé now brought forward a bill, the object of which was to allow civilians to be tried before the ordinary jury-courts, and military men before courts-martial, in the case of political offences committed by them in common. This proposal was certainly no great violation of the liberties of the subject, for it only proposed to subject military persons to the trial of their military superiors, and civil to that of the ordinary tribunals. It excited, however, the most violent heats and animosities, and, like all other proceedings at that period in France, whether judicial or legislative, speedily ran into a debate between the Movement and Conservative parties.

"Why," said M. Dupin, "when a political offence has

nothing can persuade him he is not to be Emperor of France: the Strasburg affair has not in the least shaken him; he is thinking constantly of what he is to do when on the throne." The Duke of N—— also said to the author in 1854: "Several years ago, before the Revolution of 1848, I met Louis Napoleon often at Brodick Castle in Arran. We frequently went out to shoot together; neither cared much for the sport, and we soon sat down on a heathery brow of Goatfell, and began to speak seriously. He always opened these conferences by discoursing on what he would do when he was Emperor of France. Among other things, he said he would obtain a grant from the Chambers to drain the marshes of the Bries, which, you know, once fully cultivated, became flooded when the inhabitants, who were chiefly Protestants, left the country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and what is very curious, I see in the newspapers of the day that he has got a grant of two millions of francs from the Chambers to begin the draining of these very marshes." All that belongs to Louis Napoleon is now public property, and these noble persons will forgive the author if he endeavours to rescue from oblivion anecdotes so eminently illustrative of the *fixity of purpose* which is the most remarkable feature in that very eminent man's character. This idea of destiny, of a star, or a mission, which are only different words for the same thing, will be found to have been a fixed belief in most men who attain to ultimate greatness. Whether it is that the disposition of mind which leads to such a belief works out its own accomplishment, by the energy and perseverance which it infuses into the character, and which enables its possessor to rise superior to all the storms of fate, or that Providence darkly reveals to the chosen instruments of great things—"the vessels of honour" to which the working out of its purposes in human affairs is intrusted—enough of the future to secure its accomplishment, will for ever remain a mystery in this world.

83. Argument of M. Dupin against the law.

been committed by a soldier in conjunction with citizens, is the former to be subjected to a peculiar and exceptional tribunal? Is it that a jury is indifferent to discipline in the army? Is it that it prefers disorder? Is it that the proprietor, the merchant, do not know that without order their labour is valueless, and that the discipline of the army is its sole guarantee? Military law, it is said, requires prompt execution. Be it so. Will you renounce the confronting the witnesses with the accused? If, on the other hand, you delay the case for bringing them forward, the proposed witnesses may in the interim be condemned to death. And if not, what can be more cruel than to keep a man during three or four months under the stroke of death? Is not his punishment quadrupled by such barbarity? And if the courts-martial do their work, I see something still more terrible; the public accuser presenting himself with bloody heads in his hand to demand those which have not yet fallen. The proposed law destroys the sentiment which makes a good soldier. What attaches the soldier to his country? It is the memory of the home of his father, of the field of his infancy, of the cemetery which has received the ashes of his father, and is to receive his own. It is the memory of his little country which attaches him to the great one. It is good citizens alone who make good soldiers. 'Justice,' said Napoleon, 'is one only in France—the citizen precedes the soldier.' Thence it is that the crimes of the soldier should be submitted to the civil courts; to the jury, which is an epitome of the nation. If you make of the army a body apart, as was formerly the case with the clergy—if, after having put arms into their hands, you invest them with the right to employ them in self-executed justice, you abdicate the right of judging; you invest them with a terrible right, which may ere long be turned against your country and yourselves." [1]

"Every one is agreed," said M. Lamartine in reply,

[1] Moniteur, Feb. 26, 1837; Ann. Hist. xx. 124; L. Blanc, v. 202.

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84. M. Lamartine's reply.

"that the trials at Strasburg were scandalous in the extreme; but each party seeks to throw the odium off itself upon its opponent. One party accuses the jury, another the Government; all agree that some one is to blame. If the Government were to blame in bringing to trial the subordinate conspirators when the principal was allowed to escape, did that authorise the jury to violate their oaths by acquitting the persons clearly proved to be guilty who were brought before them? Is there any parity of situation between a simple citizen invested with no powers, charged with no responsibility, executing no functions, and a military commander, who can with a word dispose of two or three thousand bayonets, and at once overturn a government, pillage a city, or violate the whole sanctities of private life?—who can, by displacing a battery, cause the loss of one hundred thousand men, or, as at Strasburg, seduce his soldiers to violate all laws, trample under foot all oaths, and light the flames of civil war in a happy land? There is no parallelism between the two cases; there should be none between the courts which should try them. The military man has joined to the crime of which the civilian has been guilty a crime of a still deeper dye, which is exclusively his own—a crime against military honour and subordination; that crime which the common consent of all nations has stigmatised with the name of treason. The proposed disjunction of the trials is therefore justified by the still more marked disjunction between the crimes with which the civil and military accused are severally charged; it is marked out by the immense difference which the nature of things has established between them." [1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xx. 121, 128.

85. The bill is thrown out, and the Ministry still hold on. March 6.

There was much force in these able arguments on both sides; but the question was not determined by any such considerations. It was in reality a trial of strength between the Ministerial and united Opposition parties; for the Royalists on this question united with the Liberals against the Centre, which had hitherto commanded the

majority. The result was, that the bill was thrown out by a majority of TWO ; the numbers being 211 to 209 ! It was the same minute majority which had overturned the Administration of M. Thiers, and introduced that of Count Molé. The excitement, therefore, upon this division was very great, and it was generally thought the Ministers would resign. The ministerial papers, however, announced next morning that the Government would not retire before so small a majority ; but it was nevertheless foreseen that it had received a mortal stroke, and that it was only a question of time, when a fresh combination would be necessary to regain the majority in the Chamber. It was emphatically a *new combination*, not an entire change of ministry, which was required. No one thought of either M. Berryer and the Extreme Droit, or M. Odillon Barrot and the Extreme Gauche, being intrusted with the formation of an administration. It was a slight modification in the Centre, which might change a few votes, which alone was thought of or required, to found a ministry of the ephemeral duration which alone was now practicable;—a state of things precisely analogous to that which, at the same period, obtained in the British House of Commons ; but which, of course, in both assemblies, was fatal to all projects of important legislation, and deprives their debates for a series of years of much of the interest which had previously attached to them.[1]

[1] Moniteur, March 8, 1837; Ann. Hist. xx. 136, 137.

86. Modification of the Ministry. April 15.

The crisis of the Ministry, which Government foresaw, but strove to postpone, was, however, not long of coming on. After struggling on several weeks, without any real majority in the Chamber, and consequently reduced to the necessity of postponing or abandoning every measure on which opposition might be expected, Ministers found their situation too uncomfortable, and Count Molé resigned his office. It was at first proposed to form a new Cabinet, in which Count Molé should resume his position as Premier, and Marshal Soult, Count Montalivet, and M. Hermann, might lend him

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their support. It was soon found, however, that such a combination offered no chance of success, and, on Count Molé's advice, the King sent for M. Guizot, and that accomplished statesman offered a list in which M. de Broglie was to be Prime Minister, M. Guizot Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Thiers of the Interior. This project, however, also failed, chiefly in consequence of the strong views which M. Thiers still entertained on the subject of Spanish intervention. Various other combinations were proposed, with no better success; indicating in the clearest manner that the object was not to supplant one party by another, or change one policy for another, but to form such a Ministry as might, by a skilful combination of the leaders of parties, secure a small majority for Government among their followers. At length, after nearly a month spent in vain endeavours, the *Moniteur* of 16th April announced the definitive arrangement, which was, that Count Molé resumed his place as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. de Barthé Minister of Justice, in room of M. Persil; M. de Montalivet Minister of the Interior, instead of M. de Gasparin; M. de Salvandy Minister of Public Instruction, in room of M. Guizot; and M. Lacune Laplaque Minister of Finance, instead of M. Duchatel. By this arrangement, both the Gauche and Doctrinaires were excluded, and the Ministry was more completely conservative than any since the Revolution of 1830.[1]

[1] Moniteur, April 16, 1837; Ann. Hist. xx. 163, 164; Cap. ix. 240, 245.

87. Marriage of the Duke of Orléans.

More fortunate in foreign diplomacy than in internal legislation, Count Molé had, before this period, arranged what was deemed an advantageous marriage for the Duke of Orléans. The times were far distant when the hand of the heir-apparent of France was an object of ambition to all the crowned heads in Europe: it was deemed a fortunate move when the son of the Citizen King obtained the daughter of a third-rate German prince. The vision of a Prussian or Austrian princess— the daughter of the

Archduke Charles, or the royal house of Brandenburg, had melted into thin air; and the young Prince, with every amiable and attractive quality, underwent the penalty of his father's doubtful title to the throne. M. Bresson, however, the French minister at Berlin, at length succeeded in arranging a marriage between the Prince-Royal and the Princess Helen-Louisa Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick Louis, Grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Born on the 24th January 1814, the princess was in her twenty-fourth year, and endowed with every quality which could fit her for the brilliant but eventful career for which she was destined. She had been bred up in the Lutheran faith; but this, which would have been an insurmountable objection to the old family, was little regarded in the tolerant ideas of more recent times. The Chamber of Deputies, with the economical feelings of the class from which they sprang, made considerable difficulties about the settlement on the prince, and the dowry and jointure of the princess; but at length this delicate matter was arranged, if not to the satisfaction, at least with the concurrence of all parties. The allowance to the prince was fixed at 2,000,000 francs (£80,000) a-year, with 1,000,000 (£40,000) for the marriage expenses, and the jointure of the princess at 300,000 francs (£12,000) a-year. A more serious opposition arose upon a proposal for a dowry to the Queen of the Belgians, which had never been definitively fixed; but at length it was settled at 1,000,000 francs (£40,000)—less than many private gentlemen in England give their daughters.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xx. 199, 205; Cap. ix. 250, 252.

88. Preparations for the marriage, and general amnesty.

This marriage was fixed to take place in the end of May; and the prince signalised it in the most suitable way, by the magnificent donations which he made, and establishments which he set on foot, for the succour of the indigent and relief of the poor. The sums gifted in this way amounted to 370,000 francs (£15,000), and this was accompanied by a great promotion in the army,

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and profuse distribution of honours and dignities by the Crown. A still more important act accompanied the marriage, which the King had long meditated, and which came with peculiar grace on this joyous occasion. This was a general amnesty for all persons in custody for political offences, which was published by royal ordonnance on May 8. This wise and humane act was accompanied by one commuting the punishment of death pronounced against Victor Boirier and François Meunier —who had been convicted of an attempt on the King's life by firing into his carriage, though happily without effect, as he was going in state to the Legislative Body, on the first day of the session, accompanied by his two sons—into ten years' banishment. With truth did M. Barthé, the Keeper of the Seals, say in the report which preceded the ordonnance: "Sire, a great act of clemency has long been the wish of your heart; but, before yielding to the impulse, it was necessary that the vanquished parties should not be able to ascribe the oblivion of their faults to any other motive but your generosity. Now order is confirmed: your Government is armed with the salutary laws which have saved France, and would save it anew should fresh attempts be made. The national guard and the army have just testified their loyalty by their acclamations. The entire nation will join in testifying their gratitude for a step which confirms your throne by founding it in clemency. Such an act cannot but be regarded as a magnificent testimony to the power of the laws. Your Majesty, after having combated more and punished less than any other sovereign, will now have pardoned all."[1]

May 8.

[1] Ordonnance, May 8, 1837; Moniteur, Cap. ix. 255, 256; Ann. Hist. xx. 266, 267.

The princess was received in France with the universal burst of joy which had saluted Marie-Antoinette sixty years before like her, she seemed to tread on air from the time she crossed the Rhine till she arrived in Paris. Her reception there was magnificent in the highest degree, and was assimilated in the minutest points of cere-

monial to those observed on that memorable occasion. Unhappily the identity went still farther; and a calamity of mournful presage concluded the festivities on the last as on the first occasion. On the 14th June, the Champ de Mars was filled with an immense crowd, to witness a superb military fête which was held there, and which excited the utmost enthusiasm. The spectacle was over, and the crowd, which had been scattered over the Champ de Mars, was returning to Paris, when the pressure at the wicket of the Ecole Militaire became so great that numbers of persons were thrown down, and trodden under foot, or suffocated. Four-and-twenty persons perished on this occasion: a catastrophe deplorable amidst a scene of public rejoicing, but doubly so from the analogy which immediately struck every mind to the similar disaster which overshadowed the festivities at the marriage of Marie-Antoinette.[1]

89. Marriage of the Prince, and subsequent catastrophe. May 28. June 14.

[1] Hist. of Europe, c. ix. § 42; Ann. Hist. xx. 274, 275; Cap. ix. 258, 259.

Amidst the rejoicings consequent on this marriage was completed a design which the King had long had in preparation, and which consisted in converting the stately pile of Versailles into a museum of the fine arts, especially devoted to the illustration of the military and civil glories of France. The project was nobly conceived, and carried out in the grandest manner. The first storey was devoted exclusively to the illustration of the reign of Louis XIV., the founder of the palace: in it were assembled the portraits of the victorious paladins, statesmen, and poets of that brilliant epoch, executed by the artist whose genius has done so much to perpetuate its lustre. The era of the Revolution next succeeded: in it were represented the principal events of that heart-stirring period, with portraits of Kleber, Carnot, Lafayette, and the other eminent men who signalised its course. The glories of the Empire, the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram, were next represented, with portraits and statues of the Marshals of France, the statesmen and warriors who illustrated that immortal

90. Inauguration of the palace of Versailles as a palace of the arts.

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epoch. Nor were the Revolution of 1830, the siege of Antwerp, and the recent victories in Africa, forgotten; they stood in bright prominence beside the king, princes, statesmen, and warriors of the present time. The idea was a magnificent one, and it was magnificently executed; combining thus, in one splendid structure, the recollections of the past with the glories of the present, history with philosophy, war with peace, art with science, the *chef-d'œuvres* of Lebrun with those of Le Gros and Horace Vernet, and presenting to the mind a vast accumulation of the whole efforts of genius, during many generations, in every department of human exertion. The museum thus grandly conceived has survived the throne of its author, and it now remains one of the most interesting of the many interesting objects which attract the youth of the whole civilised world to the French capital. To a bourgeois legislature, intent on economy, it was no small recommendation that this sumptuous collection had been made by the King without any grant from the Chambers, and by mere savings on the civil list.[1]

[1] Cap. ix. 266, 269; Ann. Hist. xx. 270, 274; L. Blanc, v. 246, 248.

91. Fresh political societies.

While these splendid spectacles were dazzling the Parisians, more passionately fond than any people of Europe of exhibitions of this description, the ground was still stirred beneath their feet by political societies, and the vigilance of Government was unceasingly exerted in discovering and counteracting conspiracies for its own overthrow. The political societies, struck at by the laws of September 1835, had for the most part been dissolved, but they had been re-formed under different names, and ceaseless efforts were made to enlist large numbers of the working classes in their ranks. Unfortunately, the condition of the manufacturers of France at this period was miserable in the extreme, and formed a lamentable contrast to the splendour exhibited in the higher classes of society. The consequences of the monetary crisis which commenced in England during this year, the causes and effects of which will be explained in the next chapter, had

now extended to France; bankruptcies were frequent among the trading classes, and the operatives in the great towns were at the lowest point of depression. In a single week, in the city of Paris, the cash drawn out of the savings banks amounted to the enormous sum of 1,766,000 francs (£70,000)! Facts of this kind demonstrate at once the existence of some great evils in society, and the precarious foundation on which, in spite of its apparent security, the Government in reality rested — as the chinks on the surface of a volcano sometimes give the trembling passenger a glimpse into the furnace which is glowing beneath his feet.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 207, 208.

92. Dissolution of the Chamber.

These sufferings, however, were chiefly felt among the working class, to whom the suffrage did not extend; and Count Molé, feeling the extreme difficulty of carrying on the Government with so very slender a majority as he could at present command, determined on a dissolution. The moment appeared favourable to such a measure. The present Chamber had sat only two years; but the aspect of public affairs, and public opinion itself, had materially changed during that period. The great contest with the Republicans, for the present at least, was over; the secret societies, though still existing, were intimidated; the amnesty had diffused universal satisfaction; the temper of the National Guard was excellent; and the fêtes on occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Orléans had both diffused general pleasure, and, by the expenditure among the different orders they had occasioned, had materially alleviated the distress of the working classes. The King entered into these views, and soon after the prorogation of the Chamber, it was dissolved by proclamation. The result, though it somewhat ameliorated the condition of the Minister, was far from giving him a fair working majority: it amounted only to fifteen votes.[2] This number, in the divided state of the Chamber, was so small that it could not be relied on in

[2] Cap. ix. 338, 339; L. Blanc, v. 302, 309.

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any serious crisis, and left the Government of France in the same pitiable state of weakness in which, from the same cause, that of England had been for two years.*

93. Affairs of Africa.

It is now time to resume the thread of the colonial history of France in Africa, which had become interesting and important in the very highest degree. The gradual progress of the French from the sea-coast of Algeria had brought them in contact with more formidable and sturdy tribes in the interior, as the advance of the English from the coast of Malabar had brought them into collision with the Mahrattas and Sikhs of Hindostan. The expedition to Algiers had been nobly conceived by the Government of the Restoration, and ably executed by its generals; and the French possessions, when Louis Philippe succeeded, extended all along the sea-coast from Bona on the east to Oran on the west. This was nearly the extent of ancient Libya, so long the granary of the Roman Empire, and which in its flourishing days contained twenty millions of inhabitants. The land was still as fertile, the sun as bright, the climate as salubrious, as when it was the mainstay of the ancient masters of the world; and such were its resources that it might, under judicious management, have been rendered a most valuable offshoot of the French empire, and have for ages to come furnished a safe and capacious outlet for the swarms of prolétaires which crowded its cities and endangered its tranquillity.

* The calculation made of the result of the elections of September 1837 was as follows :—

Ministerialists.		*Opposition.*	
Doctrinaires Purs,	13	Extrême Droit,	18
Sous-Doctrinaires,	21	Socialists,	4
Legitimistes ralliés,	25	Extrême Gauche,	19
Banc de la Cour,	16	Gauche Modéré,	62
Ministeriels quand-même,	50	Centre Gauche,	119
Ministeriels,	82		
Douteux,	30		222
	237		

—CAPEFIGUE, ix. 339, note.

The migratory Arabs, and their annual migration.

A very curious circumstance facilitates the colonisation of this fruitful region, and has often rendered the possessor of the sea-coast, in the end, master of the interior to the foot of the Atlas, which rears its lofty head into the clouds, and separates Libya from the parched wilderness of the Sahara Desert. The fertile district in the north, adjoining the coast, still called from its Latin name *Tell* (Tellus), is inhabited by tribes of Arabs, who acknowledge, according to the Eastern ideas consecrated in the Koran, no property in land, but in the actual cultivators. Living in tents, and cultivating now one piece of ground, now another, they were truly a *nomad agricultural race*, and in every age, from Jugurtha downwards, they have defended their country with courage and vigour. But farther to the south, on the slopes and ridges and lofty plateaus which ascend towards the Atlas, the inhabitants were of a still more migratory character. Shut out by the sterility of the soil and the variable nature of the climate, where storms of rain and snow, attracted by the cold summits of the Atlas, are frequent, from the labours of agriculture, they dwell in the mountains with their flocks and herds only in the winter and spring; and when the heats of summer set in they migrate regularly, with camels laden with dates and wool, to the land of labour in the north, where they assist in getting in the harvest, with a portion of which they return on the approach of winter to the moist pastures and fruit-bearing slopes on their native hills. Thus Nature has established a lasting and beneficial industrial intercourse between the cultivators of the plain and the nomads on the high table-lands in the interior; and the possessors of the former enjoy the means of establishing the most durable of all influences which man can acquire over man—that which arises from furnishing employment and giving subsistence.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 146, 147.

After many ages of harassing and almost incessant warfare, the Romans had established a permanent dominion over these migratory tribes. They had penetrated their

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95. The conquests of the Romans and Saracens.

fastnesses, bridged their ravines, and established strongholds on all their most important heights. So complete had been the military possession thus acquired, that subsequent conquerors have done little more than advance on their footsteps, take advantage of their highways, and erect fortresses on the foundations of their walls. From the sea-coast to the inaccessible ridges of the Atlas, fifty leagues in the interior, the country is traversed by Roman roads and covered by Roman monuments; the Arabs, the Turks, the Europeans, have successively fought on the ancient fields, traversed the ancient bridges, and restored the ancient fortresses. When the Osmanlis established by force and fraud the sway of the Crescent in the regions for which Jugurtha contended, they erected their bastions on the hills which the successors of Scipio had fortified, and with the materials of which their strongholds had been constructed; and when the Spaniards in one age, and the French in another, brought the resources of civilised skill and science to bear on the fortitude of barbarian valour, the principal difficulty with which they had to contend arose from the judgment with which the ancient masters of the world had selected their points of defence, and the skill with which they had prepared them against the attacks of any assailant.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 147, 149.

96. Faults of the French Government after the Revolution.

Had the French Government, after the Revolution, been actuated by prophetic wisdom, or even inspired with the ordinary feelings of patriotism, it would have been an easy matter, comparatively speaking, to have established their authority over all the immense and valuable territory between the Mediterranean and the Atlas which in former times obeyed the Roman sway. All that was required was vigour and perseverance in the outset, followed by protection and paternal government, and the Arabs equally with the natives would have submitted to them as the appointed of God, and blessed their dominion as a deliverance from evil. Any change from the desolation of Ottoman oppression must always be felt as a blessing.

But unfortunately neither did the French Government, after the Restoration, possess the means of exerting the requisite strength to fascinate the minds and subdue the resistance of the Orientals, nor was the French character suited to the lasting labours or pacific duties of colonisation. The Chamber of Deputies could not be persuaded, by any efforts on the part of the Ministry, to vote the sum necessary to establish a powerful dominion in Africa. A considerable party regarded their possessions there as an unprofitable and useless burden bequeathed to them by the folly of the Restoration; another thought it should be reduced to the narrowest limits, and restricted to a few fortified posts on the sea-coast. The few who regarded them in their true light as a valuable outlet for the surplus urban population of France, which should be extended to its natural limits between the ocean and the Atlas, were regarded as mere dreamers, and constituted only a fraction of the Assembly. The consequence was, that this noble colony was allowed to languish for want of adequate support; and while not less than 40,000 men were requisite to place it on a respectable footing, the whole armed force, for some years after the Revolution, was under 10,000 men.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 148, 154.

97. The Numidian horsemen.

This ruinous reduction of force, the result of the contracted views and economical ideas of the class who, in France as in England, had been elevated to supreme power, was the more disastrous from the character of the tribes with whom, as they advanced into the interior, the French were brought in contact. Unlike the laborious inhabitant of the fertile fields of the Tell, the Arabs of the interior have inherited all the warlike qualities of their Numidian predecessors, so often felt as formidable by the Roman legions. Mounted on swift steeds of the Arab breed, which they manage with extraordinary skill and dexterity, they are equally embarrassing to an advancing, and formidable to a retreating army. Like the Cossacks, and indeed all Eastern nations, they ride with

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very short stirrups, and seated on saddles generally nine inches above their horses' backs; a state of things altogether foreign to the rules of the European *manège*, but which gives them such command of their steeds, and of their own weapons, that they can pull the former on their haunches in a few seconds when at full speed, and make use of the latter in the saddle with the coolness and precision of foot-soldiers. Their dress, consisting of a shawl fastened round the body by a girdle, and going over the head, where it is wrapped into a turban, appears at first sight incommodious, but experience has proved it is well adapted to temper the rays of the sun in that burning climate. Intrepid in attack, sturdy in retreat, they are splendidly armed, and can, when required, charge with the utmost impetuosity. But they attach no dishonour to flight; on the contrary, it is one of their principal manœuvres, and one in which, like the Parthians of old, they often face about and discharge their weapons at their pursuers. Like all Asiatics, they do not charge in a mass, but in a swarm, and are generally far from each other when they reach the enemy. But when they do so, none are more swift with their yataghans, or formidable in single combat, and none more ready to descend for a second from their steeds, and cut off the head of a prostrate enemy, which they carry off in triumph at their saddle-bows.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 151, 152.

98. Early difficulties of Marshal Clausel.

From the moment when Marshal Clausel, after the Revolution, set foot in Africa invested with the supreme command, he had endeavoured to carry out the system by which the Romans and Turks had subdued and retained the government of this difficult country and these formidable tribes, which was by establishing a series of armed and fortified posts communicating with each other by roads, and garrisoned by adequate forces. But the forces at his disposal were so much diminished by great numbers being recalled, that so far from carrying out this system, he was barely able to maintain his

ground on the sea-coast against the Arabs, whose chiefs had preached a "holy war" against the infidel invader. General Berthozene, who succeeded him, was still farther weakened; and the result was, that a body of 4500 French, half the effective force of the colony, on its return from an expedition into the interior, was attacked in a rocky defile by the Arabs, and defeated with the loss of three hundred men. This disaster led to a change in the government, and the Duke of Rovigo (Savary) was invested with the supreme command. But although 5000 fresh troops were sent to Bona, and the tribe of El-Ouffia, which had revolted against the French, was, by a frightful abuse of military power, *totally destroyed*, no material progress was made in the reduction of the country; and in March 1833, when the Duke of Rovigo, seized with a malady which ere long proved mortal, returned to France, the French power extended in reality little beyond the environs of Algiers in the centre, Bona on the east, and Oran on the west.[1]

1831. Aug. 18, 1831.

[1] L. Blanc, v. 134, 137.

99. Abd-el-Kader: his character.

At this time there arose in the interior of the latter province one of those remarkable men so frequent in every page of Eastern story, who, by their single vigour and capacity, reinstate the fortunes of their country, and not unfrequently change the face of the world. ABD-EL-KADER, the son of a marabout or chief, renowned for his piety in the neighbourhood, had been long regarded by the tribes in his vicinity as the future liberator of Africa, and avenger of Islamism. Ambitious, but yet prudent; enthusiastic, but calm; decided, but cautious, he presented that combination of fanaticism with dissimulation which forms the foundation of the Muscovite character, and which has so often prevailed over all the intelligence and ability of the West. Impressed, as so many other great men in all ages have been, with the idea of a Divine mission, he pursued the path requisite to work it out with equal patience, perseverance, and vigour. Like his countrymen in a charge, he knew when to feign a retreat, and

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when to give the reins to his force, and thunder with resistless vigour in pursuit. The maxim of Machiavel, "*Qui non sa dissimulare non sa regnare,*" * expresses his character, as it does that of most savage chiefs, whether under the Arab turban or the Muscovite uniform. But this power of dissimulation was combined in him, as it often is in others, with ardent patriotism, and a religious devotion to the cause of Islamism.

100. His first successes.

At the voice of this intrepid warrior, the religious zealots and the ardent patriots of the province of Oran took fire; and Abd-el-Kader, taking advantage of their enthusiasm, ventured on the decisive step. He proclaimed himself Emir of Tlemson, detached a body of men to the harbour of Arzew, of which he got possession, and marched on Mortanegem, which also fell into his hands. The least hesitation would now have ruined the French power in the west of Algeria. But General Desmichels showed himself equal to the emergency. Instead of waiting to be attacked in Oran, he issued from its gates, regained Arzew and Mortanegem, and twice defeated Abd-el-Kader in pitched battles. Had he possessed an adequate force he might have then crushed the Emir, and terminated the war in Africa. But his numbers were so few that nothing of the kind could be thought of, and he deemed himself fortunate to be able to conclude a peace with him, which, like all others between the Christians and Mahommedans, is only to be regarded as a truce, and confirmed rather than weakened the Emir's authority, by recognising him as an independent power, with whom alliances were to be formed and treaties made.[1]

Feb. 26, 1834.

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 296, 302; L. Blanc, v. 136, 139.

101. Disaster of General Trezel.

The French Government at this period was undecided whether to retain or abandon their possessions in Africa, and the consequence was that the war was starved in every quarter. The effects of the ruinous reduction of force, which the Chambers had forced upon the Government, were soon apparent. Abd-el-Kader, on

* He who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign.

whose pacific disposition General Desmichels had too confidently relied, now openly threw off the mask, crossed the river Cheliff, the boundary between the French territories and his own, and advanced to Medeah, which he entered in triumph amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the inhabitants. General Trezel advanced to meet him with 2300 men, and encountered the Mussulman army, 8000 strong, posted in very advantageous ground. After a sanguinary encounter the French were obliged to fall back. The retreat, as is ever the case in presence of the redoubtable horsemen of the East, proved disastrous in the extreme. The Arabs charged the wearied Europeans with the utmost vigour and loud cries, giving them no rest night or day. At length, after having performed prodigies of valour, the French corps was entirely broken; a small part, consisting of some hundreds, only succeeded in reaching Arzew—while the Arabs celebrated their victory, after their barbarous manner, by erecting a ghastly pile of heads on the scene of their triumph on the banks of the Marta.[1]

June 26, 1835.

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 371, 373; L. Blanc, v. 163, 164.

102. Victory of Marshal Clausel. Nov. 26, 1835.

At the intelligence of this success, a universal burst of acclamation was heard over the North of Africa, of grief and indignation over France. The Arabs flocked in crowds to the standard of the victorious Emir: penetrated with sorrow, the French loudly called for Marshal Clausel to be restored to the command, to redeem the national honour. He was sent back, accordingly, with ample powers, and a considerable augmentation of force; and the Government, finding the national feelings now fairly roused, ventured on a firm proclamation, in which they declared that the honour of France required that the possessions in Africa should be maintained. As soon as the marshal landed in Africa, he organised an expedition of 10,000 men against Mascara, the capital of their formidable enemy. It set out on 26th November 1835, and marched straight on that town, accompanied by the Duke de Nemours, who shared the dangers and honours

July 28, 1835.

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of the enterprise. The Arabs, of equal force, under Abd-el-Kader, soon presented themselves, but they were not in sufficient strength to stop the march of the French ;

Nov. 29.

and after two unsuccessful encounters, the Emir took the resolution of abandoning his capital to the enemy. Clausel arrived at nightfall before the walls of Mascara, and they were preparing for a desperate assault on the morrow, when a few soldiers, who had penetrated into the suburbs, arrived with intelligence that the place was

Dec. 6.

abandoned. The French troops immediately advanced into the town, which they found entirely deserted. The streets were desolate, the houses evacuated, and instead of the ten thousand warriors of Abd-el-Kader, they found no living creature in his capital but an old woman seated on torn fragments of mats.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xvii. 375, 382; L. Blanc, v. 165, 166.

103. Capture of Tlemson by Abd-el-Kader, and its recovery by Clausel.

Finding Mascara abandoned and ruined, Marshal Clausel, after completing its destruction by fire, retreated to Mortanegem, which he strongly garrisoned, and established as the centre of the French power in that quarter. Deeming the campaign over, the Duke de Nemours returned to Oran, from whence he immediately embarked for Toulon ; while Marshal Clausel put his wearied troops into winter-quarters. But the indefatigable Emir gave them no repose. Irritated rather than weakened by the destruction of his capital, he moved towards Tlemson, in which town he had numerous partisans, by whom he was admitted within the walls. He immediately laid siege to the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French party, and was on the point of reducing it, when Clausel, having broken up from his

Jan. 6.

winter-quarters, advanced to its relief. The French troops, with their wonted spirit, marched over a desert plain for thirty-five leagues, until at length Tlemson appeared, splendidly situated on the summit of a hill covered with olives, surmounted by mountains, whose snowy summits were, in that wintry season, lost in the clouds. Like Mascara, Tlemson was, on a nearer ap-

proach, found to be abandoned: Marshal Clausel entered it on the 13th, and immediately imposed a contribution of 500,000 francs (£20,000) on the inhabitants, as a punishment for their perfidy, and retired, after having reinforced the garrison of the citadel with 500 men. A brigade was detached in pursuit of Abd-el-Kader, and followed him so closely that he was indebted for his escape to the fleetness of his horse. Not a fifth part of the heavy contribution imposed by the French ever could be extracted from the unhappy inhabitants, and the attempt to levy it only increased the dislike generally felt at their rule by the natives of Africa.[1]

Jan. 13.

[1] Ann. Hist. xviii. 253, 255; L. Blanc, v. 166, 167.

104. Ahmed Bey of Constantine joins the league against the French.

While fortune was thus alternately inclining to one side and another in the province of Oran, the western of the French possessions in Africa, a new enemy, hardly less formidable than the indefatigable Emir, was arising in its eastern extremity. Hadgi-Ahmed, Bey of CONSTANTINE, was there as actively engaged as Abd-el-Kader in organising resistance to the French domination; and with such success were his endeavours attended, that their real dominion was confined to the range of cannon-shot round the walls occupied by their troops. Even in the central province of Algiers, the beys established in the French interest by Marshal Clausel at Medeah and Miliana had found it impossible to retain their authority. In a word, the people were everywhere against their invaders, and, animated by the double spirit of religious zeal and patriotic devotion, they were, along the whole North of Africa, linked together in a secret league, like the Spaniards in the former war, for their expulsion. The French Government, in consequence, wisely determined to strike at Constantine, the heart of hostility in the East, as Tlemson was in the western provinces. But the Chamber of Deputies, governed by the wretched spirit of short-sighted economy, threw such difficulties in the way of the requisite grants, that Marshal Clausel, in the middle of April,[2] embarked in person for France, to

[2] Ann. Hist. xix. 254, 255; L. Blanc, v. 169, 170.

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lay before the Government the real state of affairs, and the absolute necessity of large reinforcements.

105. Operations in Western Algeria, and victory of the Sickak. July 5.

During his absence on that necessary mission, important operations had taken place in Western Algeria. Clausel had there directed the construction of a fortified camp on the banks of the river Tafna, to form the centre of communication between the garrison of Tlemson and the sea-coast of Oran. To effect this object, General d'Arlanger moved with 3000 men and eight guns to the banks of that river, where he commenced the construction of the requisite works. Abd-el-Kader attacked him with 10,000 men, and was vigorously repulsed; but meanwhile the situation of the garrison of Tlemson, which was sorely straitened for provisions, became so alarming, that the French general gallantly advanced with half his force to see if he could discover any mode of throwing in relief. Attacked immediately by the Emir with greatly superior force, the little band of heroes was speedily enveloped on all sides by the Arab horse, and only made their retreat good to the fortified camp with infinite difficulty, and with the loss of 250 men killed and wounded, among the latter of whom was General d'Arlanger himself. The intrenched camp was immediately blockaded by the victorious Arabs, and the lines drawn still closer round Tlemson, while General Rapatel, who, in the absence of Marshal Clausel, commanded in Algiers, was himself too hard pressed to be able to render any assistance. In this extremity it would soon have been all over with the French in the province of Oran, when deliverance came, and victory was again chained to their standards by the succour which the urgent representations of Marshal Clausel had extorted from the French Chamber. In the end of June, when the blockaded French on the Tafna were reduced to the last extremity, GENERAL BUGEAUD appeared on the coast of Oran with 4500 men, and immediately made his way to the blockaded garrison. Having relieved it, he proceeded to Tlemson; but on the

April 28.

way thither he was met at the passage of the river SICKAK, by Abd-el-Kader at the head of 7000 men, of whom 1200 were foot-soldiers disciplined in the European fashion. A furious conflict ensued, in which both parties evinced the greatest resolution, and the Emir the genius of a consummate commander. At length the discipline and courage of the Europeans prevailed over the impetuous valour of the Orientals; the Arabs were entirely defeated, and driven headlong over the precipitous sides of a ravine, where great numbers of them perished. The Emir himself escaped with a few followers, but so broken in fortune and ruined in general estimation that many of his allies deserted him. Tlemson was revictualled, and the blockade of the camp of La Tafna raised, and the French power in the west of Algeria established on a solid foundation.[1]

July 5.

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 260, 267; L. Blanc, v. 169, 171.

106. Preparations for the siege of Constantine.

When Marshal Clausel arrived at Paris, he demanded 30,000 regular troops, and 4000 irregulars. "With such a force," said he, "I will subdue the interior; if you confine yourself to the sea-coast, you will soon be driven into the sea." Notwithstanding the obvious truth of these words, they were far from meeting with general concurrence. "Algiers," said M. de Broglie, "is nothing but a *box at the opera*;" a phrase which was warmly applauded by the Doctrinaires, and drew from Talleyrand the cutting remark, "Nothing is more light than a heavy Doctrinaire." A large part of the Chamber embraced these ideas; but the King, whose sagacious mind saw in Algiers an invaluable outlet for his Republican enemies, and field of glory for his soldiers, adopted the opposite views, and strongly urged the necessity of supporting the African settlements. "I love," said he, "to listen to the cannon in Algeria: it is not heard in Europe." M. Thiers, who was still in power, and whose mind was imbued with Napoleon's ideas of making the Mediterranean a French lake, strongly supported the same views. But such was the infatuation of the

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Chamber, and their belief in the saying of M. Dupin, that "Algiers was a fatal legacy bequeathed to us by the Restoration, which must be abandoned if we would not see our last man and last sous swallowed up," that all that their united efforts could extract from the Chamber was 30,000 men for the colony, not 30,000 combatants—a difference which reduced the effectives in the field to little more than 23,000.[1]*

[1] Cap. ix. 186, 200, 202; L. Blanc, v. 171.

107. Commencement of the expedition.

The memoir which Marshal Clausel presented to the Cabinet, and which induced them to sanction the expedition to Constantine, stated: "To avoid the great heats of summer, we must not begin the campaign before the month of November. The distance from Bona to Constantine is twenty-eight leagues, or eight days' march, allowing for unforeseen accidents and partial combats: the country is admirably intersected by ravines, the inhabitants agricultural rather than warlike: you find in that oasis a sort of reflection of the mild manners of Tunis. An expedition would have great chances of success in its favour, and would necessarily be crowned by the capture of Constantine." Impressed with these ideas, and anticipating no serious opposition, Marshal Clausel undertook the expedition, though the whole force he could command was only 7000 men, with a few field-pieces of the lightest calibre, and *no siege artillery*. With this force, perfectly inadequate, as the event proved, to the enterprise undertaken, Marshal Clausel commenced his march for Constantine on the 12th November, carrying provisions for fifteen days.[2]

[2] Ann. Hist. xix. 270, 273; L. Blanc, v. 178, 179; Cap. ix. 190, 191.

The morning on which the army began its march was clear and bright; the day's journey proved in the highest degree agreeable; the natives hastened to bring

* "Je suis convaincu, malgré tous les rêves de colonisation, que nous ne ferons jamais rien de bon en Afrique, surtout en agissant sur une aussi vaste échelle d'opérations,—quand il aurait dû suffire d'y garder seulement quelques points pour empêcher la piraterie de renaitre et entretenir des relations paisibles et honorables avec les indigènes."—M. DUPIN *au* MARÉCHAL CLAUSEL, Dec. 28, 1836; CAPEFIGUE, ix. 202.

108. March on Constantine, and its extreme hardships.

them offerings of vegetables and provisions; and at night they bivouacked on the borders of a cool stream, amidst laurels, roses, wild thyme, cactuses, and fragrant blossoms. Every one went to sleep in the highest spirits, but the wakening was very different. A terrible storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, arose during the night; the rain fell in torrents; and one-half of the oxen employed in dragging the stores took fright at the lightning, broke loose from their fastenings, and disappeared. Cold and wet, the army resumed its march in the morning, and in the evening of the 15th reached and rested amid the Roman ruins of Ghelma. But their condition was daily becoming more deplorable, and the most sinister presentiments had already got possession of the minds of the soldiers. The inhabitants, indeed, were peaceable, and intent only on their flocks and herds. But the rigours of the season were hourly increasing. The rain, accompanied by violent gusts of wind, fell in torrents; night and day the troops were dripping wet; and the cold, felt the more severely that the troops had so long been exposed to the rays of an African sun, became so oppressive that great numbers of the troops perished, or fell out, unable to continue the march. The roads, mere horse-tracks, required to be repaired by the sappers before the carriages could be dragged over them, and even then it was with the utmost difficulty they could be got forward. The thermometer, as they ascended to the higher regions of the Atlas, sank to 25° of Fahrenheit; the country around was covered with snow; and in the interior of Africa the severities of an arctic winter began to be experienced. At length, on the morning of the 20th, after eight days of fatiguing march, and undergoing the severest hardships, the long wished-for towers of Constantine appeared.[1]

[1] Journal de Maréchal Clausel; Cap. ix. 193, 195; L. Blanc, v. 180, 181; Ann. Hist. xix. 273, 274.

Situated on the summit of a conical hill, which the military genius of the Romans had converted into a stronghold of the utmost importance, Constantine pre-

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sented a magnificent spectacle to the French soldiers. The Cirtha of the Numidians and Romans, it recalled, at a distance, from the multitude of its domes and minarets, the aspect of Toledo, or the Moorish cities in Andalusia; but its substantial means of defence were much more formidable than those of any of these cities. Surrounded by a ravine 100 feet deep and 150 broad, with precipices on either side, it was provided by nature with a natural fosse, impossible to pass, save on two bridges of great elevation, which entered the town through strong iron gates, powerfully defended by artillery and loopholed walls. The houses were, for the most part, handsomely built, with flat roofs, after the Eastern fashion, and the environs adorned by the cemeteries and cypresses which give such a picturesque air to oriental cities. The French troops established themselves on the opposite plateau of Mansoura, from whence they gazed with the utmost anxiety on the splendid spectacle, which was illuminated by a passing gleam of sunshine, when the red flag of defiance was hoisted by the Arabs, and several shots from pièces of heavy calibre issued from the ramparts.[1]

109. Description of Constantine.

1 Cap. ix. 193, 195; Ann. Hist. xix. 275; L. Blanc, v. 180, 181.

110. Repulse of the French. Nov. 23.

It was now evident that a surprise was not to be looked for; and as they had neither supplies nor siege artillery for regular approaches, nothing remained but to try a *coup-de-main*. A desultory attack of the Arabs, who hovered in the vicinity, having been easily repulsed by the troops on the plateau of Mansoura, the few field-pieces which were with the army were brought forward to the front, and began to fire against the defences of the two gates at the end of the bridges, but they were speedily dismounted by the 24-pounders on the ramparts; and an attempt to run mines under the gates to blow them up failed from the hardness of the rock on which they stood. In despair of being able to effect the reduction of the place by any other means, Clausel ordered an assault on each of the gates.[2] Two regiments accord-

2 Cap. ix. 196, 197; Ann. Hist. xix. 275, 277; L. Blanc, v. 182, 183.

ingly were formed in close column, and advanced over the bridges with the utmost intrepidity. But such was the strength of the inner gates, cased in iron, that they resisted all the efforts of the sappers to force them open, and after sustaining a heavy loss from the fire of the place, which was still wholly unsubdued, the troops, in deep dejection, were obliged to retire.

111. Disastrous retreat of the French. Nov. 23 to Dec. 1.

Nothing remained now but to retire; but how to conduct a retreat during eight days, in the face of a cloud of pursuing Arabs, at that inclement season, it was not easy to see. In those elevated regions, several thousand feet above the sea, and among the first ridges of the Atlas, the ground was covered with snow, and the march back, from the very outset, exhibited on a small scale the horrors of the Moscow retreat. The retrograde march was covered by a rear-guard under the orders of GENERAL CHANGARNIER, who, like his immortal predecessor, Marshal Ney, amidst the Russian snows, exhibited alternately the capacity of a general and the courage of a private soldier. On one occasion, when a cloud of Arabs was preparing to charge his little band, formed in square, he said, "My friends! look at those people there; they are 6000, you are 300: the sides are equal." Immediately after, the thundering charge was met by a volley within pistol-shot, which speedily sent the assailants to the right-about. But notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers, discipline was relaxed, and disorder appeared in the column; the severity of their hardships, as is always the case in similar circumstances, broke through all rules. The casks of wine were forced open by the starving multitude, and numbers sank on the snow, and perished in the midst of the howling wilderness. On the 28th the army reached Ghelma, when the sick and wounded were left under the charge of a strong garrison; and at length, on December 1, the long wished-for minarets of Bona appeared, and the troops enjoyed the sweets of cover and repose after their excessive hardships.[1] They brought back with them

[1] Ann. Hist. xix. 277, 278; Cap. ix. 195, 196; L. Blanc, v. 185, 186.

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their guns and part of their caissons, but they had to lament the loss of 472 killed, or dead of cold and fatigue, and 288 wounded.

112. Mistrust and bitter recriminations in France.

The war of the sabre and musket over, that of recrimination in France commenced, and it was so violent as for a time to drown every thought of the real nature of the disaster in the anxiety to discover to whom it was to be ascribed. The Liberals, headed by M. Dupin, were clear that it was all owing to the attempt to retain Algiers, that fatal bequest of the Restoration, and loudly demanded that it should be instantly evacuated. The Ministerialists laid the whole blame on Marshal Clausel, a favourite Republican chief, who had, they alleged, commenced the operation in the most tempestuous season of the year, without any information of the enemy he was going to attack, and no heavy artillery to subdue his defences. In the midst of this general recrimination, *all felt, but few ventured to say*, that the real fault lay with the Chamber of Deputies, and the constituencies which had returned them, who had starved the national forces in Africa, till they were rendered incapable of effecting anything decisive, and, governed by little and economical considerations, rendered the nation incapable of achieving anything great.[1]

[1] L. Blanc, v. 185, 186; Cap. ix. 197, 198; Ann. Hist. xix. 278.

113. Noble conduct of the King and Ministers.

Amidst this tumult of passion and selfish recriminations, when every party was striving to turn a public disaster to their private advantage, the King and the Cabinet acted a noble part, and showed the world that, to governments not less than individuals, "sweet are the uses of adversity." Instead of being discouraged by misfortune, they took council of it only to shun error: they followed the advice given to Æneas, not to yield to evils, but resist them the more vigorously.* In opening the Chamber, the King said: "While I regret with you the losses of the army, I have the consolation of thinking that my second son has shared its dangers; and if success

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* "Tu ne cedes malis, sed contra audentior ito."
—Virg. *Æneid.*

has not crowned its efforts, at least its heroism, patience, and perseverance, have sustained its ancient reputation; and I doubt not that the Chamber will take such steps as will secure in Africa preponderance of our arms, and put our possessions in that quarter in a state of entire security." These gallant words produced the greater impression, that a few minutes before they were uttered intelligence had been received in the Chamber that an attempt had been made to assassinate the King in passing through the archway of the Tuileries to come to the Chamber, by the murderer Meunier, and that the Prince-Royal had been slightly wounded in the face by the splinters from the shot.[1]

[1] Moniteur, Dec. 28, 1836; Ann. Hist. xx. 3, 4; Cap. xi. 204.

This intrepid conduct electrified the country, and overpowered the selfish by the national feelings. The Chamber voted larger supplies, and the force put at the disposal of the generals was made more considerable, amounting to 30,000 effective men. Marshal Clausel was recalled, and the command of the province given to General Damremont, an able and intrepid officer, thoroughly abreast of the times, and whose honour and sincerity had been evinced by his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, to which he had been attached. General Bugeaud commanded in the province of Oran, where he was opposed to Abd-el-Kader; and he had so long been accustomed to a separate command, and was at such a distance from headquarters, that he was in a manner the chief of a separate principality, and little inclined to receive orders from his superiors. The consequence was, that an unfortunate rivalry got up between the two commanders; and General Bugeaud, fearful that General Damremont might forestall him in effecting the pacification of the western province, and the submission of the redoubted Emir, was induced to go into measures attended in the end with disastrous effects to the French interests in Algiers.[2]

114. Affairs of Oran. Feb. 1837.

[2] Ann. Hist. 341, 342; Cap. ix. 341, 343.

The force in the western province had been consider-

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115. Diverging views of Generals Damremont and Bugeaud on them.

ably augmented since the calamitous expedition to Constantine had opened the eyes of France to the absolute necessity of voting large forces for the war, and they amounted now to 10,000 men, occupying the strong posts of Tlemson, La Tafna, Arzew, and Mortanegem. The Arabs under Abd-el-Kader were posted in the open country, and, without pretending formally to invest these places, contented themselves with simply blockading them at a distance, and interrupting all the convoys destined for their supply. Such a state of things could not be prolonged without hazard to the interests and discredit to the honour of France; and both General Damremont and General Bugeaud were very anxious to bring it to a termination. The former had written in the strongest terms to the latter, however, that no pacification was to be entered into but on the basis that the Emir was not to pass the river Cheliff, and that a ten years' war in Africa would be preferable to such an alternative.* Bugeaud, however, fearful that his commander would take the matter into his own hands, and get the credit of pacifying the west, hastened his preparations, and in the beginning of May, having formed his army into three divisions, set out from Oran at the head of 8000 men, with which he moved towards Tlemson, with the view of re-victualling that fortress, and driving the Emir, sword in hand, into the wilds of the interior of Africa.[1]

[1] Ann. Hist. xx. 343, 344; Cap. ix. 343, 344; L. Blanc, v. 253, 254.

Alarmed at the approach of forces so considerable, which he was in no condition at the moment to oppose, Abd-el-Kader had recourse to the usual Asiatic resource of dissimulation. He professed an anxious desire for peace, and for that purpose proposed an interview with

* "Il faut que Abd-el-Kader s'engage à ne jamais dépasser le Cheliff, et qu'il contribue à établir à Titleri une puissance régulière indépendante de lui, et soumise à la France. Nous ne devons consentir pour rien au monde à ce que Abd-el-Kader établisse sa domination dans le province de Titleri, d'où il peut sans cesse menacer celle d'Alger et prêter son appui à Achmet Bey. Une guerre de dix ans serait préférable dans l'intérêt de nos établissemens en Afrique, à une paix qui mettrait Abd-el-Kader dans Médeah."—GEN. DAMREMONT *au* GEN. BUGEAUD, April 8, 1837; CAPEFIGUE, ix. 342, 343.

the French general. To this Bugeaud, who was a better match for the Emir in the field than in the cabinet, consented, and the interview took place near the camp of La Tafna, each general being accompanied by a fixed number of attendants. Faithful to the Asiatic principle of impressing the imagination, the Emir kept General Bugeaud waiting some hours before he came up to the agreed-on place. At length the advanced posts made their appearance, and information arrived that the chief was a little behind. General Bugeaud immediately advanced to meet him, and the Emir appeared at the head of 3000 cavalry, surrounded by horsemen in magnificent attire. Their splendid trappings formed as great a contrast to the modest garb of the French escort, as those of the followers of Agesilaus did in former days to the guards of Tisaphernes. The figure of the Emir was slender, and his stature small, his face pale, and expression melancholy; but the fire of his eye, and the delicate make of his hands and feet, revealed the genuine and pure Arab descent. The conference lasted an hour, and at one time bore an unpromising aspect, for the Emir made no concealment of his sense of superiority. At length, however, it was concluded, and the terms of peace agreed on. The Arab chief shook hands with General Bugeaud on parting, and assured him of his fidelity. "I have visited the tomb of the Prophet," said he, "and my word may be trusted." [1]

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116. Conference of Abd-el-Kader and General Bugeaud. June 1.

[1] L. Blanc, v. 236, 238; Cap. ix. 344, 347; Ann. Hist. xx. 344, 346.

Abd-el-Kader had good reason to be satisfied with the result of this interview, for he gained more by it than he could have hoped from the result of the most successful campaign. It stipulated that Abd-el-Kader was to recognise the sovereignty of France, but in return for this he was to receive large accessions both of territory and influence. In the province of Oran, France reserved to itself only Mortanegem, Mazaghan, and their respective territories, with Oran, Arzew, and a small country adjacent to each. The disputed fortress of Tlemson, with

117. Terms of the treaty of La Tafna. May 8, 1837.

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all its territories, was ceded to the Emir. In the province of Algiers, nothing was retained but the fortress of that name, the district of Sahels, and a part of the plain of the Metidja. The whole province of Titleri, which General Damremont said a ten years' war should be incurred rather than cede, was abandoned to the Emir. By this treaty the French possessions were substantially limited to a few fortresses on the sea-coast, with very circumscribed adjacent territories; and the vast district of the interior, with the fortresses which guarded the approach to them, was left in the hands of the Arab chief, in consideration of which, all that he did was to bind himself to furnish to the French army 30,000 fanegues of wheat, as many of barley, and 5000 oxen.[1]

[1] Traité, May 8, 1837; Ann. Hist. xx., Appendix; L. Blanc, v. 522.

118. Universal indignation at the treaty in France.

When the terms of this treaty were known in France, one universal cry of indignation arose from one end of the country to the other. General Bugeaud was loudly accused of having compromised the dignity of France by consenting, as he did, to a conference on terms such as no general should have admitted, and abandoned its interests by the terms finally agreed to. What! it was said, is France then so far reduced as to be compelled to consent to terms so humiliating? Has she no army in Africa to assert the honour of her arms? Where are the 15,000 men who have been assembled with so much difficulty in the province of Oran, and by whom war to the knife was to be carried on against the presumptuous Emir? Is it from the midst of such formidable preparations that a peace, at once humiliating and injurious, is to arise? What do we retain of all our boasted conquests in the province of Oran but a few towns on the sea-coast, which, separated from each other, and surrounded by hostile tribes, may be regarded as in a state of permanent blockade?[2] What can be expected from such a treaty but a long train of disasters?—and after having recognised the Emir as an independent power, how do we expect to be able to prevent him, swelled as his

[2] L. Blanc, v. 259, 260.

influence will be by our concessions, to re-establish the sway of the Crescent over the whole North of Africa.

119. Preparations for the expedition against Constantine.

The discontent, with reason excited by this ill-judged treaty in the west of Algeria, only rendered the Government more desirous to redeem their credit by a dazzling exploit in the eastern part of the province. The disaster sustained in the preceding year at Constantine had roused both the Chamber and the nation to the absolute necessity of largely reinforcing the army in Africa, and the number which Marshal Clausel had in vain requested was now without difficulty conceded. Preparations, on a great scale, for a fresh expedition were made during the whole summer: a camp of 15,000 men was established on the plateau of Medgoz; Amar, near Bona, was amply provided with artillery and ammunition, and the want so grievously felt on the preceding occasion of siege-guns completely supplied. Instead of a few light field-pieces, sixty pieces of cannon, chiefly heavy, with 2000 horses to drag the siege-equipage, were provided, and the expedition was undertaken at a more suitable period, before the approach of winter had brought the storms of the Atlas down into the plain. On the 1st October the army commenced its march, 13,000 strong, under the immediate command of General Damremont, the commander-in-chief, having the Duke de Nemours as one of his generals of division, who had come from Paris to share the dangers and glories of the expedition.[1]

Oct. 1.

[1] Cap. ix. 354, 355; Ann. Hist. xx. 247, 250; L. Blanc, v. 265.

120. Arrival of the army before Constantine, and commencement of the siege. Oct. 6.

The first night the troops bivouacked amidst the laurels, roses, fig-trees, and olives, which had charmed the soldiers of Marshal Clausel at the commencement of the first expedition; but though they encountered some bad weather when they ascended the higher ridges of Mount Atlas, where rain is so frequent, they were far from experiencing the dreadful hardships undergone on the former occasion; and at nine o'clock in the morning of the 6th October the leading column reached the plateau of Mansoura, and beheld the far-famed cupolas and bastions

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of Constantine. The ground was strewed with the skeletons of those who had fallen in the former assault; and the troops, seeing the bastions filled with the enemy, and the preparations made for a vigorous defence, were animated by the most gloomy forebodings. But the general gave them no time for reflection, and ere long drowned melancholy by activity. The garrison consisted of 6000 regular troops, besides the militia of the place, who were 1500 men, and their spirit had been greatly raised by the glorious defeat of the former attack. "These men," said Achmet Bey to the troops, "are not invincible; small in stature, fatigued with long marches, they may easily be put to flight, for they are the enemies of the Prophet."[1]

[1] Cap. ix. 355, 357; L. Blanc, v. 263, 264.

121. Progress of the siege. Oct. 6-9.

Damremont formed his army into three divisions, each of which was charged with a separate attack. The divisions of Generals Trezel and Rulhières were to occupy the heights of Mansoura and Condiat-Ali, which overhung the town, while the Duke of Nemours was reserved for the perilous honour of conducting the approaches meant to batter in the breach, and directing the assault. The operations, however, were grievously impeded by the heavy rains, which fell without intermission from the time the troops took up their ground, filled the trenches with water, and so soaked the powder that little of it would go off. The fascines were filled, not with earth, but liquid mud, which escaped through the interstices of the wood; and the guns, which repeatedly stuck fast in the tenacious mire, were only dragged out by the almost superhuman efforts of the Zouaves. By immense exertions, however, these difficulties were overcome, and on the 9th October a sufficient number of guns were got into position to open fire, which was done amidst a shout from the whole army, which drowned even the roar of the artillery.[2] General Damremont, after the fire had continued twenty-four hours, summoned the place to surrender, but the governor returned this noble answer: "If the French have no longer any powder or bread, we

[2] L. Blanc, v. 265, 266; Cap. ix. 357, 358; Ann. Hist. xx. 251, 254.

will give it them; but we will defend our houses and town to the last extremity. No one shall be master of Constantine till he has put to death its last defender."

122. Death of General Damremont. Oct. 12.

A sad event soon after occurred, which, without stopping the progress of the siege, filled the soldiers with the most melancholy feelings. General Damremont, who, from the commencement of the siege, had exposed his person like the meanest grenadier, had taken post, surrounded by his staff, on a prominent point on Condiat-Ali, to reconnoitre with his own eyes the ground, with a view to the final direction of the assaulting columns, when a ricochet-shot, starting from a rock in the vicinity, struck him on the breast. He fell, and instantly expired; dying thus, like Turenne, on the field of honour, and on the eve of victory. This calamitous event did not for a moment suspend the progress of the siege. General Vallée took the command, and proved himself worthy of the trust. The following day was a Friday, and an ancient prophecy had announced that a Friday was to be a fatal day to the Mussulman domination in Africa. The signal for the assault was given at seven in the morning, and the troops, divided into three columns, under the orders of GENERAL LAMORICIÈRE, Colonel Combes, and Colonel Corbin, advanced to the assault. With breathless impatience the troops not engaged, from the heights of Mansoura and Condiat-Ali, beheld the columns running with impetuosity to the breaches, amidst the rolling of drums, the flourish of trumpets, and the shouts of the whole army. Lamoricière, then, by a rapid rush, gained the summit of the breach without much difficulty; but there, as in other Turkish fortresses, began the real difficulty of the struggle. The Turkish yatagan maintained a desperate contest with the European bayonet; from every roof-top and every window issued a shower of balls, and it was only hand-to-hand, and by a series of desperate personal encounters, that the assailants were able to maintain their ground in the pass they had so

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bravely won. At the head of the assaulting column the officers, even of the highest grade, were seen : Colonel Serignay was killed at the head of his battalion ; Generals Perregaux and Lamoricière, and Colonel Combes, were severely wounded. In the midst of the tumult a mine was fired, and great numbers, both of the assailants and defenders, were blown into the air. But the supports were rapidly brought up ; a continual stream of armed men ascended the breaches, and at length the steady courage of the Arabs yielded to the heroic intrepidity of the French. Gradually the besieged were forced backward ; house after house, street after street, bastion after bastion, was successively won ; and at length the armed multitude, forced to the extremity of the town, was driven over the ramparts, and a frightful human avalanche rolled over the cliffs which formed the southern defence of the city. Constantine was taken, and the French power in Algeria firmly established. From the summit of a neighbouring hill Sultan Achmet beheld, with tears in his eyes, the capture of his capital, the ruin of his power, and, turning his horse's head, fled into the solitudes of the desert.[1]

[1] General Vallée's Desp., Oct. 13, 1837; Cap. ix. 358, 359; L. Blanc, v. 269, 270.

123. Heroism of the army.

In this desperate strife the Duke de Nemours exhibited the coolness of a veteran joined to the ardour of a young soldier. Colonel Combes was brought to him mortally wounded; two shots had passed through his lungs. Concealing his suffering and danger, he said, " Those who are not wounded mortally will feel joy at this success." To General Boyer he said, " Receive my last adieu ; I ask nothing for my wife or children, but I would recommend the following officers of my regiment." These were his last words. Death closed his lips. After a short time had elapsed, the desolation of the storm disappeared, and such of the inhabitants as survived returned to their houses ; the breaches were repaired, a garrison of 2500 men was left in the place, and the army returned to Bona. General Vallée was made Governor of Algeria and a

Marshal with the general approbation of the army, and an extensive promotion rewarded the inferior officers who had contributed to the success. But while the army had thus gloriously discharged its duty, the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies afforded a melancholy proof of the sway of parsimonious ideas among them, and how unworthy the bourgeois class was to rule the empire. Government proposed to the Chamber of Deputies to settle a pension of 10,000 francs (£400) a-year on General Damremont's widow: they reduced it to 6000 francs (£240); and to the widow of the heroic Colonel Combes they refused even the moderate pension of 3000 francs (£120), proposed by the Government! This economy was the more discreditable that at the same time the Chamber voted 1,200,000 francs (£48,000) a-year to the theatres of Paris for the amusement of themselves and their constituents.[1]*

[1] Ann. Hist. xxi. 117, 119, 193; Cap. ix. 358, 359; L. Blanc, v. 270, 271.

124. Reason of the rigour of revolutionary governments.

"It was the fashion," says Macaulay, "to call James II. a tyrant, and William a deliverer; yet before the deliverer had been a month on the throne, he had deprived the English of a precious right which the tyrant had respected. This is a kind of reproach which a government sprung from a popular revolution almost inevitably incurs. From such a government men naturally think themselves entitled to expect a more gentle and liberal administration than is expected from old and deeply-rooted power. Yet such a government, having, as it always has, many active enemies, and not having the strength derived from legitimacy and prescription, can at first only maintain itself by a vigilance and a severity of which old and deeply-rooted power stands in

* Sums voted to the Theatres in 1838.

Grand Opera,	620,000 francs, or	£25,000
Opera Comique,	240,000 „	10,000
Opera Italien,	70,000 „	2,600
Théatres,	270,000 „	10,400
	1,200,000 „	£48,000

—*Ann. Hist.*, xxi. 193.

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no need. Extraordinary and irregular vindications of public liberty are sometimes necessary, yet, however necessary, they are almost always followed by some temporary abridgments of that very liberty, and every such abridgment is a fertile and plausible theme for sarcasm and invective."[1] Louis Philippe was no exception to these just and forcible observations; on the contrary, they furnish the true explanation both of the increased rigour of his Government and the unbounded animosity which it excited among its former supporters. A very simple reason explains both—it was necessity. A government which has risen by revolution can only maintain itself by suppressing the spirit from which it sprang; and the more violent that revolution has been, the more severe and lasting will be the measures of repression to which it must have recourse. England will feel the consequences of the Revolution of 1688 as long as the National Debt endures; France that of 1830 as long as its huge standing army is kept on foot, and that is not likely ever to be diminished. Had any of the early conspiracies against Louis Philippe's government proved successful, the only consequence would have been that the liberties of the country would have been more completely prostrated even than they were by the bayonets of the Citizen King. A Cabinet composed of Fieschi, Alibaud, and Meunier would only have been distinguished from those of Count Molé or M. Thiers by being more despotic, more expensive, and more bloody.

[1] Macaulay's Hist. of England, iii. 48.

125. Lasting ascendant now gained by the Cross over the Crescent.

A great revolution was going on in the affairs of the world when France was the theatre of these convulsive throes. From the contests of the European states with each other, emerged a Power which soon came to overshadow all the other countries of the world. Ever since the date of the fall of Napoleon all the great conquests of nations were those of the Christians over the Mahommedans; from the infidelity of the French Revolution arose the lasting superiority of the Cross over the

Crescent. In 1816, Algerine slavery was terminated by the cannon of Lord Exmouth; in 1829, Turkey narrowly escaped subjugation at the hands of the Muscovites; in 1830, the power of France was permanently established on the coast of Africa; in 1832, the Grand Seignior was only saved from destruction at the hand of his rebellious vassal by the dangerous protection of the Russians; in 1840, that very vassal was driven, by the broadsides of the English, delivered at the foot of the Lebanon, within his own dominion. Hardly had the sound of the French cannon ceased to re-echo in the mountains of the Atlas, when the British guns were heard in the Kyber Pass amid the Himalaya snows, and their standards were seen in Ghuznee, the cradle of Mahommedan power in Central Asia. Subsequent events have not belied these appearances; all the interests of the world are now wound up in the East. The greatest strife which modern Europe has witnessed has occurred on the shores of the Euxine, between powers contending for the protection of the decrepit Mahommedan conquerors of the East. There is something in these marvellous events succeeding one another so rapidly, and so different from the former balance of the Cross and the Crescent, which cannot be ascribed to chance; they betoken a decided step in the Divine administration. The tide of conquest, which long flowed from east to west, has now set in in an opposite direction; civilisation is returning to the land of its birth, and the descendants of Japhet, in the words of primeval prophecy, are about to "dwell in the tents of Shem."

END OF VOL. V.

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